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**FUNCTIONS OF MORPHOSYNTACTIC
ALTERNATIONS, AND INFORMATION FLOW
IN SURGUT KHANTY DISCOURSE**

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Khanty is a Uralic language spoken in Western Siberia. Surgut Khanty with 2000 speakers is one of the variants of Eastern Khanty. Most speakers are bilinguals and Surgut Khanty is nowadays an endangered language.

The main aim of this dissertation is to find the functions of rich morphosyntactic devices in Surgut Khanty. I limited the analysis on comparisons variation between alignments. The main theoretical frame is founded on discourse-based functionalism. The term information flow includes ‘the movement in the activation status, such as active, semiactive, inactive consciousness into and out of the consciousness of speakers and hearers; changes in clause level and discourse level topics; manifestations of foregrounding and backgrounding, and phenomena involved in the identifiability (of “definiteness”) of referents’ (Chafe 1993a: 33). The term is also widely used in relation to ‘communicative dynamism’, ‘givenness’, ‘topicality’, ‘thematicity’ and ‘focus’ (Cumming and Ono 1997: 115), which are also the concerns of information structure.

Mainly the model of the method derives from Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987) and in this framework, morphology (noun phrase types of referents as lexical NPs, pronouns or zero anaphora), semantics (animacy and person) and pragmatics (information status as new or given information, referentiality as referent tracking, topicality) will be studied. Referent tracking means here coding the discourse referentiality of noun phrases in discourse. I mapped the distribution of each category and configured them with a pragmatic frame.

The data used in the dissertation is originally spoken narrative text from after 1980’s, including the data I collected from interviews with native Surgut Khanty speakers. The data consists of 295 minutes 20 seconds of audio recorded personal narratives. The dissertation contains an abundance of grammatical sketch which also contains previously undescribed grammatical features.

I have analysed the following alignments: 1. ditransitive structures 2. Object variations 3. Voices 4. Conjugations 5. Subject variations. In the ditransitive structure, I compared dative shift and dative structures. Here the remarkable finding is that dative shift alternation can also trigger subject conjugation regardless of the typological tendency and previous study on Khanty. In object variations, I have compared nominative/accusative object and oblique object which has not been mentioned in previous studies of Khanty. The analyses demonstrate that the oblique object can be regarded an object since it is a semantically obligatory argument, but it also functions as an oblique in referent tracking in discourse. In the analysis of conjugations, I have compared the subject and object conjugations. The result supports previous study that the topical (not primary) object triggers object

conjugation. It is remarkable that the object conjugation does not pertain to the first and the second person pronouns as object in Surgut Khanty. In the analysis of subject variations, Surgut Khanty has two variants of subject: nominative and locative, which is specific to Eastern Khanty. This has been termed 'ergative' in many previous studies – here, however, it is called a 'locative subject'. In Surgut Khanty data, intransitive verbs also trigger a locative subject. The data demonstrates that the locative subject and its object are highly topical. In Surgut Khanty data, the locative subject functions as 'recurring' topic. It also appears in local discourse that has competing topical referents. The analysis demonstrates the importance of the local discourse, not only the whole discourse. The local topic controls the morphosyntactic choices in Surgut Khanty.

In a word, topic, local discourse, text genre and also speaker's strategy control the morphosyntactic choice in Surgut Khanty. As mentioned above, the analysis demonstrates that the morphosyntactic devices have their own functions in discourse. It is the speaker, however, that chooses the morphosyntactic form in discourse. The data for Surgut Khanty reveal that speakers choose the morphosyntactic forms based on the functions and on the strategy of the speech for effective communication even when the choice does not depend on the tendency/basic function. Since narrative is a genre which can reveal the speaker's command of speech, the result is not surprising.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	subject of transitive verb
AGT	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABES	abessive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
APPR	approximative
BEN	benefactive
COMINS	comitative-instrumental
COMP	comparative
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEP	dependent
DIM	diminutive
DU	dual
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentative
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSFIN	instructive-finalis
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
NEG	negation, negative
O	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive suffix
POST	postposition
PRED	predicative
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PX	possessive suffix

S	subject of canonical intransitive verb
STEM	stem
SG	singular
SUP	supperative
TRA	translative
TOP	topic
V	verb

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE SOURCE TEXT

A	Csepregi (1998a)
B	Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
B1	Sample taken in 1996 in Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
B2	Sample taken in 2008 in Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
B1/2-A	“A man made a trap” in Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
B1/2-B	“The fire goddess” in Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
B1/2-C	“The woman who changed into a cuckoo” in Csepregi and Sosa (2009)
C	Csepregi (2002)
D	Csepregi (2011)
E	Unpublished data (2008)
F	Unpublished data (2009)

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Khanty is a Uralic language, spoken in Western Siberia. The Uralic languages can be divided into groups wherein Khanty forms the Ugric branch with Hungarian and Mansi, and the Ob-Ugric branch with Mansi. Mansi is the closest related language to Khanty, and their grammatical structures are almost identical, even though most of the grammatical elements are etymologically different.

Khanty can nowadays be divided into the Northern and Eastern groups; Southern Khanty became extinct in the 20th century. Surgut Khanty is one of the Eastern Khanty dialects. The term “Ob-Ugric” is motivated by geographical location, the proximity of the Ob River.

The indigenous Khanty-speaking area is located in Western Siberia, mainly in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District in the north. Until the end of the Middle Ages, the Ob-Ugric languages were spoken on the western side of the Urals, as well. Nowadays, Khanty is spoken only on the tributaries of the Ob, not the Ob itself. The area, however, is enormous, covering approximately half a million square kilometres. The Surgut Khanty dialects, the subject of this study, are spoken in an area as large as Hungary. These Khanty dialects are spoken along the Pim, Tromagan, Agan and Yugan Rivers near the city of Surgut, one of the most important oil industry cities in contemporary Russia (Csepregi 1998c).

The Khanty people form a small minority in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. Their total population is low in comparison to the rest of the inhabitants of the Okrug. There are 19,068 Khanty, making up 1.3% of the whole population (see All Russian-Population Census, retrieved 19 April 2010). Eastern Khanty can be divided into three main dialects: Surgut, Vakh-Vasyugan and Salym. Surgut is the largest group with approximately 2,000 speakers, and Vakh (-Vasyugan) has about 1,000. There is no information on Salym. Salym seems to have become extinct or is severely endangered. In the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, there are 1.4 million inhabitants. In the city of Surgut alone there are 350,000 inhabitants and in other Surgut Raion areas there are about 78,000 inhabitants. Among these only 2,800 are ethnic Khanty. About 1,000 Khantys still lead a traditional way of life (Csepregi 1998c).

Research on the Ob-Ugric peoples began in the 1840s with the expeditions of the Finnish and Hungarian scholars Matthias Alexander Castrén and Antal Reguly. Castrén stayed with the Khanty for only a few weeks but was able to collect a basic grammar of southern Khanty with reference to the Surgut dialects, as well (published in 1849). Reguly also

collected a considerable number of texts, which were later published by József Pápay. From its establishment in 1883 until 1918, the Finno-Ugrian Society sent Finnish scholars to the areas where Uralic minority languages were spoken in order to gather detailed documentation on the largely undescribed cognate languages of Finnish. Among these linguistic researchers was K.F. Karjalainen who travelled to Siberia during the years 1898 to 1902 to collect both linguistic and folkloristic-ethnographic Khanty materials. The result was a dictionary of all Khanty dialects, with precise phonetic transcriptions (Karjalainen – Toivonen 1948) as well as rich language samples and folklore data (Karjalainen – Vértes 1975). Heikki Paasonen made a journey to the areas of Konda, Surgut, and Yugan between 1898 and 1902 to document and collect vocabularies and grammar (Korhonen 1986). The results were published as a dictionary (1926) and language samples (Paasonen – Vértes 1980abcd, 2001). Both Karjalainen's and Paasonen's dictionaries have been utilized in the present study.

During the time of Soviet Union, Western scholars had no opportunity to go to Siberia and conduct research on the languages spoken there. Some Hungarian scholars were, however, able to interview Khanty persons in Leningrad (today's St. Petersburg). For example, János Gulya worked with Vakh Khanty to collect a language sample and grammar (Gulya 1966). The chrestomathy by Gulya has also been utilized. László Honti interviewed Surgut Khanty people and published text samples. He later compiled a grammar of all Khanty dialects from a historical perspective titled *Chrestomathia Ostiacica* (1984). This chrestomathy has worked as an important guide in the present study. The German scholar Wolfgang Steinitz, who emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1934, did a great deal of fieldwork among the Khanty and published a large number of materials (partly posthumously) after he returned to East Berlin following World War II in 1946. Steinitz's works cover the fields of etymology and grammar, as well as text collections and a dictionary. Among these works, I have consulted his etymological dictionary (DEWOS 1966-1993), as needed, to cover lexical problems for the present study.

More grammars have been published since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1998, Márta Csepregi published her chrestomathy of Surgut Khanty with various language samples; Sz. Kispál Magdolna and F. Mészáros Henrietta a chrestomathy of Northern Khanty in 1970; Irina Nikolaeva a grammar of Northern Khanty in 1999; Szofia Onyina a dictionary with grammar description of Synja Khanty in 2009; and Andrey Filchenko the grammar of Vasyugan Khanty in 2010. All of them, especially Csepregi's chrestomathy serve as important guides for the present study.

Among research on Eastern Khanty, Tereshkin's works are most important. He spoke the Keush Khanty. Tereshkin's influential works include an Eastern Khanty dialectological dictionary (1981) and a grammar of Vakh Khanty (1961). Both the dictionary and the grammar have been utilized in the present study.

There are and have been attempts to create a special orthography among the Eastern Khanty for writing their dialects. The history of literary Khanty is not long, but the oral tradition has been strong. Nowadays, Agrafena Pesikova and her student Lyudmila Kayukova are working hard with literary Surgut Khanty (e.g. 2002ab, Pesikova and Ermakova 1996, N'omisova and Kayukova 2007). Even though Khanty have tried to create a standard literary language, many are illiterate in Khanty. The first attempt to establish an alphabet was made in 1936, using the Latin alphabet, and after this, books have been written in different variations of the Cyrillic alphabet. The first publication in Khanty is a translation of certain parts of Bible in the 19th century. After this, the Khanty began to write primers in Khanty. Today, primers have been published in four northern dialects (Sherkaly, Kazym, Shuryskar and Obdorsk) and two eastern dialects (Vakh and Surgut). The orthography of these literary publications has varied over time and from writer to writer. Even with a single author, the orthography is often inconsistent. (E.g. Csepregi 1998a, Kulonen 1989, Salo 2007). In the present study, I use a phonemic orthography, not a variation of the literary Surgut Khanty. This phonemic orthography is based on the Finno-Ugric transcription (FUT) system. To a great extent, it follows the phonemic transcription used by Honti and Csepregi.

The Ob-Ugric languages differ a great deal from other Uralic languages regarding their morphosyntax. For example, unlike other Uralic languages which express possession with an existential structure, a 'to be' verb, the Ob-Ugric languages have a possessive 'to have' verb which is a lexically separate word. As a ditransitive alternation, they have a dative shift structure. They also have a personal passive voice wherein the agent can optionally be expressed. Eastern Khanty has a locative subject whose structure has traditionally been called ergative.

In addition to the abovementioned exceptional or "non-Uralic" characteristics, Surgut Khanty also attests to extensive morphosyntactic variation. The function of each morphosyntactic alternative, however, as well as the mechanism – how the speaker chooses certain morphosyntactic forms in discourse – are still not well known. There are still many unresolved questions concerning, the difference between an expected object conjugation structure, for example, and the subject conjugation structure with a pragmatically definite object, and why both the dative shift and the dative alternation are possible with the same words and events. In the present study, I will analyse the morphosyntactic variations in the perspective of information structure and flow.

In the context of information structure and flow, the choice of morphosyntactic form in discourse is not random or coincidental, but rather the utterance is chosen automatically in order to convey the information in the most effective way sought by the speaker (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Givón 1984a, Chafe 1994). As a result, even though there may theoretically be many morphosyntactic alternatives to express a certain proposition in discourse,

there are certain tendencies visible on how speakers are want to express an event in a given linguistic structure (e.g. Du Bois 1984). Cross-linguistically, for example in regard to syntax, the choice of passive and active depends on the topicality of the constituents and on the morphology: a full noun phrase tends to express new information, whereas an affixal argument expresses given information. In other words, the study of information structure and flow gives us information on the linguistic functions of morphosyntactic forms. I will attempt to shed light on these issues in the present study. I limit the research questions to the core arguments of subject (A=subject of a transitive verb, S=subject of an intransitive verb) and object (O) in Khanty narrative discourse.

1.2 THE AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of my dissertation is to map the morphosyntactic tendencies in Surgut Khanty discourse and to gain insight on the following questions: how the Surgut Khanty grammar is constructed in discourse, and what motivates the grammaticalization of pragmatic functions in discourse. In this study, I will examine the **information structure** and flow in Surgut Khanty in order to answer the abovementioned questions. Information structure means “portioning” information in linguistic form and it explains how different kinds of information is marked in compliance with its pragmatic function in discourse, such as contrast between topic and focus, newness and givenness as well as definiteness and indefiniteness. In the context of information structure, different argument structures and morphosyntactic variations there are instruments for forming linguistic forms of ideas and concepts (Du Bois 2003). The term **information flow** (Chafe 1994), can be illustrated as dynamic changes in thought and language. The dynamic change, which is called flow, involves changes in the status of information. The concept is based on the primary function of language to convey information from the speaker to the addressee, utilizing the accessibility of the information or the participants’ points of view (Chafe 1994: 161). Information structure and flow bring the multiple levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics together into one field in order to map out these phenomena. Information structure and flow is a multilayered system; much as languages are themselves.

Mapping out the pattern of how morphosyntactic forms appear in discourse shows the mechanism of grammaticalization in discourse. Here the term *grammaticalization* does not refer to a historical process, but a more ontological approach. The historical process refers to how a lexical item or less grammatical item becomes grammatical, whereas the ontological approach refers here to the way which ‘emerges’ as grammar in discourse. In this study, I will take a look at local context in order to see more global patterns in discourse. Here ‘local context’ refers to the context where the

questioned linguistic phenomenon occurs to show how it is used and functions in discourse (Helasvuo 2001: 1–2). I will analyse formal encodings of functions in discourse rather than clauses, in other words, information packings in morphosyntactic variation of discourse. In attempting to understand the use of language, previous studies have shown stable correlations between grammatical devices and the discourse contexts in which they appear: the distribution of grammar in text (Givón 1990: 893). The resources expressing information, such as morphosyntax and phonology, differ from language to language.

My objective in this dissertation is to resolve the mechanism of how Surgut Khanty speakers choose the morphosyntactic forms in their discourse. It is an attempt to apply the theories of discourse-based functionalism to Khanty, and to contribute to the study of morphosyntax in the Uralic languages, especially in Khanty, from a pragmatic perspective, a new point of view. The main research questions can be summarized as follows:

1. What is the Preferred Argument Structure in Surgut Khanty narrative discourse? In other words, on what principles do Surgut Khanty speakers choose linguistic form from among the language's rich morphosyntactic variations?
2. How do the alignments differ from each other in function? As a hypothesis, the different linguistic alternations exist because they differ functionally from one another.

In the present study, I will only use spoken language and narrative texts. The data include traditional folklore tales, life stories, narratives about Khanty culture and so on. (See Chapter 5 for more on the data).

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The present study is roughly divided into two sections. The first section, Chapter 2 through Chapter 5, introduces the background of the present study. In Chapter 2, I will introduce the theoretical framework used. I will present an outline of Surgut Khanty grammar in Chapter 3 with examples and findings from my data. In Chapter 4, I will summarize previous studies on Khanty related to syntax and pragmatics. Chapter 5 will serve to illustrate the data used.

The second section, Chapters 6 and 7, consists of the analysis and conclusions. Chapter 6 is the main section of this study, where I will examine the data from the point of view of morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. I will map the distribution of the relevant categories on each level and configure them within a pragmatic frame. The tendencies found in the distributions can be called a *Preferred Argument Structure* (=PAS; Du Bois 1987, 2003, section 2.3.2 in the present study) in Khanty discourse, and

they build an “emerged grammar” as the set of a segment, since the more a form is used in a certain function, the more grammaticalized it becomes in discourse (Hopper 1988). The concept can be restated as ‘The grammar codes best what speakers do most’ (Du Bois 1985). I will pick up the tendencies of language usage in the data from the point of view of information structuring and flow. I will extract subjects (A, S) and objects (O) and their morphosyntactic and semantic patterns as well as the information status in discourse. Based on the tendencies found in the data, I will outline the motivation of language usage that would explain the speaker’s morphosyntactic choices.

In the domain of morphology, I will apply two different approaches. The first one is based on traditional description: morphemes. The second one is based on noun phrases, which is, the custom of information structure, the division of a full NP: pronoun and affix. Using both approaches, I will ascertain which morphological forms typically appear in the S, A and O positions.

I will take a semantic approach discussing two different hierarchical categories: person and animacy. Using these two categories, I will investigate which ones typically appear in the S, A and O positions from a semantic perspective. The semantic dimension is intersected with other dimensions, as well.

On the syntactic level, I will analyse the grammatical roles in different clause types. In this study, I will concentrate on the comparison between alternative alignments. This notion begins with the question of how allosentences differ in function in discourse. Allosentences are morphosyntactic alternatives that express the same proposition (Lambrecht 1994). In principal, the rich morphosyntax in Surgut Khanty could offer a rich variation in allosentences. Allosentences, however, are difficult to find in real discourse. Instead of allosentences, I will compare the structures to each other as alignments.

In the framework of pragmatics, the semantic, syntactic and morphological levels are systematically combined in the studies of newness/givenness and topicality of information and also referent tracking. I will apply the theory of Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987) as a method of analysis in the present study. Employing PAS, I will extract the morphosyntactic and semantic tendencies, and their distribution in discourse in order to find out how formal notions can function in discourse. In this framework, I will analyse the information statuses and the formal notions on the discourse level, not at the clausal level. The relation between grammatical levels (morphology and syntax) and pragmatics will be analysed in order to see how each category – be it semantic, morphological, or syntactic – encodes information such as the newness/givenness of information and topicality.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

2.1 BACKGROUND

The theoretical framework of my dissertation covers the hypothesis that the system of grammatical relations in a language might be shaped by influences deriving from patterns of language usage. The main framework employs a so-called *discourse functional approach*, and the main method applied is the Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987, 2003). In this chapter, I will briefly explain the background of these concepts and take a look at previous research to which they have been applied, this will serve as a background to the present study.

2.1.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF DISCOURSE FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES

Functional approaches to morphosyntax have been favoured in recent decades. Various approaches have been proposed using the word ‘functional’. In this section, I will shortly discuss the functional approach in general and the basic approach which I employ in this study.

Among functionalistic views, the most influential and known may be Halliday’s approach. Even though functional approaches are different from each other, many of them are often easily confused with Halliday’s *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994). In fact, the term ‘functional grammar’ refers to Dik’s grammar theory (1981), even though it most often is reminiscent of Halliday’s. Generally, Dik’s *Functional Grammar*, Halliday’s *Systematic Functional Grammar* and Van Valin Jr.’s *Role and the Reference Grammar* might be most influential among functional grammars. In addition to these theories, the *discourse functional approach* (DFA)¹ has been developed after the 1970s into a clear direction².

¹DFA is also known as ‘west coast functionalism’ in speech (Michael Noonan 1999:11). This is not a technical term. It is rooted in geography because its main research centres are located on the west coast of the United States of America; for instance the University of Oregon, University of California Berkeley and University of California, Santa Barbara.

²Please note that the discourse functional approach is not a ‘school’ but a ‘direction’. Its researchers have engaged the same approaches, and the stream of DFA has been started as diverging from other linguistic streams and schools as certain directional approaches in 1970 and even today, DFA is expanding its field. One of the newest studies in the discourse functional approach is John Du Bois’s theory ‘Stance changes everything’ (University of California, Santa Barbara) in which he emphasises that stance can be diverse such as being sociological, linguistic, communicative and so

In the discourse functional approach, similar to Dik's functional grammar, communication is the primary focus for language (Cumming and Ono 1997). The discourse functional approach also has a typological dimension, Givón's functional-typological approach to syntax (e.g. 1983ab, 1984ab).

The main concept in this study is DFA and its aim is to find the interaction between discourse and grammar, and it is seen that grammar is shaped or 'emerged' (Hopper 1988) from discourse (Cumming and Ono 1997). The extreme argument for DFA might be Hopper's emergence of grammar (EOG)³ in which grammar is shaped in language usage.

Cumming and Ono (1997) categorize two goals of DFA: 1) a descriptive goal, that is, researchers describe the richness of grammatical resources, functions of the grammatical and the lexical alternations, and 2) an explanatory goal, which is extended and explained as universals and typology. In addition, I wish to note two important keywords of DFA: empiricism⁴ and discourse. All DFAs have adopted relatively empirical approaches (Noonan 1999: 23). Studying languages and grammars under the notion of discourse, not being restricted to clauses, and being based on data is characteristic to DFA. According to Du Bois (2003: 53), for example, '— it will become still more important to address argument structure in its fullest context of function, which is to say, in natural discourse.' In this sense, DFA can be seen as a response to general grammar (GB) since it does not take 'real language use', that is discourse and pragmatics, into consideration. The results of studies based on the discourse functional approach offer more and adequate data for their typology (Du Bois 2003).

In terms of methodological means, empiricism is linked to the tendency of appearance and patterns in texts, by which we can see the discourse motivation in relation to grammatical construction, because the data used in PAS studies clearly show repeating structural tendencies in discourse (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Chafe 1994, Du Bois et al. 2003). These concepts and methodology are based on the argument that 'grammar codes best what the speakers do most' (Du Bois 1985: 363). The basic arguments in the present study are linked to the concept of EOG. In this concept, grammar is shaped in language use:

— the Emergence of Grammar (EOG) attitude, has come to view grammar as the name for a vaguely defined set of sedimented (i.e.,

on. In his new theory, Du Bois seems to concentrate on a communicative phase more than in PAS (e.g. Du Bois 2007).

³Some researchers see EOG as a drastic concept because it renounces the traditional concept of grammar. For example, Givón criticised that EOG is too extreme for the notion that grammar is in natural language (Givón 1999, Helasuo 2009). This study also is not one-sidedly based on EOG because of its extreme stance.

⁴ Note, that the term empiricism here indicates data-based research, and it excludes elicited and translated examples, even by native speakers.

grammaticalized) ‘recurrent partials’ whose status is constantly being renegotiated in speech and which cannot be distinguished in principle from strategies for building discourses. (Hopper 1988: 118.)

2.1.2 DISCOURSE FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES IN URALIC LANGUAGE STUDIES

Until now, there has been no widespread use of discourse-based approaches in Uralic language studies, which has traditionally been focused on historical-comparative methodology. There are, however, some basic distinctive features and concepts that can link DFA to Uralic studies: empirical studies are typical in both, and one of their important aims is a description of languages strongly based on data. DFA started from data-based studies on indigenous languages (e.g. Mithun e.g. 1976, 2001, Chafe e.g. 1961, 1967, 1970, 1993b, 2004; see also Laury 2010 on Chafe’s works). Uralic studies similarly have a long and strong tradition on data-based fieldwork. Both approaches represent empirical and descriptive studies, offering “documentation” of linguistic phenomena.

The aim of this study is to shed light on morphosyntax in a Uralic context from a new perspective, through the morphosyntax of Khanty. This new perspective may offer new results on long-standing questions in the field. For example, Du Bois (1987) explains one of the main theories of DFA (Preferred Argument Structure theory; see section 2.3.2), saying that it offers new types of empirical findings. For example, the existential clause in Finnish – a cognate related language of Khanty – has attracted the attention of scholars in the field, and many opinions have been voiced in various studies. Helasvuo’s studies, that utilized PAS (2001, 2003), offered a new point of view on existential clauses based on the function of noun phrases in discourse: existential NPs⁵ introduce new information in a full NP, whereas other subjects represent given information, mainly in the first and second-person pronouns. An existential NP does not retain topicality in discourse, whereas other subjects retain tracking long in discourse. In Khanty, for example, the function of the object conjugation is one of long-standing interest (see 4.3.1 on the object conjugation).

2.2 INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND INFORMATION FLOW

Information structure is an important concept in discourse analysis (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983, Östman www.benjamins.nl/online/hop) and also an essential notion in DFA. The concept of information structure, under the

⁵Existential NP is a term used by Helasvuo. There are many other terms which refer to the same phenomenon.

“communicative dynamism” of elements contributing to a sentence within the framework of a “functional sentence perspective”, began with the Prague school before World War II. Halliday was the first Western scholar to give these studies attention and he was influenced by them (Vachek 1966, Firbas 1974, Brown and Yule 1983: 153-154, Östman www.benjamins.nl/online/hop).

Many scholars have discussed the concepts related to information categories and their status, and thus there are various terms related to these issues. The best known terms may be *information structure* and *information flow*.

Information structure explains how different morphosyntactic forms are marked according to their pragmatic functions in discourse, such as highlighting, de-emphasising, contrast of topic and focus, newness and givenness, as well as definiteness and indefiniteness. Devices of expressing information, such as morphosyntax and phonology, differ from language to language. In other words, the pragmatic function of certain/particular linguistic forms maps onto these devices.

The term ‘information structure’ was coined by Halliday in his 1967 article, defining it as:

The English clause, it is suggested, can be regarded as the domain of three main areas of syntactic choices: transitivity, mood and theme. [- -] Theme is concerned with the information structure of the clause; with the status of the elements not as participants in extralinguistic processes but as components of the message; with the relation of what is being said to what has gone before in the discourse and its internal organization into an act of communication (cf. the ‘organization of utterance’ as syntactic level in Daneš 1964) (Halliday 1967c: 199.)

[T]he distribution of information specifies a distinct constituent structure on a different plane: this information structure is then mapped on to the constituent structure as specified in terms of sentences, clauses and so forth, neither determining the other. (Halliday 1967c: 200.)

(The underlined concepts have been marked by the author, SS.)

Halliday defined information structure as realized phonologically by tonality and its distribution in text into tone groups (ibid. 200, 203). We can note that Halliday analysed English, which has less morphosyntactic devices in information structuring than for example, Khanty: it seems natural that he at first treated phonology in terms of information structure. In languages where changing morphosyntactic patterns also changes the proposition (e.g. English), the phonological alternatives assign information categories more often. In contrast to these languages, Khanty has rich resources of

information structuring in its morphosyntax. It is worth examining the phonetics or phonology of Khanty as well, however its phonology or rhetoric features would be sidelined because the information structure can also be realized in its morphology and syntax (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Lambrecht 1994, Chafe 1994, Helasvuo 2001, 2003). The main focus of the present study is on the relationship between morphosyntax and pragmatics.

Lambrecht (1994: 3–5) defines information structure as a component of grammar, more specifically sentence grammar. According to him, information structure is a determining factor in the formal structuring of sentences and is not connected to psychological phenomena, which do not correlate in grammatical form. His interest is targeted on discourse pragmatics (vs. conversational pragmatics), that is, why one meaning can be expressed by two or more sentence forms. He has proposed the definition of information structure as follows:

INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptional representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts (ibid. 5).

The information structure of a sentence is the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse (ibid. 5).

Lambrecht emphasized that discourse pragmatics, including information structure, is a part of grammar, even though Chomsky (1980: 59ff), for example, is not clear about the notion of pragmatic competence since he assumed that there are aspects of grammatical form which require pragmatic explanation (ibid. 9, 11).

Nowadays, information structure has been approached from many different perspectives. For example, Chafe applies it psychologically and cognitively, mainly discussing the way the content is transmitted, unlike Halliday, who discusses something other than what is transmitted (Halliday 1967c: 199-200, Chafe 1976: 27, 1994, also Lambrecht 1994: 3).

The term information flow includes ‘the movement of ideas (= movement in the activation status like active, semiactive, inactive consciousness.) into and out of the consciousness of speakers and hearers, changes in clause level and discourse level topics, manifestations of foregrounding and backgrounding, and phenomena involved in the identifiability (of “definiteness”) of referents’ (Chafe 1993a: 33).

Information flow seems to be known as the conceptual tools employed by discourse-function grammarians. The term is also widely used in relation to ‘communicative dynamism’ ‘givenness’ ‘topicality’ ‘thematicity’ and ‘focus’ (Cumming and Ono 1997: 115), which are also the concerns of information

structure. According to Chafe (1994: 161), the term information flow can be explained as dynamic changes in thought and language. The change, which is called flow, involves changes in the status of information. The concept is based on the primary function of language for conveying information from speaker to addressee, along with the accessibility of information or the participants' point of view. The dynamic, mental states of the speaker and addressee during discourse production and consumption is generally seen as a cognitive matter (Cumming and Ono 1997: 116).

In previous studies, the units of information structuring were either a clause (e.g. Daneš 1964, Givón 1984, Lambrecht 1994) or intonation unit (e.g. Chafe 1994, Du Bois 1987). An intonation unit is defined as a phonological unit that is seen as a basic unit of information processing in human discourse. Phonologically, it is uttered under a single coherent intonation contour (Chafe 1980, Givón 1983b). Previous studies have shown that many intonation units are formed by a clause, or at least a grammatical phrase. As a result, in many studies, an intonation unit and a clause are the same (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Matsumoto 2000). The analysis used in the present study is based on clauses, as my main concern is the relationship between morphosyntax and pragmatics. A clause is a grammatical unit whereas an intonation unit is a phonological and semantic unit.

Another noteworthy difference between scholars is discourse-based (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Chafe 1994) versus clause-based studies (e.g. Halliday 1967ab). The present study will analyse entire texts based on discourse, not just clause-level entities. This is because the immediate choice of morphosyntactic form derives from the context as a whole, not simply from the contrast of 'topic-focus' in the clause in question. In fact, the simple topic-focus contrast in a clause cannot be known only on the basis of clause-level analysis either, since the topic and focus are known only on the basis of context. Without context, the hearer cannot know what topic or focus is. Of course, the information structuring of elicited examples might only be explained by a (created) clause if a scholar adds possible context to it. The present study will only discuss linguistic data or true speech, not elicited examples since only genuinely used language can reveal the true function of languages.

At this point I will note the use of terms. I will use the term information flow, even though the definitions of both it and information structure are varied and vague, and consequently the difference between them is also ambiguous. The reason to use the term *flow* is to avoid misunderstanding. The term information structure easily evokes clause-level analysis, not discourse-based analysis. Even if the term information structure also signifies discourse-based analysis, the reader can easily misunderstand and limit the meaning of the term. Using the term information flow may possibly make it easier to understand that it contains both sentence and discourse-level concepts.

2.3 ALLOSENTENCES

2.3.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Information structure formally expresses the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in discourse. To understand the mechanism of information structuring, it is essential to find pairs of sentence patterns that are semantically equivalent to each other and grammatically appropriate but formally/grammatically and pragmatically divergent. These pairs might be, for example, passive and active clauses, ergative and accusative clauses, different word orders, choice of noun phrase types and so on. Daneš (1964) calls these sentence patterns *allo-sentences*, and following Daneš, Lambrecht calls pairs of such sentences *allosentences*. The different pragmatic functions that the allosentences may present are emphasis, topic–focus contrast, new-given information contrast, and so on. These pragmatic functions are categorized as information statuses or categories, and according to Lambrecht’s definition, information structures can only be analysed on the basis of pairs of allosentences. Lambrecht gives a simple example from English (Lambrecht 1994: 17):

(2.1) Simple example of allosentences.

- a) She likes Germans.
- b) It is Germans that she likes.

(Lambrecht 1994: 17)

The canonical SVO sentence 2.1(a) is unmarked in terms of the argument focus, whereas the clefted counterpart 2.1(b) is marked for this feature (Lambrecht 1994: 6–35).

In addition to finding allosentences by analysing the variations in the organisation of an utterance, we can find the difference between the sentence forms which are not dependent on pragmatics but on grammar, and the sentence forms which have different discourse functions and the choice of sentence form as allosentences depends on pragmatics, not only on grammar. (Daneš 1964)

The variation of allosentences is different in different languages. They are ‘non-grammatical, but systematic meanings of its (= sentence) organization’ (Daneš 1964: 229–230), and Daneš calls this phenomenon ‘suprasyntactics’. Daneš (1964) shows that word order is constitutive in the Slavic languages, whereas in English, changing word order also changes grammatical roles. If grammar defines the grammatical resources of structuring information but the language does not have them, intonation is then a typical resource which allows for discourse function and allosentences, as in English (e.g. Halliday 1967bc). One of the aims of the present study is to find the resources of allosentences in Khanty and their functions in Khanty discourse.

Note that the terms *allosentence* and *alignment* are not the same. An alignment is the comparison of properties of arguments across constructions and consists of grammatical and constructional alternations which can potentially convey the proposition of one event (Malchukov et al. 2010). An allosentence is based on a truth condition, whereas alignment is based on the syntactic relationship between arguments aligned with syntactic position. The allosentences in the present study convey the same proposition of an event, but are pragmatically and formally divergent. In contrast, the alternations of an alignment do not have to convey the same proposition of the same event semantically, but the structures of alternations can potentially convey the same proposition of the same event if they contain the same words semantically. For example (2.2):

(2.2) Allosentences and alternations of alignment

Allosentences:

- a) She gave her a book.
- b) She gave a book to her.

>> These clauses convey the same proposition of the same event.

Alternations of alignment:

- a) Any dative shift
- b) Any dative structure

(Examples are invented by author)

It is not an easy task to find allosentences in true discourse (at least in the data of this study), thus my dissertation is built on the study of alignments, not allosentences.

Khanty is rich in morphosyntactic variation (cf. Chapter 3), resulting in various pairs of allosentences and alignments. The scale of the difference between allosentences and alignments spans from the noun phrase types to the syntactic level. Even the difference in the noun phrase types (see 2.5.1) shows different discourse functions. The rich, morphosyntactic variation in Surgut Khanty present interesting alignment pairs in, for example, conjugations (subject vs. object conjugations), voice (active vs. passive), ditransitivity (dative vs. dative shift) and the case of the subject (nominative vs. locative).

2.3.2 PREFERRED STRUCTURES IN DISCOURSE

How a speaker chooses a particular linguistic form from amongst allosentences in real language usage depends on discourse. Certain patterns of the interaction between information and grammar tend to recur consistently, depending on which grammatically possible alternatives are preferred in discourse. Despite various surface configurations which are

acceptable under elicitation conditions, there are some Preferred Argument Structures in discourse. In other words, even though an event might be expressed by various linguistic means, the speakers tend to use the same argument structure. Even though some forms are considered free variations, one might be more appropriate than others, since their appropriateness, in a given context, must be completely on the same level if they really are in free variation (Brown and Yule 1983, Du Bois 1987). This is because discourse motivates grammatical form. Typical repeated patterns are found, for example, in the choice of noun types. A full NP tends to represent new information and focus, whereas a pronoun or zero anaphora tends to represent information and topic given. In regard to syntax, the passive is used for topicalization in many languages. (E.g. Givón 1983ab, 1984a, Du Bois 1987, Chafe 1994, Lambrecht 1994.)

Influenced by Daneš's *theory of utterance*, which "postulate[s] a special branch of linguistics dealing with non-grammatical elements and rules of organization of utterance together with the grammatical one" (Daneš 1964: 230), Du Bois proposes the existence of Preferred Argument Structures in discourse (Du Bois 1987). PAS is characteristically part of the discourse functional approach and follows the same kind of ideology as Paul Hopper's *Emergent grammar* (1988) and Paul Grice's *Co-operative principle* (1975). The basic concept of PAS is that information structure and flow are multi-layered systems in the same way as languages. Based on this concept, Du Bois mapped the distribution of grammar, semantics and information status in text in order to see the mechanisms of grammaticalization in discourse. In this framework, Du Bois tried to study local context in order to see more global patterns in discourse. In regard to PAS, Du Bois has tried to explain how grammar and discourse are involved with each other. PAS examines the subject of a transitive verb (A), the subject of an intransitive verb (S) and the object (O) on the basis of morphology (noun phrase types), semantics and pragmatics. He originally tried to ascertain the mechanism of split ergative choice in Maya. Using the concept of allosentences, he compared the ergative to its counterpart, the accusative, in discourse. As a result, he found that the motivations of the use of the ergative in grammaticalization are based on: 1) lexical dimension, 2) pragmatic dimension / familiarity of agent as information and 3) pragmatic dimension / topic continuity.

The concept of PAS can be seen in Halliday (1967c: 216): 'This particular alignment of roles would probably be generally considered to represent the favourite clause type, at least in effective clauses.' (Section has been underlined by the author, SS.) Lambrecht also uses the term *preferred clause construction* which refers to the same notion that is related to syntactic patterns which code propositions with a topic-comment relationship between the subject and predicate (Lambrecht 1986 cited from 1994). In Lambrecht's framework, which is influenced by Daneš's theory of utterance, allosentences are analysed as resources of information structuring, in other words, the study of allosentences and information structuring also reveal the

functions of morphosyntactic forms and the grammaticalisation of functions in discourse.

Through research and analyses applying PAS, certain ‘preferred’ argument structures are found in discourse. In other words, certain argument structures appear under certain pragmatic situations. These ‘Preferred Argument Structures’ form certain tendencies. In PAS, Du Bois provides evidence that some argument structures in discourse are highly preferred over others. The Preferred Argument Structures found in his data are formulated as four constraints. These four constraints are divided into two corresponding categories including grammatical and pragmatic constraints (Adapted from Du Bois 1987: 829):

Grammatical categories:

1. “One Lexical Argument Constraint” – Avoid more than one lexical argument per clause
2. “Non-lexical A Constraint” – Avoid lexical agents

Pragmatic categories:

3. “One New Argument Constraint” – Avoid new lexical mentions in a role.
4. “Given A Constraint” – Avoid more than One New Argument per clause.

Before PAS, Givón also proposed a similar hypothesis which he called “One chunk per clause principle” (1984a: 258–63). Du Bois added evidence from the Sacapultec language to Givón’s hypotheses (see above). After PAS, Chafe proposed a “One new idea constraint” (Chafe 1994: 108–109).

The parallelism of these grammatical and pragmatic categories can be explained in previous studies on discourse analysis. As shown in the constraints listed above, lexical arguments typically encode new information (1, 3), and non-lexical arguments, such as pronouns and ellipsis, encode given information (2, 4). 1 and 3 can be concentrated by combining 2 and 4. If the speaker avoids new lexical As, it automatically means avoiding clauses with two new/lexical core arguments because there are only two core arguments (A and O) in a clause (Haspelmath 2006: 910–911).

Later studies on PAS also show that this preference is consistent in many other languages, too (e.g. Du Bois et al. 2003, Matsumoto 2000). Exceptions have been explained through pragmatics, which sounds natural, since the idea of PAS is to explain the phenomena of morphosyntax through pragmatics. Exceptions stem from, for example, differences in discourse genre (e.g. Kärkkäinen 1996, Clancy 2003, Kampf 2003) or from (local) cultural differences (e.g. Hofling 2003). In other words, these differences are a result of differences in the speaker’s strategies, which depend on the purpose of communication (e.g. Martin 2003, Hofling 2003, Sosa 2009). The strategy is structured by ‘a construction which is used to express a particular

combination of semantic structure and information packing function, that is further distinguished by certain characteristics of a grammatical form that can be defined in a crosslinguistically consistent fashion.’ (Croft in prep./lecture 2015). These aforementioned studies maintain that PAS can be used to approach (potential) linguistic universals and also language-specific differences (Haspelmath 2006: 912). In this study, I will present my evidence on the existence of preferred grammatical patterns in Khanty discourse and also try to explain the motivations of both preferred patterns and exceptional utterances in discourse.

Occasionally, PAS seems to be misunderstood as its main point is formed by the four constraints in discourse (see Table 1). Many studies based on PAS aim to experiment with these four constraints in different languages (see examples in Haspelmath 2006: 909–910). One misunderstanding is that PAS would illustrate strong tendencies but not offer rigid rules in discourse. For example, PAS has been criticized for the fact that there is a violation of one or more of the four constraints in data, but they remain exceptions in tendencies. PAS is based on frequency not on case findings. In addition, these constraints are the result of the study which applied PAS. The theory itself says that “there are some Preferred Argument Structures in discourse”. Related to this criticism, Du Bois made his theories somewhat more lenient in his later study as follows: “To understand grammar, find out how it is used” (Du Bois 2003). For the starting point of my study, I will utilize his work as an umbrella theory and apply its method, not the constraints. The present study will begin with the hypothesis that Surgut Khanty discourse also presents some ‘Preferred Argument Structures’ under certain pragmatic situations. Depending on the Preferred Argument Structures, the study will also be statistical (see 2.6.1)

PAS is not only a method for finding statistics but it also offers an important starting point to understand the interaction between pragmatics and grammar (e.g. Haspelmath 2006: 912). Consequently, PAS helps resolve long-standing questions involving particular languages, for example, PAS-based studies in the mechanism of the split ergative (Sakapultek/Maya; Du Bois 1987) and functions of an existential clause (in Finnish; Helasvuo 2001 and 2003).

2.4 SUMMARY

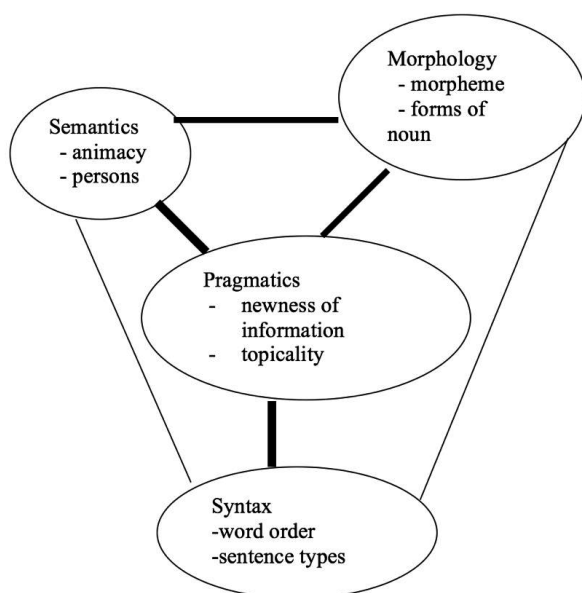
To sum up, I will analyse the formal encodings of functions in discourse rather than in clauses, in other words, information packing in morphosyntactic and semantic variations in discourse. In attempting to understand the use of language, previous studies have tended to show stable correlations between grammatical devices and discourse context in which they appear. Givón called it ‘the distribution of grammar in text’ (1990: 893),

expressing devices of information, such as morphosyntax and phonology, differ from language to language.

Mainly the model of the method derives from Preferred Argument Structure and in this framework, morphology (noun phrase types of referents as lexical NPs, pronouns or zero anaphora), semantics (animacy and person) and pragmatics (information status as new or given information, referentiality as referent tracking, topicality) will be studied (See 2.5). I will map the distribution of each category and configure it with a pragmatic frame. The tendencies found in the distribution can be called Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987, 2003) in Khanty discourse, and they form an “emerged grammar” (cf. Hopper 1988) as a set of segments since the more often a form is used in a certain function, the more grammaticalized it is in discourse. Studies on different morphosyntactic forms are also studies on allosentences. Here, as in Lambrecht (1994), the function of allosentences – in other words multiple structures which express the same proposition – is of primary theoretical importance (Lambrecht 1994: 9).

Statistics based on PAS show us multilayered, potential motivations to the grammaticalization of core roles in discourse. Among these motivations, a pragmatic notion will be the most central in this study because the tendencies in morphology and semantics have been examined in many languages, and these tendencies are quite similar to each other. In fact, the trial analysis in my data and previous studies (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999ab, 2001 and Filchenko 2010) also show typologically expected results. Moreover, the relationship between pragmatics, semantics and morphology, or the analysis at the sentence level, has gained more attention than the relationship between pragmatics and syntax in many of these previous studies (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999ab, 2011).

Figure 1 Interference between categories



2.5 METHODS

Grammatical devices, which make variations of alternatives, are found in the clause structure and constituent NPs. A distinction is made between three basic coding strategies for syntactic functions: nominal case marking, cross-referencing/agreement and word order (Blake and Mallinson 1981, Andrews 1985: 71, Croft 1991, Helasvuo 2001: 33). The present study defines a clause as an independent linguistic form with one finite verb. A finite verb is the centre of a clause, and the parts of the clause are related to each other. Finiteness in the Uralic languages is expressed by personal verbal inflection. (E.g. Karlsson 1998: 120; Tallerman 1998: 63–64; ISK § 864.)

2.5.1 NOUN PHRASE TYPES OF REFERENTIAL FORMS

Noun phrase types of arguments are classified according to their realization as lexical, pronominal or affixal (zero anaphora). A lexical realization ('mention' under Du Bois 1987) consists of a full NP with its cross-referential affix of a finite verb for the subject, possibly also for the object; pronominal realization consists of an independent personal, demonstrative or indefinite⁶ pronoun with its cross-referential affix in the finite verb for the subject, possibly also for the object; an affixal realization consists of a cross-referential affix alone (2.3).

⁶The Khanty indefinite pronoun *məta*, *mətali* 'some' is used in both affirmative and negative clauses, and it can appear as both an attribute and the head of a noun phrase. Indefinite pronouns are counted as pronouns when they appear as the head of a noun phrase.

<i>ənəl</i>	<u><i>məta</i></u>	<i>mək-kə</i>	<i>täj-tə</i>	<i>kim</i>
big	some	land-TRA	have-PRS.PTCP	possibility

əntem
NEG
(A:58)
'It is impossible to call the land large.'

<i>əj</i>	<u><i>mətali-t</i></u>	<i>memi-t-nə</i>	<i>nöq</i>	<i>liw-at</i> ,
one	some-PL	bear-PL-LOC	up	eat-PASS.PRT-3PL

(A: 58)
'Some of them were eaten by the bears.'

(2.3) Noun phrase types of referential forms in Surgut Khanty

a) Lexical realization

t'i wǎλ-t-in əj mətə λatnə pit'əŋkəli
that be-PTCP.PRS.3DU one some time-LOC little.bird

jastə-λ:

say-PRS.3SG

'When they live like that, one day the little bird says.'

b) Pronominal realization

ma ɪλ əλint-λ-əm.
I down lay-PRS.1SG

'I will lie down.'

c) Affixal realization

sar ma wörəp nɪk mǎwəttayə
forward 1SG trousers down.to.bank lower

jǎŋq-λ-əm.

leave.to.do.something-PRS-1SG

'I will leave to lower my trousers down [into the river].

(A66)

See the Chapter 3 about more grammatical features.

2.5.2 ANIMACY AND PERSON

As in PAS theory, each argument in my data is classified according to inherent semantic⁷ classes as persons (first, second, third) and according to animacy (animate – inanimate). In many information structure studies, the animate category is further divided into human versus other animates (e.g. Du Bois 1987). In the present study, however, I omitted the distinction between human and animals since animals in Khanty folklore tales can act and speak like humans. The distinction of animacy depends on the text genre. In addition, body parts will not be counted as objects distinct from a living being (e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1984: 726, Laury 1997: 247–248). Instead, they too will be counted as animate objects. These distinctions depend on the context, anyway.

⁷ They are included in semantics, based on the theory of Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987).

Nominal forms of verbs have been classified as undefined/grammatical and omitted from the quantitative analysis in the present study.

2.5.3 GRAMMATICAL ROLES

Each argument in my data is classified according to its grammatical role: A (= subject of a transitive verb), S (= subject of an intransitive verb and non-verbal predicate) and O (= object), oblique, agent and subject of passives. I distinguish the core arguments as A, S, O, agent and subject of passives and concentrate on them in this study.

Even though the classification of A, S and O were originally used to describe the split ergative system (Dixon 1972), I will use this terminology as it is a simple way to show the difference between subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs. In previous studies on information flow and information structure, the different discourse profiles amongst the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs, on the one hand, and objects, on the other, have been shown: transitive subjects rarely occur as full NPs and represent new information to the discourse, whereas intransitive subjects and objects are uttered as full NPs and they represent new information more often than transitive subjects (e.g. Du Bois 1985, 1987; Helasvuo 2001). In other words, grammatical roles and discourse patterns tend to correlate with each other. In addition to the grammatical roles based on Dixon and PAS, objects are a category in the present study as LEX+V. LEX+V means that the object appears in verbal inflection/objective conjugation with an overt lexical argument. In Khanty, the appearance of a lexical object is not obligatory when the verb is inflected in the object conjugation (more about the object conjugation in Chapter 3).

I will describe adjuncts in pragmatics as necessary, because some adjuncts at the clausal level cannot be removed without the structural identity of the rest of the construction being affected. The important unit in pragmatics, is discourse, not a clause, thus the 'construction' affected by the removal of adjuncts, is discourse, not clauses. Removing 'adjuncts' could affect, for example, the break or flow of discourse. Adverbials that have the role of recipient in a three-place Khanty clauses will also be discussed as they are syntactically adverbs but function as a core argument. (See the Chapter 3 more about the grammatical features.)

2.5.4 WORD ORDER

In a great deal of literature on typology, word order is one of the basic coding strategies for syntactic functions and one of the most important resources in information structuring and flowing (Givón 2001:234). For example, in some languages, such as Ute, word order is controlled by topic continuity in discourse (Givón 1984a). In the present study, word order will not be included in the main analysis, as the morphological means in Khanty play a

central role in information structure. My analysis excludes the word order of questions, negatives and imperatives, because they tend to function differently from other types of clauses crosslinguistically (e.g. Dahl 1979, Payne 1985).

2.5.5 PRAGMATICS

The morphosyntax in Surgut Khanty offers a rich variation of alignments (see Chapter 3). The relationship between clause types and pragmatics will be discussed in the analysis of pragmatics. The analysis on the abovementioned features will mainly be done quantitatively, because of the fact that the Preferred Argument Structure theory is a set of empirical generalisations (Durie 2003). The qualitative analysis is also based on the quantitative analysis. In drawing a conclusion, I will look at the correlation between grammatical devices and discourse context, that is, the distribution of grammatical features in discourse, in order to understand the use of language in communication (Givón 1990: 893). In other words, a pragmatic perspective will be used for configuration of all basic analyses.

According to Lambrecht (1994: 6), the most important categories of information structure are:

- 1) presupposition and assertion
- 2) identification and activation
- 3) topic and focus

1) is recognised as being related to the concept of new/given information, 2) is related to the concept of definite/indefinite information. Some previous studies have confused these three different categories. The definitions of them have also differed, depending on the researcher. In this chapter, I will sum up previous studies and present the definitions which are used in this study.

The following sections will define the key terms in the pragmatic analysis in the present study.

2.5.5.1 *New and given information*

In comparison to the Prague school, Halliday brought a new point of view in his study as new and given information. Generally speaking, new information is what an addressor believes is not known to an addressee, and given information is what an addressor believes is known to an addressee (Halliday 1967bc).

In the present study, the noun phrases in the data were classified as new or given information. I then compared these informational classes to each other in order to map the information structure related to grammatical devices. The concepts of given (“old” under Brown and Yule) and new

information are useful for explaining linguistic phenomena such as intonation, word order and the use of anaphoric devices (Brown and Yule 1983: 37).

It is not possible to give a clear-cut division of newness versus givenness of information. Many scholars have presented different definitions of the newness/givenness of information (e.g. Halliday 1967ab, Chafe 1976 and 1994, Clark and Haviland 1977, Prince 1981, Givón 1984a, Martin 2003). The differences can be roughly categorized according to the following features:

- 1) If the information is carried by noun phrases, or verbs or clauses
- 2) If the cognition is the speaker's or also the listener's
- 3) If it is a binary or more precise division
- 4) If the knowledge or cognition is dependent on the context

The definition of the information status in the present study will be based on noun phrases because it is easier and clearer to decide on the newness or givenness of nominal reference to an entity or the quantity of entities in a single clause rather than those of a particular sequence of verb+adverb+complement constituents. Ordinarily, verbs do not refer back to a single event since events are characteristically ephemeral and unique, while new nominal appearances follow cohesion in discourse. Many referents remain active for a long period in discourse whereas the event and action are transiently activated. For example, the speaker and the interlocutors of discourse remain active in discourse. (Du Bois 1987: 816–817, Chafe 1994: 67–68) In addition, verbs in Khanty can convey more information than only action or the event: they also convey information on noun phrases, which the subject and the object represent, on the basis of the use of subject and object conjugation.

The perspective from which the situation and information is observed also divides opinions. Some scholars only take the speaker's cognition into consideration whereas others also look at the listener. For example, Chafe emphasises the speaker's evaluation of the listener's cognition and knowledge, whereas Clark and Haviland consider the listener's role important based on Grice's "co-operative principle" (Chafe 1994, Clark and Haviland 1977). I believe that the perspective relies on the text genre. For example, in narrative discourse, a single speaker controls the situation during the whole duration of speech, whereas the role of the hearer is passive and he is relatively silent (Givón 1984: 239). The present study will focus on the speaker's perspective, which has more importance on the data and the hypothesis.

According to Givón, "Still, the information in the clause is seldom 'totally new' or 'totally old'. Either extreme is informationally unpalatable[.] 'because "(T)otally old ('predictable') information is useless to the hearer, offering no *motivation* for attending. Totally new information is equally useless, offering no *grounding point* for information *cohere* Propositions (or clauses) in

coherent discourse thus tend to be informational hybrids, carrying both old and new information.” (Givón 1990: 897-898.) Some scholars divide information binarily (e.g. Du Bois 1987), and others divide it more precisely (e.g. Chafe 1976 and 1994, Prince 1981). In the present study, I will apply the binary division, mainly for its clearness and simplicity.

‘Activation’ of information is an important key in information structuring. According to Chafe (1994: 71–81) the information can roughly be divided into two groups: that which is newly introduced to the listener and information the listener already has been given. In reality, the information the listener already has is vast and only a little bit of it is in the listener’s mind at the moment of communication. Other information is left as peripheral. Information the listener already has even needs to be activated in his mind at the point of communication in which the information is uttered again. The transference of brand new information is the most costly to the listener in cognition and the information activated at that moment is seen as less costly. Chafe refers to the distinction of new/given information as activation cost.

Depending on the activation cost, Chafe characterizes newness/giveness in a conversation is that the former is newly activated and the latter is already active. Givenness may be established either linguistically or extralinguistically. To put it simply, an identifiable referent as given information is that which the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify with. Identifiable referents are a) assumed to be already shared, directly or indirectly by the listener, b) verbalised in a sufficiently identifying way and c) contextually salient.

In addition to binary distinction, Chafe adds a third category: semiactive/accessible. Semiactive/accessible information is characterized as that which has already been activated but is not active at the moment. (Chafe 1994: 72, 81, 93.) The present study will use the binary division and with new and given information. The given information in this dissertation will be *semiactive/accessible*, under Chafe’s definitions. In this context, the point of division is not knowledge, but cognition.

Here, I will show some example of information status from the Surgut Khanty data (2.4):

(2.4) Information status in Surgut Khanty discourse

1. məŋ wǎλ-tə tǎŋi-nə məŋ-əw
 1PL live-PTCP.PRS place-LOC land-POSS<SG.1PL
- imi-jǎw ən at²-im-nat wǎλ-λ-ew.
 woman-river father-POSS.SG<1PL-COMINS live-PRS.1PL
 ‘We live in our land, the Woman-river, with our father.’

2. at'i-m pan ənəl op-iw
 father-POSS.SG<1SG and big sister-POSS.SG<1PL
- qut'əŋ-nə wǎλ-λ-ew,
 near.place-LOC live-PRS-1PL
- wöŋ-əm-nat.
 brother.in.law-POSS.SG<1SG-COMINS
 'We live with my father, our sister and my brother in law.'
3. t'ut owt'i-nə os məŋ qut'ŋ-iw-nən
 such top-LOC also 1PL near.place-POSS.SG<1PL-LOC
- wǎλ-λ ma məñi-λam.
 live-PRS.3SG 1SG brother-POSS.PL<1SG
 'Also my brothers live near us.'
4. ma ürəkk-am os wät məñi tǎj-λ-əm.
 1SG addition-POSS.SG<1SG also five brother have-PRS-1SG
 'In addition to me, I have five brothers.'
-
5. məñi-λam it juγ önt-nə wǎλ-λ-ət.
 brother-POSS.PL<1SG now tree inside-LOC live-PRS.3PL
 'My brothers now live in a forest.'
6. quλ-wǎjəγ kən[ç]-min wǎλ-λ-ət.
 fish-animal hunt-GER live-PRS-3PL
 'They live by hunting and fishing.'
7. at'em uč pɣərtə-λ-ət.
 father-POSS.SG<1SG PTCL help-PRS-3PL
 'They help my father.'
- (A56)

In (2.4), the referent 'my father' is introduced in line 1 as a new referent and new information in the discourse. In line 2, it already appears as given information since it has already been uttered in the preceding discourse, line 1. In lines 3 and 4, the referents 'my brothers', 'our sisters' and 'my brother-in-law' are introduced as new referents and information in the discourse, whereas the referent 'my father' makes no new appearance. In the omitted discourse between the line 4 and 5, the referent 'my father' is also absent; here only appearances of the referents 'I' and 'my brothers' are attested. After the long break, the referent 'my father' appears in the line 7. Here the referent is no longer new information to the listeners, but it is not activated at the moment of the utterance. This case can be called *semiactive* in Chafe's terms. In the present study, it is defined as given information, by contrast.

The referents as ‘our sisters’ and ‘my brother-in-law’ don’t appear repeatedly in the discourse. These referents are left as peripheral information.

2.5.5.2 Definiteness

The definiteness and the newness/givenness of information are closely related domains. Definite information is usually already uttered, given information and indefinite information is often newly uttered, new information. However, correspondence does not rule all situations. For example (2.5):

(2.5) Definiteness and givenness of information

1. əj λat-nə əj imi wǎλλ.
 one time-LOC one woman be.PST.3SG
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a (married) woman.’

2. t̥u wǎλ-t-aλ-nə əj n̥ewremli
 that live-PTCL.PRS-3SG-LOC small child

 tǎjə-λ.
 have-PRS.3SG
 ‘While living so, she has a child.’

-

3. ɔntəλ-nə nǎməks-əλ,
 inside-LOC think-PRS.3SG
 ‘She thinks to herself.’

4. t̥et̥et̥e-m qāt-nam n̥ürəγtə-λ-əm.
 grandfather-POSS.SG<1SG home-APPR run-PRS.1SG
 ‘I will run to my grandfather’s.’

(B1B)

Chafe insists that given information is knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance (Chafe 1976: 30). In this context, “my grandfather” (2.5) can be definite because of the personal pronominal dependent, but the referent can also be new since it is not in the consciousness of the listener at the moment of utterance and is new in context. However, the referent is not new in terms of world knowledge.

2.5.5.3 Topicality

As it is with newness of information, the definition of topicality also is divergent amongst scholars. Additionally, domains such as newness/givenness, definiteness and topicality are closely related to one another. For example, Halliday points out that “—what is focal is ‘new’ information”, even though he explains that the functions of “newness/givenness” are not the same as those of topic (according to him, *theme*) and focus (according to him, *rheme*). (Halliday 1967c: 204–205.)

The Prague school tradition, for example, divides a clause into topic and non-topic components (e.f. Firbas 1966, Halliday 1967bc, Kuno 1972). The point of departure for the present study, is based on text and focused on topicality in discourse. Givón argues that the discussion of topicality at the level of a single event or state is meaningless. His argumentation is followed by the fact that human discourse is multi-propositional and thematically coherent. Thematic coherence of discourse across a clause chain means continuity and recurrence of referents, and the main referents amongst all referents are topics. (Givón 1990: 902.)

A speaker in discourse focuses on different topics at different times, moving from one topic to another. In other words, one discourse can have several topics and they can be different from each other in their level of topicality. In many cases, a discourse can be divided into several smaller segments with shorter storylines. Each segment can have its own topic, differing from the primary topic of the whole discourse. Such a topic that is topical in a certain segment of the discourse is called *local topic* or *episodic topic* in the present study. I will show a short example from the Surgut Khanty data. In the discourse (2.5), the main participants are brothers: the eldest, the middle and the youngest brothers. In the forest, they found that they had forgotten fire at home. At first, the eldest brother went to ask a man with a long beard for fire, then the middle brother tried to get fire. Since both of them had no success in getting fire, the youngest brother went up to the man with a long beard (2.6):

(2.6) Local/episodic topics in Surgut Khanty discourse

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|--------------|-----------|--|
| 1. | əj | jəysat | wǎλ-λ-ət. | | |
| | one | brothers | live-PRS-3PL | | |
| | | | | | ‘One brothers live.’ |
| 2. | əj | λat-nə | wǒnt-a | mən-ət, | wǒnt |
| | one | time-LOC | forest-LAT | go-PST3PL | forest |
| | | | | | |
| | | pətay-a. | | | |
| | | end-LAT | | | |
| | | | | | ‘Once, they went to the forest, to the end of the forest.’ |

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3. t'äqa tüwət jörəγλ-ət.
 well fire forget-PST.3PL
 'They forgot fire.'
-
4. ənəλ-pi qo tōwə mən.
 big-SUP man to.there go.PST.3SG
 'The oldest man went there.'
5. temi tuš-punəŋ-kōwət-pun-iki tōt âməs-λ.
 this beard-long-long-long-man there stand-PRS.3SG
 'The man with a long beard stood there.'
6. t'äqa tüwət-at məj-a.
 well fire-INSFIN give-IMP.2SG
 'Give me fire!'
7. nūŋ jis areγ, jis mǎnt
 2SG old song old tale
- munt'-a,
 talk-IMP.2SG
 'Tell [me] old song, old tale to me,'
8. tüwət-at mə-λ-əm.
 fire-INSFIN give-PRS-1SG
 'I will give fire.'
9. ma müw tãyi jis irγ-əm,
 1SG what place old song-
 POSS.SG<1SG
- jis munt'-əm?
 old tale-POSS.SG<1SG
 'What is my old song and tale for?'
10. säŋk-i,
 cut-PST.PASS.3SG
 '[The oldest man] was cut'
11. säŋk-i,
 cut-PST.PASS.3SG
 '[The oldest man] was cut'
-

12. kütəppi qo mən.
middle man go.PST.3SG
'The middle man went.'
13. tow jāqə lāŋ.
there inside go.PST.3SG
'He went inside.'
14. tuš-punəŋ-kōwət-pun-iki-nam nāwmiλ-əλ:
beard-long-long-long-man-APPR say-PRS.3SG
'He said to the man with long beard.'
15. t'āqa mən-at tüwət-at məj-a.
well 1PL-ACC fire-INSFIN give-IMP.2SG
'Give us fire.'
16. mən wōnt-a jüw-əm jāγ,
1PL forest-LAT come-PTCP.PST people
'We have come into the forest.'
17. tüwət-λəγ t'e-nə jüγ-əw
fire-ABBE this-LOC come-PST.1PL
'We came here without fire.'
18. tüwət jorəγλ-əw.
fire forget-PST.1PL
'We forgot fire.'
19. nün jis areγ, jis mānt
2SG old song old tale

munt'-a,
tell-IMP.2SG
'You tell old song and old tale.'
20. t'ut tüwət-at mə-λ-o.
such fire-INSFIN give-PRS-PASS.2SG
'Then the fire will be given to you.'
21. ma müw tāγi jis irγ-əm,
1SG what place old song-
POSS.SG<1SG

jis munt'-əm!
old tale-POSS.SG<1SG
'What is my old song and old tale for?'

22. sāŋk-i,
cut-PST.PASS.3SG
‘[The middle man] was cut’

23. sāŋk-i,
cut-PST.PASS.3SG
‘[The middle man] was cut’

24. nin, jeji-γən, müwat jis areγ, jis
2DU brother-DU why old song old

mānt əntə təj-λ-əttən?
tale NEG have-PRS-2DU
‘Why don’t you have old song and tale, brothers?’

25. sar os ma jāŋq-λ-əm.
forward also 1SG go-PRS-1SG
‘I will go forward, too.’

26. t’ət aj-pi qujin t’ə mən.
thus small-SUP boy PTCL go.PST3SG
‘Then the youngest boy went.’

(A70)

In the above example (2.6), the local topic changes. In lines 1–3, the brothers are topical. Then in the lines 4–11, the oldest “man” of the brothers is topicalized to local topic. In addition the man with a long beard is introduced as new information and he maintains the secondary topical status by appearing repeatedly in the discourse. After the oldest of the brothers comes back empty-handed, the middle “man” of the brothers sets off. In lines 12–23, the middle “man” of the brothers is topicalized as the local topic. Just as in lines 4–11, the man with a long beard retains secondary topical status here, as well. After the middle man of the brothers comes back empty-handed, the youngest “boy” of the brothers sets off. In lines 24–26, the youngest “boy” of the brothers is topicalized as the local topic, then he becomes the primary topic of the discourse since the referent ‘the youngest boy’ appears repeatedly and continuously.

2.5.5.4 4 Discourse referentiality: referent tracking

In order to understand grammar, it is important to look at language usage beyond clauses. Examining language usage at the discourse level offers a perspective on the management of information flow. In order to make a conclusion linked to my basic analysis, I will study how referents are treated

in subsequent discourse. I will study how the referents appear morphosyntactically, semantically and pragmatically. Finally, I will argue how a speaker monitors a specific participant in Surgut Khanty discourse.

In this study, I will code the discourse referentiality of noun phrases. According to Du Bois (1985, 1987), noun phrases function to allow speakers to talk about an entity as having continuity of participant identity. A noun phrase can introduce a new participant or serve to track it in discourse. As Durie (2003) points out, trackable referents are “of the kind that could be mentioned again” in discourse. On the one hand, reference to a new and non-identifiable entity opens a cognitive file for the referent, and reference to a given and identifiable entity adds or updates the information and the file. On the other hand, verbal entities are typically transient and do not repeatedly refer back to a single event (Du Bois 1985: 220ff, 1987: 816–817). This kind of referent continuity produces cohesion and coherence. Cohesion is created by continuity at different levels of discourse. Thematic continuity works at the most general level, followed by action continuity, and finally topic/referent continuity at the most specific level. Among them, the continuity maker of the topic, or leitmotif, maintains the topicality in discourse (Givón 1983ab). In her study on the discourse motivation for the core–oblique distinction, Thompson suggests that information flow and referent tracking motivate this distinction (Thompson 1997). In the present study, I do not argue on a cognitive file for the referent in Durie’s framework, since I cannot see the files clearly. I will only discuss the referents actually appeared. A tracking realization of referent (‘mention’ under Du Bois 1985 and Laury 1997) is a noun phrase which is used by a speaker to refer to discourse participants which ‘are conceived as having continuity of identity’ and as a manipulative discourse participant (Du Bois 1985: 209, Laury 1997: 25).

The motivations of information flow and referent tracking have been examined in order to resolve some long-standing questions in Finnish as well. For example, Laury applied the study of referentiality to explain the development of the demonstrative pronoun *se* ‘it’ as an article (Laury 1997). Helasvuo has used it to explain the distinction between the subject and object in different nominal cases (2001). Below is an example from Khanty data (2.7).

(2.7) Referential tracking

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------------|--------|
| 1. | wär | əj | puɣəl-nə | wõł. |
| | thing | one | village-LOC | be.3SG |
- ‘Something happened in a village.’

2. əj iki sod-a
 one man garden-LAT[Russian ‘CAJ’]

 mən panə
 go.PST3SG and
 ‘A man went into a garden, and’
3. gruša juγ-i ɪlə nāt’tayə jəy.
 pear tree-ABL down pull.INF come-PST3.SG
 ‘From a pear tree, he came to pick [pears].’
4. qāŋtɪpa nōq qunət panə
 ladder up climb.PST3SG and
 ‘He climbed up a ladder and’
5. juγ-i gruša nāt’tayə jəy.
 tree-ABL pear pull.INF come.PST.3SG
 ‘He came to pick a pear from the tree.’
- (F2)

The speaker in (2.7) lexically introduced one of the main characters of the story ‘a man’ in line 2. At this stage, this is new information to listeners. In lines 3 through 5, the main character is realized affixally. There is continual realization of and reference to the main character throughout all the lines in (2.7), which can be counted as four times continuing in this analysis. In all the lines, the utterances are realized syntactically the subject and the topic.

All referents/participants are topicalized in discourse once they appear, but the persistence of topic status differs between referents. At the same time, some of them quickly leave the scene/discourse and lose their topicality time unless they are activated (*refreshed* under Givón) later, whereas some of them keep their status for a longer time and appear repeatedly as topic (Givón 1983ab, 1990). Such referential continuity connects the degree of topicality since the most continuous topic/referent – in other words the most repeated topic/referent, the ‘leitmotif’ – is the most crucially involved in the action sequence throughout the discourse, or a part of it. As a result, the participant is likely to be coded as the primary topic of sequentially ordered clauses (Givón 1984a: 8). In the case of (2.7), the referent ‘village’ is introduced in line 1, but never appear in the discourse. The referent ‘pear’ is introduced in line 3, and it appears repeatedly in the discourse, but not continuously. As a result, its topicality is not high as the primary or the secondary topics in the discourse. The topicality of the referent ‘ladder’ is still lower since it appears less than the referent ‘pear’ in the discourse. On the other hand, the referents ‘a man’ and ‘a boy (which appears later)’ appear repeatedly and continuously. Such referents retain their topicality through the discourse as the primary and the secondary topics in the discourse.

CHAPTER 3. GRAMMATICAL OUTLINE OF SURGUT KHANTY

The aim of this discussion is to show the rich grammatical resources of Khanty as a device to represent discourse information. I also wish to draw attention to some questions in grammatical descriptions of Khanty and describe the interaction of coding strategies in clausal syntactic relationships. I will limit the grammatical outline to the essential features for basic coding and information structure and flow. In addition to previous studies and grammatical outlines, I will also refer to my interviews with Khanty informants.

In the Uralic languages it has been assumed that the suffixes represent the agglutinated remnants of independent words (Janhunen 2000: 71). In most cases, the morphemes of Khanty correspond to pertinent personal pronouns. In Khanty, the verb paradigm codes both the person and number of subject and object. According to Honti, both nouns and verbs were inflected for person which has combined with number in Proto-Khanty (Honti 1998: 341).

The Uralic languages are characterized by rich case systems, even though Proto-Uralic is thought to have had five cases: the nominative, accusative, lative, locative and separative (e.g. Korhonen 1996: 224), or six: the absolutive, genitive, accusative, locative, ablative and dative cases (e.g. Janhunen 1982: 30). It is a common tendency for languages to have an increase in the number of cases over time, but in the rare case of Northern Khanty, the number has decreased. It is remarkable that Khanty has no distinctive core case marking in its paradigm of grammatical cases, regardless of the fact that it has many dialects and case systems. The nominative is the only grammatical case attested. Only the personal pronouns can be marked with a second grammatical case, the accusative. Eastern Khanty has a case system that is closest to Proto-Uralic, with an increased number of local cases, however not grammatical ones. The most credible and probable explanation for losing the accusative in Proto-Khanty is the development of the object conjugation.

3.1 MORPHOLOGY

As in many languages, the primary coding properties in Surgut Khanty are verb agreement/conjugation and case marking. As far as number is concerned, Surgut Khanty has a singular, a dual and a plural. I will describe

these two morphological systems shortly. The following paradigms represent the basic inflections. Minor differences can be found in real language use⁸.

3.1.1 VERBAL INFLECTION

In Surgut Khanty, verbs can agree with both the subject and the object. All verbs are inflected for tense, person, number and mood. Crosslinguistically, Surgut Khanty has a rare tense marking system. Surgut Khanty has two tenses: the present is marked with the morpheme *-λ-* but the past is not marked at all. Here I will show the paradigms of the present tense (Tables 1 – 3). Person and number markers follow the tense suffix. The infinitive form ends with *-ta*.

3.1.1.1 Subject conjugation

The Surgut Khanty subject conjugation encodes the person and number of the subject.

Table 1. *The paradigm of subject conjugation in Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 1998a: 29).*

pǎn-ta ‘to put’		Imperative
Sg.1	pǎn-λ-əm	
Sg.2	pǎn-λ-ən	pǎn-a
Sg.3	pǎn-ə-λ	
Du.1	pǎn-λə-mən	
Du.2	pǎn-λə-ttən	pǎn-ittən
Du.3	pǎn-λə-γən	
Pl.1	pǎn-λ-əw	
Pl.2	pǎn-λə-təγ	pǎn-itəγ
Pl.3	pǎn-λ-ət	

3.1.1.2 Object conjugation

In the Surgut Khanty object conjugation, verbs encode the person and number of the subject and the number of the object.

⁸When a word ends in a vowel, a binding consonant is added to the stem: *j* after *i*, *γ* after all the other vowels.

Table 2. *The object conjugation paradigm in Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 1998a: 30–31, Pokačeva and Pesikova 2006: 116).*

pǎn-ta ‘to put’

	Object		
Subject	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Sg.1	pǎn-λ-em	pǎn-λə-γəlam	pǎn-λə-λam
Sg.2	pǎn-λ-e	pǎn-λə-γəla	pǎn-λə-λa
Sg.3	pǎn-λə-təγ	pǎn-λə-γəλ	pǎn-λə-λ
Du.1	pǎn-λ-ətemən	pǎn-λə-γəlamən	pǎn-λə-λəmən
Du.2	pǎn-λ-əttən	pǎn-λə-γəλən	pǎn-λə-λən
Du.3	pǎn-λ-əttən	pǎn-λə-γəλən	pǎn-λə-λən
Pl.1	pǎn-λə-təw	pǎn-λə-γəlew	pǎn-λə-λəw
Pl.2	pǎn-λ-əttən	pǎn-λə-γəλən	pǎn-λə-λən
Pl.3	pǎn-λ-īλ	pǎn-λə-γəλaλ	pǎn-λə-λaλ

Imperative:

	Object		
Subject	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Sg.2	pǎn-e	pǎn-γəla	pǎn-əla
Du.2	pǎn-īλən	pǎn-γəλən	pǎn-əλən
Pl.2	pǎn-īλən	pǎn-γəλən	pǎn-əλən

3.1.1.3 *Passive*

Unlike most Uralic languages, the Ob-Ugrian has a personal passive. The Surgut Khanty passive is also inflected for person and number. The suffix is -*Vj-* which is added before the personal suffix, however, it has become simplified to a vowel in some parts of the paradigm. (Honti 1984: 52, Kulonen 1989: 53–54.)

Table 3. *The passive paradigm in Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 1998a: 30).*

pän-ta ‘to put’

Sg.1	pän-λ-øjəm
Sg.2	pän-λ-o
Sg.3	pän-λ-i
Du.1	pän-λ-øjməŋ
Du.2	pän-λ-ottəŋ
Du.3	pän-λ-iyəŋ
Pl.1	pän-λ-øjəw
Pl.2	pän-λ-otəγ
Pl.3	pän-λ-at

3.1.2 CASE INFLECTION

Surgut Khanty has nine cases for both nouns and personal pronouns. Even though the number of cases is the same, there are some differences in the composition of the suffixes. Only nouns can be inflected in the abessive and the instructive-final cases, and only personal pronouns can be inflected in the accusative and dative. That is, Surgut Khanty noun phrases have more adverbial cases and its personal pronouns are inflected in more grammatical cases. This may be logical since person often plays a more important role in discourse, which naturally tends to take the core grammatical role and thus a grammatical case ending. Referents in important roles in discourse tend to recur in discourse and as a result they appear in less prominent forms, that is pronominally and affixally.

3.1.2.1 Nouns

Of the nine Surgut Khanty cases for nouns, only the nominative is purely grammatical. In addition to the nominative, the locative and the instructive-final also have grammatical functions whereas the locative and instructive-final cases are included in the oblique case category. All the other cases are oblique cases. There is no formative to indicate the singular, the dual is indicated with $-\gamma\theta$ *n-* and the plural with $-\theta$ *t*.

Table 4. *The paradigm of case markings in Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 1998a: 19-20).*

qất ‘home, house’

	Sg	Du	Pl
Nominative	qất-Ø	qất-ɣən-Ø	qất-ət-Ø
Locative	qất-nə	qất-ɣən-nə	qất-ət-nə
Instructive-final	qất-at	qất-ɣən-at	qất-ət-at
Lative	qất-a	qất-ɣən-a	qất-ət-a
Ablative	qất-i	qất-ɣən-i	qất-ət-i
Approximative	qất-nam	qất-ɣən-nam	qất-ət-nam
Translative	qất-ɣə	qất-ɣən-ɣə	qất-ət-ɣə
Comitative-instrumental	qất-nat	qất-ɣən-nat	qất-ət-nat
Abessive	qất-λəɣ	qất-ɣən-λəɣ	qất-ət-λəɣ

The nominative is used to express the subject, object and attribute of a noun phrase. The locative has both a grammatical and oblique function. As a grammatical case, the locative functions as an optional agent of a passive clause and rarely as the subject of an active clause (see section 3.2.1 for more). As an oblique case, it expresses location ‘(in) where’ and time. The instructive-final case functions as a theme, the obligatory oblique argument in a dative shift alternation (see section 3.2.3 for more). As an oblique case, it mainly expresses manner as ‘how’ and ‘by means of’.

The lative expresses ‘(to) where’, that is the direction or the target of the action, whereas the ablative expresses the “from where”, that is the starting point of the action. The approximative also expresses the same direction as the lative ‘to’, but it does not signify the exact target, but a direction towards it. The translative expresses the result of a change, that is (turn) ‘into (something)’. The comitative-instrumental expresses ‘by means of’ and “together with’. The abessive case functions as a certain kind of negation and expresses the absence of something, that is ‘without’. (Honti 1984: 62–64, Csepregi 1998a: 20–22.)

3.1.2.2 Pronouns

Surgut Khanty personal pronouns are inflected in three grammatical cases (the nominative, accusative and dative) and in eight adverbial cases (lative, locative, ablative, approximative, translative, instructive, comitative and abessive). There are different variations of the endings in some of dialects, and the following paradigm shows one of them (Honti 1984: 275–376, Csepregi 1998a: 24).

Table 5. *The paradigms of the personal pronouns in Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 1998a: 24–25).*

	Sg.1	Sg.2	Sg.3
Nominative	ma	nüŋ	lüw
Accusative	mant	nüŋat	lüwat
Dative	mantem	nüŋati	lüwati
Lative	mantema	nüŋtina	lüwata
Locative	manə	nüŋnə/nüŋatinə	lüwnə
Ablative	mantemi/maniŋti	nüŋatini/nüŋniŋti	/lüwatinə
Approximative	mantemnam	nüŋatinam	lüwatini/lüwniŋti
Translative	mantemgə	nüŋatinyə	lüwatinam
Instructive	mantemat	nüŋatinat	lüwatiyə
Comitative	mantemnat	nüŋatinat	lüwtinat
Abessive	mantemləg	nüŋati(n)ləg	lüwatiləg
	Du.1	Du.2	Du.3
Nominative	min	nin	lin
Accusative	minat	ninat	linat
Dative	minatem	ninati	linati
Lative	minatema	ninatina	linatina
Locative	minatennə	ninatinnə	linatinnə
Ablative	minatemi/minniŋti	ninatini/ninniŋti	linatini/linniŋti
Approximative	minatemnam	ninatnam	linatinam
Translative	minatemgə	ninatinyə	linatinyə
Comitative	minatemnat	ninatinat	linatinat
	Pl.1	Pl.2	Pl.3
Nominative	məŋ	nəŋ	ləg
Accusative	məŋat	nəŋat	ləgat
Dative	məŋati	nəŋati	ləgati
Lative	məŋatina	nəŋatina	ləgatina
Locative	məŋatinnə	nəŋatinnə	ləgatinnə
Ablative	məŋatini/məŋniŋti	nəŋatini/nəŋniŋti	ləgatini/ləgniŋti
Approximative	məŋatinam	nəŋatinam	ləgatinam
Translative	məŋatinyə	nəŋatinyə	ləgatinayə
Comitative	məŋatinat	nəŋatinat	ləgatinat

The instructive and the abessive are not listed under dual and plural, the third person singular instructive is also absent, as other cases seem to carry out their functions in the dual and plural. In second person singular the

instructive and comitative cases are identical. Few personal pronouns occur in the instructive in Surgut Khanty discourse. (Csepregi 1998a: 21, 23).

3.2 SYNTAX: CLAUSES IN KHANTY DISCOURSE

In this study, the main basic units of analysis are the clause and the noun phrase. A clause is often called the basic unit of information processing in human language (e.g. Givón 1983b: 7, 1984b: 239). The predicative centre of a finite clause is either a finite verb or copula, the latter of which can be omitted under certain conditions in Khanty. In Nikolaeva’s study, complex sentences such as subordination with finite or non-finite verbs, including converbs, infinitives and participles, are separated into clauses (Nikolaeva 1999b: 39, 44–49). However, a clause in the present study refers to a unit with a finite verb or a copula; I do not consider the aforementioned ‘complex sentences’ clauses, but subordinates of clauses.

3.2.1 CLAUSES WITH ONE-PLACE VERBS

In regards to finite verbs, intransitive clauses take one-place verbs. Intransitive verbs take an obligatory subject (S) and a non-obligatory oblique. The utterance of a noun phrase or a pronoun as subject is not obligatory, but the suffix of the subject conjugation in the verb is. Subject conjugation occurs according to person and number of the subject (see Table 1). In other words, the subject of the clause can be recognised by the verbal suffix alone, as in (3.1). The Surgut Khanty subject is in the nominative if it is overtly uttered as a noun phrase or a pronoun.

- (3.1) əj mətə λat-nə änta
 one some time-LOC surely
- qǒλnam jǎŋq-ən.
 to.where go-PRT.3DU
 ‘Surely they (two) once went somewhere.’
 (D:11)

Even though the nominative is the main subject case in Khanty, a locative subject can also be found with an intransitive finite verb (Sosa 2008):

- (3.2) ma-nə nürəγətə-m tom jǎŋk pälək-a.
 1SG-LOC run-PST.1SG that small.lake side-LAT
 ‘I ran to the other side of the small lake.’
 (A: 60)

Because of the evidence that a) the locative subject appears with an intransitive verb and b) the object of a sentence never correlates with the subject of an opposite (“absolute”) sentence, it cannot be called an ergative structure (see also sections 3.2.2 and 3.1.2.1). Even though the locative subject is quite rare in Surgut Khanty, the choice of a locative subject in other Eastern Khanty dialects such as Vasyugan is as common as the passive structure (Kulonen 1989: 301, Filchenko 2006).

Previous studies on the locative subject structure (*ergative* in Gulya) in Khanty argues that its function is to emphasise the subject (Gulya 1970). Kulonen (1989: 299) rejects the possibility of this emphasising function, since the locative subject is found in sentences with an accusative object. Honti correlates the ergative with the passive because of the emphasis on the patient (Honti 1971).

3.2.2 CLAUSES WITH TWO-PLACE VERBS

Surgut Khanty transitive verbs take at least two obligatory arguments: a subject (A) and an object (O). The nominative is the case of nominal A and O (3.3) because the noun phrases are not inflected in the accusative (Table 4). In other words, the object can only be distinguished from the subject by case marking in the personal pronouns (3.4 and Table 5). In other instances, both subjects and objects are in the nominative, and the grammatical roles are distinguished by verbal agreement, word order and context (3.6). These arguments are realized as full NPs, a pronoun, and/or an affix (or affixes) with obligatory verbal inflection. The verb is always inflected according to subject and may be inflected according to object, as well (Tables 2 and 3). The following examples show variation in the occurrence of A and O in Surgut Khanty:

(3.3) Variation 1 in the occurrence of A and O: Both A and O are in the nominative.

qát	pə́lə	jäčə-nə	<u>imi-γən-iki-γən</u> ⁹	t'aqa	qār
house	floor	middle-LOC	woman-DU-man-DU	well	bull

qõr-tə	jäq-ən	t'i	čüksəm-γən.
skin-PTCP.PRS	inside-LOC	this	start-PRT.DU

‘The old woman and old man began to skin the bull on the floor of the house.’

(D:16)

⁹ *imiγən-ikiγən* literally means ‘two women and two men’, using the dual suffix congruently for both parts of this compound. In Khanty, however, this is a typical expression for a noun phrase which includes two participants together. *imi-γən-iki-γən* thus means ‘a woman and a man who are two people as one’.

(3.4) Variation 2 of the occurrence of A and O: A marked by personal pronoun in the nominative, O marked by the accusative.

ma nūŋ-at nik t'i tärt-λ-əm
 1SG 2SG-ACC down PTCL grill-PRS-1SG
 'I will barbeque you.'
 (A: 68)

(3.5) Variation 3 of the occurrence of A and O: A marked affixally, and O marked lexically (= an overt mention of a full NP) and affixally.

t'u čemotan-əλ t'ə wəj-təy.
 that bag-POSS.SG<3SG PTCL take-PST.SG<3SG.
 'She took her bag.'
 (A:80)

(3.6) Variation 4 of the occurrence of A and O: A and O marked affixally.

in əkət-λə-təy.
 just collect-prs-sg<3sg
 'He just takes it.'
 (E4)

Both A and O in (3.6), are marked only affixally without any overt occurrence of them. In such cases, the speaker's ability to recognise A and O depends on the context.

According to Honti (1984), the object conjugation is chosen for the definite object, with the exception of pronouns and objects that are identifiable with a possessive suffix. Despite Honti's argumentation, definite objects with a possessive suffix are found in the Surgut Khanty discourse (3.7):

(3.7) The definite object with a possessive suffix in the object conjugation.

op-em mə-λ-em t'iw, t'iw!
 sister-POSS.SG<1SG give-PRS-SG<1SG tweet, tweet¹⁰
 'I will give you my sister, tweet tweet!'
 (A: 68)

Not only does the definiteness of my data of Surgut Khanty trigger object conjugation but also other pragmatic elements in discourse (see 6.2.4). In the present study, I will use the term *object conjugation* instead of the often used

¹⁰ The speaker is a bird.

term *definite inflection/conjugation*. The term *object* refers to a syntactic level, whereas the term *definiteness* is used to describe what occurs at the pragmatic level. Main purpose of this discussion falls upon the phenomena of verbal agreement at the morphosyntactic level.

In addition to the normal nominative subject, the locative is also used for the subject in Eastern Khanty. The locative subject structure has been called an ‘ergative structure’ in Uralic studies. The subject role in such a locative use is visible in the agreement of verbal predicate with subject. This kind of structure is, however, found quite rarely in Surgut Khanty discourse (3.8), even though this structure is more common than the passive in Vasyugan Khanty, another Eastern Khanty dialect (see Chapter 4). Despite the rareness of this phenomenon, I will discuss the locative subject in Surgut Khanty since the pattern of its appearance is productive in Surgut Khanty discourse (see Chapter 6.2.5).

(3.8) The locative subject.

<u>ma-ne</u>	tõwe	äsλ-em
1SG-LOC	to.there	leave- PST.SG<1SG
‘I left (it) (there).’		
(A: 56)		

In Surgut Khanty, the object also has exceptional case marking. The second place can also be occupied by an argument in an oblique case, the instructive-final, which marks the patient. This is included in the two-place structure since the patient marked with an oblique case is obligatory in the clause. In clauses with three-place verbs, the theme is similarly realized in the instructive-final case (cf. section 3.2.3). Typical verbs in these structures are ditransitive, the same as three-place clauses (3.9–3.10):

(3.9) The instructive-final case marking the patient in a two-place structure.

ma	quλ-at	λaŋq-λ-əm.
1SG	fish-INSFIN	want-PRS-1SG
‘I want a fish.’		
(From interview with the informant Svetlana, see chapter 5 about interviews with informants.)		

(3.10) The instructive-final marking with the theme in a three-place structure.

čaj-at	uč	jeńəłt’ə-təγ,	łitot-at
tea-INSFIN	thing	make.drink-PST.SG<3SG	food-INSFIN

λιπέτ-τəγ.
 feed-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘She let him drink tea and eat food.’
 (A: 86)

In addition to typical ditransitive verbs, other examples are found in my data (3.11). The numbering of (3.11b) corresponds to the sequence of the utterances in the discourse:

(3.11) The oblique object in the instructive-final case.

a) panə wər-at t'orəm-təγ
 and blood-INSFIN let.flow-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘And [the baggage] bled.’
 (A: 76)

b)
 1. aŋki nūŋ, jəŋk-at λəŋq-λ-ən?
 mother 2SG water-INSFIN want-PRS-2SG
 ‘Mother, do you want some water?’

2. Müw-at əntə jastə-n?
 what-INSFIN NEG say-PST.2SG
 ‘Why didn’t you say it?’

3. ma nūŋat ɔləŋ jəŋk-at
 1SG you.ACC if water-INSFIN

tuw-əm.
 bring-PST.1SG
 ‘If I brought you some water.’
 (E: 9)

c) jəmnam mantemat λəγλəqsə-λ.
 in.vain 1SG.INSFIN wait-PRS.3SG
 ‘She waits for me in vain.’
 (D: 30)

In some verbs the alternation of morphological variants is accompanied by change in their semantics and the pragmatic meaning, as well (3.12):

(3.12) The semantic alternation attested in the instructive-final oblique object, and the nominative object.

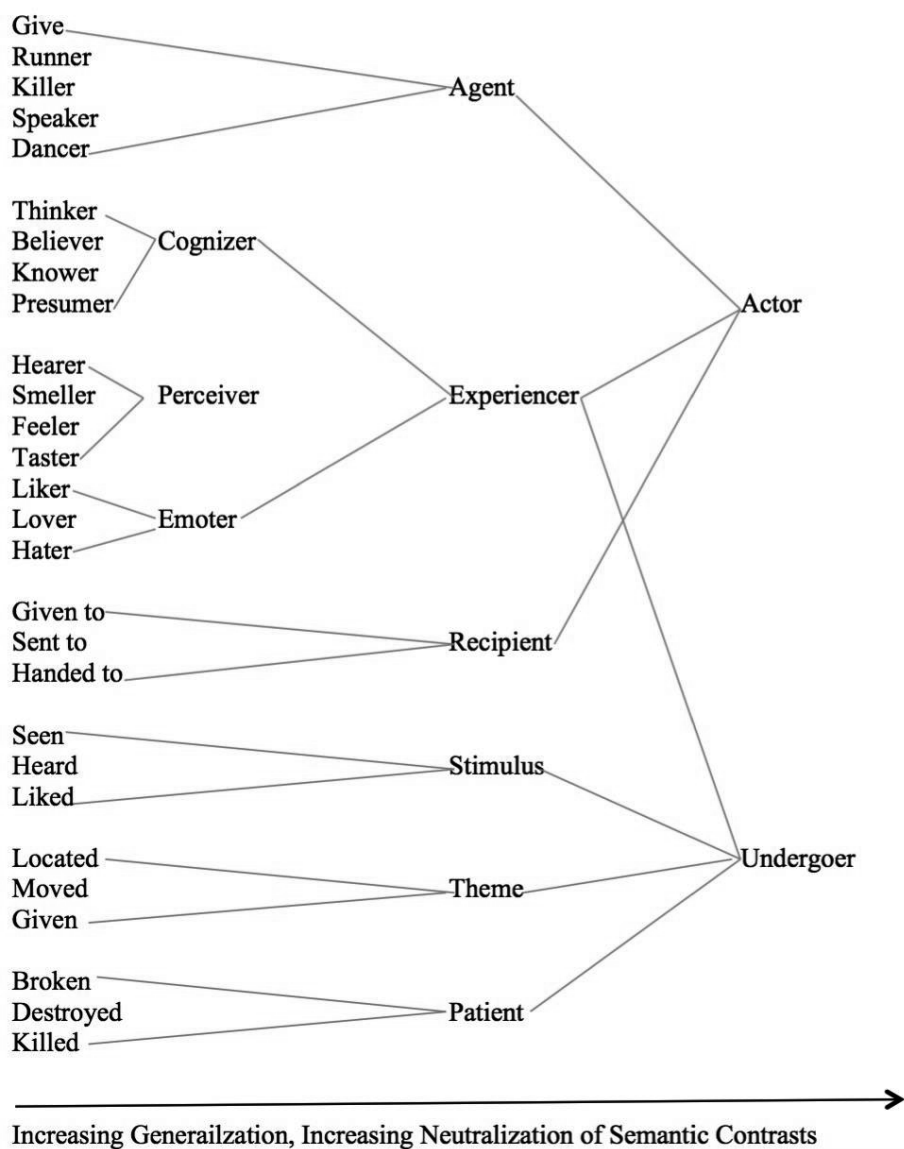
- a) *nūŋ* *čaj-at* *λǎŋq-λ-ən?*
 2SG tea-INSFIN want-PRS-2SG
 'Do you want some tea?'
- b) *ma* *čaj* *λǎŋq-λ-əm.*
 1SG tea want-PRS-1SG
 'I like tea (e.g. not coffee).'
- c) *ma* *čaj-at* *λǎŋq-λ-əm.*
 1SG tea-INSFIN want-PRS1SG
 'I want to have some tea.'
- (From the interview with the informant 19.2.2008)

According to my informant (19 February 2008), *čaj* 'tea' should be in the instructive-final case, not in the nominative, which is the case for the object.

3.2.3 CLAUSES WITH THREE-PLACE VERBS

The most typical three-argument construction is a ditransitive construction. Ditransitive constructions contain a verb of physical transfer such as 'give' and 'send'. Thus, constructions such as 'I put the pen in the box' are not ditransitive. A ditransitive construction is defined as a construction consisting of a verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R), and a theme argument (T). The benefactive construction is similar. The difference between benefactives and ditransitives is that beneficiaries can also occur with intransitive verbs, for example 'She sang for me' (Malchukov et al. 2010).

Figure 2 Continuum form of verb-specific semantic roles (Van Valin 2001: 31)



In Surgut Khanty, ditransitive verbs such as *mə -ta'to give* require three places: the agent, the theme and the recipient for their semantic roles. The terminology of roles in the ditransitive construction is based on the typological study on ditransitives (Malchukov et al. 2010). Different terminologies are used in previous studies on the ditransitive constructions

in the Ob-Ugric languages (e.g. *dative shift* in Kulonen 1989, *Di-transitive, benefactive-target* in Filchenko 2010, *PO/SO-DO/IO constructions* in Virtanen 2015). The recipient-object in Surgut Khanty is marked as a direct object in the nominative (NP) or the accusative (person pronouns) (e.g. See chapter 6.2.1) and the theme-object is marked as an oblique in the instructive-final case. As an oblique, the instructive-final in Surgut Khanty functions as the tool and as the target. The dative-shift phenomenon is a feature of the Ob-Ugric languages and is not known in other Uralic languages (Kulonen 1990: 51).

(3.13) Two variations of a clause with three actants.

pöč	quł-əlij-at	mant	kit'əpt-ən	qõn
back	fish-DEM-INSFIN	1SG.ACC	leave-PRT.2SG	belly

quł-əlij-at.

fish-DEM-INSFIN

'Did you leave the back and belly of the fish for me?'

pöč	quł-əli-t	mantem,	qõn	quł-əli-t
Back	fish-DEM-PL	1SG.DAT	belly	fish-DEM-PL

mantem.

1SG.DAT

'The back of the fish to me, the belly of the fish to me' OR

'Cook the back and the belly of the fish for me.'

(A: 66)

In previous studies on the Ob-Ugric languages (e.g. Skribnik 2001), the recipient object is called an 'indirect object'. This is categorized as an adverb in the present study. The term *indirect object* refers to a recipient-object in a grammatical case (nominative/accusative) for an object. For example, such a structure in an English sentence includes two-object marking and word order distinguishes the grammatical roles. In Khanty, the theme of a ditransitive verb is indicated by an adverbial.

3.2.4 EXISTENTIAL AND LOCAL CLAUSES

The Khanty verbs corresponding to the English 'to be' are **wol-* (3.14) and **wos-ta*. The first means 'to exist/live' and the latter is a copula. Both are typically found in discourse in the past tense, but they are not obligatory in present tense (3.16). The copular verb has subject agreement except in the third-person. (Honti 1984: 97–99, Csepregi 1998a: 41, Nikolaeva 1999b: 40, Wagner-Nagy 2011: 205.)

(3.14) *wǎλ-ta* ‘to be’ as a copula.

jeyli-t	wǎλ-ət.
cold-PL	be-PRT.3PL
‘It was cold.’	
(A: 62)	

(3.15) *wǒs-* ‘to be’ as a copula.

mən-tə	ne	wǒs-əm	wəle.
go-PTCP.PRS	woman	be-1SG	well.
‘Well, I have to go (<i>lit.</i> I am a leaving woman.)			
(A:74)			

(3.16) Nonverbal predicate in ellipsis.

tʰut	müw	jasəŋ?
that	what	story
‘What is this story?’		
(D: 32)		

The definition of *copula* is not simple. Possible copulars are not restricted to one single verb such as ‘to be’. According to Crystal, “– – In English, the main copular (or copulative verb) is *be* – – and the term is often restricted to this verb; but there are many others which have a similar function, for example. ‘*She feels angry, That looks nice, He fell ill.*’ (Crystal 2003: 110). Moreover copulas in previous studies on Obdorsk Khanty, are defined as both *u-ta* ‘to be’ and *ji-ta* ‘to become’ (Nikolaeva 1999: 40), *wos-* ‘to be’ (Csepregi 1998a: 41), **wos-* ‘to be’ and **wol-* ‘to live, to be’ (Honti 1984: 97-99). The functional difference between them has not been well studied yet. Furthermore, existential negation has its own copular verb, *ə ntə m* ‘not be’ (Honti 1984: 99, Csepregi 1998a: 41, Nikolaeva 1999b: 42). According to Wagner-Nagy, Khanty prefers expressing the meaning of the copula with a lexical verb such as ‘to stand’ and ‘to lie’ (Wagner-Nagy 2011: 205). In Surgut Khanty, *əmə s-ta* ‘to sit’ also functions existentially (3.17).

We should note that according to my informant, the choice between *əmə s-ta* and *wǎλ-ta* is not always free, but depends on semantics and pragmatics. More studies will be needed in order to determine the difference between them in semantics and pragmatics. According to my informant, the verb in (3.17) can have ‘to be’ as a variant copula.

(3.17) Clause with *áməs-ta* ‘to sit’ as the copula and its allosentence with *wǎł-ta* ‘to be’.

- a) a pəγi qát pälək-nə sikkəŋ-sǎrńəŋ
 PTCL left house part-LOC beautiful
- suntuk-ət áməs-λ-ət.
 bag-PL sit/be-PRS-3PL
 ‘There are beautiful bags on the left side of the house.’
 (A: 76)

- b) a pəγi qát pälək-nə sikkəŋ-sǎrńəŋ
 PTCL left house part-LOC beautiful
- suntuk-ət wǎł-λ-ət.
 bag-PL be-PRS-3PL
 ‘There are beautiful bags on the left side of the house.’
 (Interview with the informant, 4.4. 2008)

3.2.5 POSSESSIVE STRUCTURES

3.2.5.1 The verb ‘to have’

The possessive structure of Ob-Ugrians deviates from that of other Uralic languages. All the Uralic language use a so-called ‘existential structure’ and do not have a verb ‘to have’ in their basic possessive structure. In Khanty, however, the possessive construction is only expressed with the verb ‘to have’ *tǎj-ta* (e.g. Inaba 1998). Because of this exceptionality, M. A. Castrén, who was the pioneer in Khanty studies, described both *wǎs-* ‘to be’ and *tǎj-* ‘to have’ as ‘to be’ verbs in his grammar (Castrén 1849: 69). This might be attributed to the Finnish description whereas Finnish has only one verb. The interview with my informant implies that *wǎł-* can be used existentially but not possessively (April 2008). (See 3.18–3.19).

(3.18) Possessive structure with a personal pronoun in Surgut Khanty.

- a) ma wǎγ tǎj-λ-əm.
 1SG money have-PRS-1SG
 ‘I have money.’
- b) *ma-nə wǎγ wǎł-əł.
 1SG-LOC money be-PRS.3SG
 *‘I have money.’

(3.19) Possessive structure with a full noun in Surgut Khanty.

- a) qát owpi tǎj-əλ.
house door have-PRS.3SG
‘The house has a door.’
- b) *qát-nə owpi wǎλ-əλ.
house-LOC door be-PRS.3SG
*‘There is a door in the house.’

(3.18b) and (3.19b) with *wǎλ-ta* ‘to be’ are almost impossible to say. My informant attests that she can understand b), but it is very rarely used.

(3.20) Possessive and existential structures with a full noun and possessive suffix in Surgut Khanty.

- a) (ma) qut-əm-nə wǎγ tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG house-POSS.SG<1SG-LOC money have-PRS-1SG
‘I have money at home.’
- b) (ma) qut-əm-nə wǎγ wǎλ-əλ.
1SG house-POSS.SG<1SG-LOC money be-PRS.3SG
‘There is money at home.’

It is possible to say (3.20b), but it functions as an existential and not a possessive structure. The money in (3.20b) is not necessarily owned by the speaker, whereas in (3.20a) the subject (the speaker, in this clause) is the possessor.

There are also examples of *tǎj-ta* ‘to have’ found in my data on Surgut Khanty. (See e.g. 3.21):

(3.21) Existential structure in Surgut Khanty.

- | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| num | wǎλə | ǎλəŋ-nə | ǎλ-tə | tayi |
| upper | berth | edge-LOC | sleep-PTCP.PRS | place |
| t’umint | ne | wəj-əm | | ənəλ-pi |
| such | woman | take-PTCP.PST | | big-COMP |
| pǎγ | ǎλ-tə | | tayi | tǎj-əλ. |
| boy | sleep-PTCP.PRS | | place | have-PRS.3SG |
- ‘The sleeping place in the end of the front bed [is] a sleeping place for the oldest married son.’
- (C 1)

From (3.18) through (3.21), we can conclude that 1) only *tǎj-ta* ‘to have’ can be used to make possessive structures in Khanty (3.22), 2) *wǎλ-ta* ‘to be’ can only be used to make existential structures, and 3) it is possible to express existentiality with structures other than with *wǎλ-ta*.

(3.22) The possessive structure in Surgut Khanty.

jəmat	ar	wɛli	tǎj-əλ.
very	many	reindeer	have-PRS.3SG
‘He has many reindeer.’			
(A.96)			

The verb *tǎj-ta* also means ‘to take care of’, ‘to keep’, ‘to hold’ and ‘to give birth’ depending on the form or other properties of the object. For example, a possessive suffix changes the meaning of the verb (3.23):

(3.23) Object with or without a possessive suffix with the possessive verb.

a) ma	amp	tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG	dog	have-PRS-1SG
‘I have a dog.’		
b) ma	imp-əm	tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG	dog-POSS.SG<1SG	have-PRS-1SG
‘I take care of (my) dog (which may be, for example, sick).’		

In Example 3.23 (a), the object without a possessive suffix is possessed by the subject ‘I’, whereas the subject in (b) is an agentive, not the possessor: the subject does not possess the object ‘dog’, but takes care of it regardless of the utterance of possessive suffix -ə m ‘my’. The semantic change does not only depend on the appearance of a possessive suffix, but also animacy. In (3.24), the object *kniga* ‘book’ is inanimate referent which cannot be ‘taken care of’:

(3.24) An inanimate object with or without a possessive suffix with the possessive verb

1.

a) ma	kniga	tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG	book	have-PRS-1SG
‘I have a book.’		
b) *ma	kniga-əm	tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG	book-SG<1SG	have-PRS-1SG
*I take care of my book.		

2.

- a) qât ker tǎj-əλ
house oven have-PRS.3SG
'A/The house has an oven.'
- b) *qât kir-əλ tǎj-əλ
house oven-POSS.SG<3SG have-PRS.3SG
'A/The house takes care of the oven.'

In normal circumstances, (3.24.1b) sounds strange, but it would be possible in some fairy tales. This is explained by the fact that animacy in fairy tales is not the same as in normal conversation and narratives which deal with reality. However, the informants have not ever heard such language uses.

The possessive verb *tǎj-ta* rarely agrees with objects in Khanty discourse. In regards to cases where the object of the possessive verb triggers object conjugation, its meaning is, for example, 'to take care of' or 'to keep', not 'to have'. The semantic role of the subject of the possessive verb in subject conjugation is not agentive but simply possessor, whereas the subject of the possessive verb in object conjugation has the role of an agentive (Sosa 2009) See e.g. (3.25):'

(3.25) *tǎj-ta* 'to have' in subject versus object conjugation.

- a) 'to have' in subject conjugation
ma weλi-t tǎj-λ-əm.
1SG reindeer-PL have-PRS-1SG
'I have reindeer.'
- b) 'to have' in object conjugation
ma weλi-t tǎj-λə-λam.
1SG reindeer-PL have-PRS-PL<1SG
'I take care of (or keep) the reindeer.'
(Interview, 25 February 2008)

In subject conjugation (3.25a), *tǎj-ta* means possession, but in object conjugation (3.25b), it means taking care of or keeping the object.

In addition to a possessive function, *tǎj-ta* is also used for an evidential structure (3.26):

(3.26) Comparison with the evidential structure.

- a) nün uy-ən öjəytə-λ-ət.
 2SG head-POSS.SG<2SG percieve-PRS-3PL
 ‘They [birds] notice your head.’
 (From the interview with the informant/Svetlana)
- b) nün uy-ən λüw öjəytə-tə
 2SG head-POSS.SG<2SG PTCL percieve-PRS.PTCP
- kim wär täj-λ-ət.
 PTCL thing have-PRS-3PL
 ‘They [birds] seem to notice your head.’ (*lit.* They have your head
 perceiving thing.)
 (Ajpin 2003:17)

In (3.26), a) represents the proposition as fact ‘they notice your head’ whereas b) doesn’t. The evidential structure of Surgut Khanty is constructed PTCP-*kim* PTCL- *wär* ‘thing’- *täj-ta* ‘have’ (For more on the evidential structure of Khanty, see Csepregi 2008).

3.2.5.2 Possessive NPs

A possessor signified by a personal pronoun is the dependent in the NP, and the head is affixed with the possessive suffix (3.27a). A possessor in the dependent position is also not compulsory because it is already indicated by the possessive suffix at the end of the head word (3.27b). With other words (e.g. common nouns or proper nouns), the possessor is the dependent and the possessed the head, here a possessive suffix is not obligatory (3.27c).

(3.27) Possessive NPs.

- a) ma imp-əm
 1SG dog-POSS.SG<1SG
 ‘My dog’
- b) Ø imp-əm
 dog-POSS.SG<1SG
 ‘My dog’
- c) Nikita amp
 Nikita dog
 ‘Nikita’s dog’

3.2.6 PASSIVE VOICE

The passive voice is chosen quite frequently and versatilely in Khanty. It covers all the most important passive types: the personal passive of two- and three-place constructions, the impersonal passive denoting an action by an unknown or unspecified agentive, and the automative and medial passive, a one-placed construction without an agentive in the background (Kulonen 1989: 71). The verb in the passive is inflected according to person and number of the subject. In the passive structure, the subject is overtly realized (in the nominative) in a noun phrase. Unlike many of Uralic languages, the Ob-Ugric expresses an agent of the passive. The agent is inflected in the locative. The occurrence of an agent is quite common in Khanty discourse. In the statistics from a previous study, 49.8% of all passive clauses in Eastern Khanty occur with an agent (*ibid.* 272–273). This chapter will describe some of these diverse types of passives in Surgut Khanty with examples from the data.

3.2.6.1 *Passive of two placed verbs*

In transitive sentences, the subject in the active voice can be demoted to the agent of the passive marked with the locative case, and the object of the active voice can be promoted to the subject of the passive and appears affixally or as an overt utterance (e.g. Kulonen 1989)(3.28):

(3.28) Promotion of object and demotion of subject in the Surgut Khanty passive.

Active:		
<u>mänk iki</u> ¹¹	əntə	töŋəmt-təγ ¹² .
forest.monster	NEG	understand-PST.SG<3SG.
SBJ		OBJ (affix)
TOP		FOC
‘The forest monster didn’t understand it.’		
Passive:		
<u>mänk iki-nə</u>	əntə	töŋəmt-i
forest.monster-LOC	NEG	understand-PST.PASS.3SG
AGT		SBJ (affix)
FOC		TOP
‘The forest monster didn’t understand (it) (It wasn’t understood by the forest monster).		
(A: 30)		

¹¹ ‘Mänk iki’ is a Khanty creature who lives in forest. It is cannibal; it puts humans into a bag to bring to its home. (Karjalainen–Toivonen :1948)

¹² This clause is elicited by the author and only one of the possible corresponding clauses in the active voice.

3.2.6.2 *Passive of three-place verbs*

As structures with three-place verbs can be realized in the active voice in two different alternations, the dative and the dative shift alternation (see section 3.2.3), the passive also has two alternatives, the promoted object either as theme (dative alternation) (3.29a) or recipient (dative shift alternation) (3.29b). The latter is much more frequent due to the inherent animacy of the recipient, whereas the theme mostly represents an inanimate argument:

(3.29) Passive clause of three-place verb

- a) t'u imi-nə äλ-tə
 that woman-LOC lie-PTCP.PRS
- tăγj-at wär-i
 place-INSFIN make-PRT.PASS.SG<3SG
 'That woman (X) made her (Y) bed.'
 (A: 74)
- b) qöλtăγλ λüw jänas-at wär-λ-ojəm
 Tomorrow PTCL cloth-INSFIN make-PRS-PASS.1SG
 'The clothes will be made for me tomorrow.'
 (A: 84)

3.2.6.3 *Passive of intransitive verbs*

It is a typological exceptionality in Khanty for a sentence with an intransitive verb to become a personal passive if the subject of the passive is important enough in context (3.30). This type of passive is common in Khanty discourse (e.g. Kulonen 1989). The subject of an active sentence is demoted to agent, which tends to be overtly expressed (3.30).

(3.30) Passive of intransitive verbs.

- qöjəγem-nə jöwət-λ-ojəm?
 who-LOC come-PRS-PASS.1SG
 'Who will come to me?'
 (Csepregi 1998a: 30)

3.2.6.4 *täj-ta 'to have' in passive*

It is typologically very uncommon for the possessive verb 'to have' to form the passive. However, the passive structure in Khanty with the *täj-ta* 'to have' (also meaning 'to hold' and 'to give birth' in passive) has been shown in previous studies (Kulonen 1989: 230–231). According to my informant, the

usage of *täj-ta* in the passive is uncommon, but it is used in certain phrases in which usually the meaning of the verb is changed to something other than the possession (3.31) and idioms as (3.32):

(3.31) *täj-ta* in a phrase in the passive

- a) ma at'i-γəl-ən-aŋki-γəl-ən
1SG father-DU-LOC-mother-DU-LOC

täj-λ-ojəm.
have-PRS.PASS.1SG
'Mother and father take care of me.'

- b) aŋk-em-ən pirnajəki-γə
mother-POSS.SG<1SG-LOC godchild-TRA

täj-λ-o.
have-PRS-PASS.2SG
'You will be my mother's godchild.'

- c) λüw jörqo-γə täj-λ-i.
3SG leader-TRA have-PRS-PASS.3SG

'S/he is considered to be the leader.'
(From the interview with the informant/Svetlana)

- d) weλi-t töt täj-λ-at.
reindeer-PL there have-PRS-PASS.3PL

'The reindeers are kept there.'
(E5)

(3.32) *täj-ta* in an idiom in the passive.

- a) λüw-ən amp-γə=sok-kə täj-λ-iγən
3SG-LOC dog-TRA sturgeon-TRA have-PRS-PASS.2DU
'You two are cursed (lit. treated like a dog and a sturgeon) by her'

- b) λin wäs-γə=λār-γə täj-λ-iγən.
3DU mammoth-TRA-lake-TRA have-PRS-PASS.3DU
'A great amount is given to them, but not to me at all!'

(lit. They are treated like a mammoth¹³ and a lake; an idiom uttered by a envious person)

¹³ The Khanty believe that the mammoth was a water animal in lakes (Karjalainen-Toivonen 1948: 246). In fact, the informant translated the word as 'a whale'.

- c) mən juq-qə=pom-γə täj-λ-øjəw.
 PL1 tree-TRA grass-TRA have-PRS-PASS.1PL
 ‘We are thought of as nothing (lit. treated like a tree and grass).’
 (From the interview with the informant)

3.2.7 FREE NP

In addition to clauses, there are other clause-like units in real, spontaneous discourse: unfinished “clauses”, intonation units and Free NPs. Unfinished expressions are fragmentary and incomplete units. An intonation unit (IU) is a prosodic unit to analyse discourse in terms of information flow. In many information structure studies, the basic unit is a clause or an intonation unit. Free NPs are noun phrases in free construction that are not part of any clausal construction. They are syntactically free and function like clauses by introducing or tracking participants in discourse. (Helasvuo 2001: 105–106.) Intonation units and Free NP are new concepts in Khanty context. Previous research in Khanty syntax has concentrated on clauses/sentences, nowadays also discourse, but it has not introduced these other clause-like units (See also the Chapter 4).

In terms of morphology, semantics and syntax, I will exclude free NPs, uncompleted units and IUs from my analysis since these notions are not related to syntax. Because they are syntactically free and not syntactic units, it is impossible to discuss them in relation to syntax. However, a nonverbal predicate can be interpreted as an ellipsis. In my pragmatic analysis, these notions are also analysed since they function like clauses and track the referents. The examples of Free NP below are excerpts from the discourse in this study:

(3.33) Free NPs

1. əjməta λat-nə läŋkəŋ-əli wõλ.
 some time-LOC mouse-DIM be.PST.3SG
 ‘Once (upon a time) there was a mouse’
2. tʲi wǎλ-t-aλ tʲi
 this be-PTCP.PRS-3SG this
- qǎλ-t-aλ-nə naŋkəŋ jǎwəŋ
 sleep-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC red.pine river
- čəčəŋ jǎwəŋ põŋəλ-nə wõλ.
 čəčəŋ river bank-LOC be.PST.3.SG
 ‘When she lived and slept, she was on the bank of the Red Pine Chechung River.’

3. t'äqa tōm mēta aλəŋ-nə
 well that some morning-LOC

 jāwən qānəŋ-a nik mən,
 river bank-LAT to.the.water go.PST.3SG
 'One morning, (she) went to down to the river bank.'
4. t'äqa tem jāŋk-ət nāpət-λ-at.
 well this ice-PL swim-PRS-PASS.3PL
 'Pieces of ice are floating.'
5. əj jāŋk t'eλ nāpət-λ-i.
 one ice here swim-PRS-PASS.3SG
 'Here an piece of ice is floating.'
6. λüw-nə kür-əλ tōwə owərqəmtə-teγ.
 3SG-LOC leg-POSS.SG<3SG to.there hit-PST.SG<3SG
 "She hit her leg to it by herself." 'She hit her leg on it'
7. "īγ, iy!
 oh oh
 'Oh, oh!'
8. t'äqa kür-am!"
 well leg-POSS.SG<1SG
 'My leg!'
9. "t'äqa kür-a nōq, wəj-e!"
 well leg-POSS.SG2<SG up bring-IMP.2SG
 'Pull your leg out.'
10. ma wəλə tem jüw-m-am
 1SG well this come-PTCP.PST-1SG

 märe ar pəčəŋ ow rγəmt-əm.
 time many peat head bring-PST.1SG
 'When I got here, I swept the peat up.'
12. t'u jəγ-ən t'ut -
 that father-POSS.SG<2SG that

 əss-ən t'ut!
 mother-POSS.SG<2SG that
 'Your father, your mother!'
 (A: 64)

3.33 (11) is a free NP since it is a free construction and not part of any clausal construction. Example 3.33 (8) is not regarded as free NP; it is a free construction, but it does not function as a clause, whereas 3.33 (11) has the possibility to have a discourse function in the following line.

The distinction between a sentence and a free NP is not always clear and simple. Some phrases in Khanty might seem to be free NPs, but from another perspective they seem to be verb ellipses, or just uncompleted units. 3.33 (8) is not a clause, but it functions in referent tracking by referring to the argument in 3.33 (6), *kür-ə* λ ‘her leg’, and in *kür-a* ‘your leg’ in 3.33 (9). In this sense, it could be a clause with an elliptical part and be integrated into the predication of 3.33 (9). On the other hand, it could only be an uncompleted unit since verb ellipsis is not common in Khanty discourse and the listener cannot decide what the correct predication is, such as ‘hit’ in 3.33 (6).

3.2.8 EMBEDDED CLAUSES AND OTHER PARTICIPLE STRUCTURES

In this study, I will categorize participle structures as subordinate and not include them in my quantitative analysis. On the other hand, my analysis also includes possible subordinate clauses with a finite verb.

3.3 CROSS-REFERENCING

Khanty personal suffixes of verbs, personal pronouns and possessive suffixes are historically related to each other. Object conjugation is also a feature in some other Uralic languages (in addition to Ob-Ugric it is also found in the Mordvin, Hungarian and Samoyed languages). In cross-referencing, noun phrases can be realized as full noun phrases, pronouns or affixes. Here, I will outline the cross-referencing system of Surgut Khanty with affixes and pronouns.

3.3.1 REFERENCE IN VERBAL VALENCE

The verbal referencing of a subject in person and number is obligatory in Khanty. Overt referencing utterances can also be realized as noun phrases or pronouns. The verbal referencing of the object is only possible for number, however, it is not obligatory (see section 3.1.1). The object is referenced as a noun phrase or pronoun. The Surgut Khanty pronouns used are personal and demonstrative. There are first-, second- and third-person pronouns in singular, dual and plural. Various crosslinguistic studies on noun phrase types have pointed out the link between noun phrase choice, syntax and pragmatics: subjects of transitive verbs tend to appear in attenuated forms containing a pronoun and affix. Full NPs are linked to new information and

attenuated forms to given information; from the point of view of topicality, the realized form tends to form the following hierarchy:

Figure 3 The hierarchy of topicality in the form of noun phrases

High Low
 NP>Pronoun>Affix
 (e.g. Chafe 1976, 1994, Du Bois 1987, Fox 1987, Givón 1983, 1984)

There is, however, no simple rule for anaphorizing and referencing, and the choice of noun type depends on the genre of discourse (Fox 1987).

3.3.2 POSSESSIVE NP

The basic element of possession in a Khanty noun phrase is the possessive suffix. It is obligatory, whereas an overt utterance of possessor in NP can be omitted (see 3.34). Possessive suffixes show the person (first, second or third) and the number (single, dual or plural) of the possessor and the number of the possessed. The possessive suffixes are multifunctional: they can refer to the possessor and the agentive (or subject) of the participle structure.

(3.34) Possessive structure in an NP

Grammatical:

a) ma mǎn'i-λam
 1SG brother-POSS.PL<1SG
 'my brothers'

b) ∅ mǎn'i-λam
 brother-POSS.PL<1SG
 'my brothers'

Ungrammatical:

*ma man'i-t
 1SG brother-PL
 'my brothers'
 (Invented by author)

In regard to informativeness, the pronominal dependent is always given information at the theoretical level, but the noun phrase dependent could possibly be either new or given, whereas possessive suffixes refer only to given and accessible information. In a small pilot study on the relationship

between dependent and head word, NP dependents rarely carry new information (1 %, 1 / 100). In addition, the ellipsis of the possessor happened in 65.6% of the noun phrases as subject, that is, the dependents of subject are not focused [actually most of the subjects are also not focused]. Otherwise, no special tendencies are found in a study on personal pronoun dependents. (Sosa 2007.)

3.4 NON-REFERENCING

Non-referencing noun phrases are divided into 1) generic (3.35) and 2) zero (3.36).

(3.35) Generic referent.

it	läw	jâγ	juk	qât	əntə
now	PTCL	people	wood	house	NEG

wär-λ-ət

make-PRS-3PL

‘People don’t build log houses nowadays.’ [*lit.* People don’t build a log house nowadays.]

(A: 58)

Both subject and object in 3.35 have generic referents which are not mentioned in the preceding discourse and do not refer to specific objects. Many generic referents refer to a certain category (Chafe 1994: 103).

In the framework of the PAS theory, affixal and zero realizations of referents are part of the same category, but in Khanty, affix (without overt utterance of NP or pronoun) and zero are different notions. The affixal realization of a referent is referring and personal, whereas zero does not concretely refer to anything, and the clauses are impersonal. Zero realization of referent also differs from ellipsis. The hidden elliptical argument contextually is known, and verbal inflection is referential/anaphoric, whereas zero realization of referent cannot be revealed through context. In addition to active finite clauses, zero arguments are common in passive and participle clauses. Third-person singular is most common in both active and passive zero referencing (see 3.36), but my data on Surgut Khanty also show third-person plural. I included zero referencing to my analysis of noun phrases since we can find it in Khanty discourse without anaphoric or referential marking.

(3.36) Zero argument.

it	tem	nǒpət-nə	jeγli	əntem.
Now	there	time-LOC	cold	NEG

‘It isn’t cold nowadays.’
(A: 62)

Another non-referential referent is the indefinite pronoun. The Khanty indefinite pronoun is non-referential and non-anaphoric in discourse. It does not introduce any new information to the discourse nor does the speaker believe that the hearer already has this information. This is a kind of border case between new and given information. In 3.37, the grammatical subject of the existential clause is in the third-person singular, but there is no logical subject to be referred to.

(3.37) Indefinite pronoun

əjmətəli-pə	əntem
some =PTCL	NEG

‘There isn’t anything’
(A: 64)

In 3.37, the subject of the existential clause is *ə jmə tə li-pə* ‘something’, which means ‘not anything’ when it appears in combination with the negative particle.

3.5 WORD ORDER

Khanty word order can basically be characterized as verb-final (SOV), but it also allows other alternative orders governed by pragmatic factors. In that sense, actual Khanty constituent can also be characterized as being free, and varying word order rarely yields ungrammatical ordering at the single sentence level. In real discourse, however, pattern tendencies in word order are visible in Khanty discourse. (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999: 38)

CHAPTER 4. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE INFORMATION STRUCTURE OF KHANTY

Nowadays there is an increased focus of information flow in Uralic studies (e.g. Vilkuna e.g. 1989, 1995 and Helasvuo e.g. 2001, 2003 on Finnish, É.Kiss 1995 on Hungarian, Klumpp 2012a, b on Komi, Skribnik 2001 on Northern Mansi, Virtanen on Eastern Mansi 2015), as pragmatics and its interaction with other fields have raised interest in linguistics. Moreover, information flow in Khanty studies nowadays is beginning to come into discussion, whereas its previous syntactic studies have been focused on the historical-comparative perspective (e.g. Honti 1984), on semantics (e.g. Kulonen 1989) and a description of structure and meaning (e.g. Csepregi 2008). As far as I know, only Nikolaeva et al (1993), Nikolaeva (1999ab, 2001), Koshkareva (2002), Filchenko (2006, 2010), Klumpp (2012a), and Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) have introduced the information flow approach on Khanty. In addition to major tendencies that have been characteristically crosslinguistic, the findings of Nikolaeva and Filchenko form the basis of the present study.

Koshkareva's (2002) and Klumpp's (2012a) works on Kazym Khanty are short research papers. In fact, the main contribution of Klumpp's work is an analysis of Komi. Koshkareva and Klumpp discussed the morphology and the pragmatics of patient and recipient in Kazym Khanty, concentrating on personal pronouns which show more grammatical case suffixes in their paradigm than, for example, nouns. Koshkareva's analysis is partially based on Moldanov (2001) and partially unknown, seemingly elicited examples; Klumpp's analysis is based on examples by Koshkareva (2002) and Koshkareva and Solovar (2004), and also Steinitz (Sauer 1989) and Moldanov (2001). In conclusion, Koshkareva argues that Kazym Khanty morphology is orientated towards the expression of communicative structures corresponding to information flow. Kazym Khanty personal pronouns are inflected in the accusative and dative. Both of these cases have two variants in inflection, *simple case* and *complex case* according to Koshkareva. The former is the accusative suffix *-t*, the latter is *-i*. The simple in dative case consists of the stem and the corresponding possessive suffix, and *-a* for the complex dative. (See e.g. Honti 1984, Koshkareva 2002, Klumpp 2012a for the paradigm). The simple form expresses topic (*theme* according to Koshkareva) and the complex expresses focus (*rheme* according to Koshkareva). Klumpp continued Koshkareva's work (2002) by comparing Komi and Kazym Khanty morphology and their patterns in direct object marking. In conclusion, a complex system to express a focal object has developed in Kazym Khanty, whereas a corresponding system for a non-focal object expression has developed in the Komi dialects. The simple accusative *-t* form functions to express a non-focal object, and the developed complex

accusative *-i* form functions to express a focal object in contemporary Kazym Khanty (Klumpp 2012a).

Nikolaeva's studies (1999ab, 2001, Nikolaeva et al. 1993 and Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011) are based on folklore tales and questionnaires on Northern Khanty (mainly Synja and Kazym Khanty), and Filchenko (2006, 2010) is based on Eastern Khanty (the Vasyugan dialect) narratives. Nikolaeva's interest seems to be focused on topicality, and Filchenko's contribution may mostly be used to explain the function of the so-called ergative in a discourse continuum. Nikolaeva has also contributed her own theories and definitions to the study of information structure and linguistic theory, and Filchenko's approach and analysis has depended more on previous studies and functional theories such as Givón (e.g. 1990, 2001), Lambrecht (1994), Shibatani (e.g. 1985) and Kulonen (1989).

In conclusion, Nikolaeva and Filchenko claim that a relationship between a pragmatic function and grammar prevail over a relationship between a semantic role and grammar, thus resulting in Khanty being a so-called discourse-configuration language (see also Kiss 1995). Nikolaeva et al. (1993) defined Khanty as a typical reference-dominated language (in the framework of Van Valin and Foley 1984). The distribution of semantic roles in syntactic positions is ambiguous, and it occurs depending on communicative factors. I will review these issues in the following sections.

4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF MAIN ARGUMENTS

Many results of work by Filchenko's (2006, 2010) and Nikolaeva's (1999ab, 2001, Nikolaeva et al. 1993, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011) support previous crosslinguistic studies (see also Chapter 2). In the dimension of animacy, transitive subjects in Khanty are typically animate, whereas objects are typically inanimate. Since transitive subjects tend to represent the main characters in a story, they are typically trackable in discourse, whereas objects are transient referents which quickly appear and disappear in the ongoing discourse. Consequently, the subject is morphologically realized as a minimalized form such as affix or pronoun, and the object as a full NP. Pragmatically, the subject tends to be realized as topic and given information, and the object tends to be realized as focus and new information.

4.2 WORD ORDER

Word order is one grammatical resource to express information structuring in so-called free word order languages. Basic Khanty word order is rigidly verb-final (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999b, Honti 1984, Csepregi 1998a), but deviating from the SOV order can indicate some competing constraints by information

flow. At first, the topical initiality and the preverbal position of the focus are driven by the information flow, even though SOV is the most frequent word order in Khanty (Kulonen 1989: 46, Nikolaeva 1999: 57–60¹⁴, Fil(t)chenko 2006, 2010: 376–380, 383–391). This means that the information flow seems to override syntactic information. As in other SOV languages, focus is found in the immediate preverbal position. This may be based on the fact that S (A in this study) is topic, not focus. This phenomenon is also found in Hungarian, a language related to Khanty. Filchenko also points out a contradiction to this, explaining morphological information structuring: the subject often represents given information, which is also often topic, and it is only uttered affixally in verbal agreement (without an overt noun phrase or a pronoun). On the other hand the object is uttered as a full NP since it often offers more new or less activated information than the subject. This means that the clause-initial topic, when it occurs, is overtly coded, not elided. In Vasyugan Khanty, the topical referent is more typically coded by elision and predicate agreement inflection. As a result, most topics are not found in clause-initial position (Filchenko 2010: 381).

Nikolaeva's explanation for exceptional word order is that an argument can occur after the verb (following a pause). The exceptional argument is often uttered as an afterthought. The afterthought is different from the function of word order in terms of information flow. It has also been noted that the basic word order in Northern Khanty and Vasyugan Khanty is undergoing a change under the influence of Russian (Nikolaeva 1999b: 57–64, Filchenko 2010: 365–369).

4.3 MORPHOSYNTAX

4.3.1 OBJECT CONJUGATION

Nikolaeva's most important contribution is an explanation of the function of object conjugation (*object agreement* in her words) based on topicality. Prior to her research, studies on the Khanty object conjugation have been concentrated on its historical background (e.g. Havas 2004). Nikolaeva's study is based on the idea of the possibility of multiple topics in a clause and it is aimed at contributing to typological research, proposing that the traditional binary distinction of topic and focus is not enough to explain information structuring. In other words, the existence of a secondary topic also means the possibility of multiple topics in one clause. According to Nikolaeva (2001), a secondary topic in relationship to the proposition is defined as an entity the utterance is construed to be about the relationship

¹⁴ The data used in Nikolaeva and the data used in this study are different by nature: Nikolaeva's data is translation, not spontaneous/natural speech. In this sense, the results of analysis can be different. This difference could also affect the focus constraints in Northern Khanty.

between it and the primary topic, and the primary topic is its pragmatic relationship to the respective proposition. It must have a certain pragmatic reality for interlocutors, but it does not have to be active at the time of the utterance. Nikolaeva does not define the term more precisely, but she describes the tendencies of the secondary topic as less frequent and recurring less in discourse than a primary topic. On the other hand, her claim is not an adequate case for comparison in this study since the data and the theories which Dalrymple and Nikolaeva use are different from mine. The Dalrymple and Nikolaeva data is mainly based on questionnaires and translation¹⁵, and they compare clauses at the clausal level, not the discourse level. I would say such elicited examples are not as reliable and natural as those that are spontaneously uttered. In Northern Khanty studies, it is remarkable that Nikolaeva explained the morphosyntactic choice among DOM (direct object marking), subject versus object conjugation, to be motivated solely by information flow. The object conjugation in Northern Khanty unambiguously marks a secondary topic, it controls coreference in the embedded clause and reflexization and can trigger quantifier float and topicalization of the possessor. In conclusion, there are two types of secondary topics in Khanty: 1) Object conjugation (object agreement) secondary topic and 2) possessor secondary topic. The former is grammaticalised as a DO (direct object) that triggers object conjugation (object agreement). There are two types of the latter: a coreferential possessor secondary topic with a topical subject and a standing possessor secondary topic in a part–whole relationship with the possessed NP. The standing possessor secondary topic is encoded with a possessive suffix marking a possessed NP, and the possessed NP triggers object conjugation (*object agreement* according to Nikolaeva). In both cases, the possessor of an object with the verb in object conjugation is likely to be activated. Nikolaeva argues that an object with a verb in subject conjugation is inactivated and the focus, whereas an object with a verb in object conjugation is activated and a (secondary) topic. Because secondary topic status is also generated in relationship to the topic, an object with a verb in object conjugation in Khanty is impossible in a sentence with no topic.

Nikolaeva's claim differs from the traditional description which states that object conjugation marks the definiteness of the object (e.g. Honti 1984, Steinitz 1950: 74–75). Bese et al (1970: 121–122) the evidence that Vahk Khanty data doesn't meet the criteria of definite objects (with verbs in object conjugation) mentioned in Steinitz's study. They concluded that the definiteness of object in Khanty depends on the context, rather than morphological criteria. Koshkareva (2002) also discusses the function of Kazym Khanty object conjugation (*object agreement* according to her). Her explanation is based on the definition of theme and rheme: an object appearing in connection with subject conjugation expresses theme and one in connection with object agreement expresses rheme. Unfortunately, it is

¹⁵It is most likely that it was translated from Russian.

difficult to comment on this since her study does not provide any theories to her definition(s). Nikolaeva also notes Northern Khanty ditransitive construction from the point of topicality. According to her, this construction can be explained by the framework of information flow:

S-Lat (recipient)-O (theme)-V(Subject conjugation)
S-O(recipient)-Loc (theme)-V(Object conjugation)

When the recipient is in the DO position, the object conjugation is triggered and it is encoded as a secondary topic. In these ditransitive structures, focus is encoded as an oblique, whereas the secondary topic is encoded as a DO. In terms of morphology, the unmarked option for the recipient is secondary topic marking with the object conjugation, while for the patient, it is focus marking with the subject conjugation.

4.3.2 PASSIVE

Kulonen's work on the Ob-Ugric passive is significant. Her work is framed mainly in semantics. Kulonen claimed that the main function of passivization is the promotion of the patient to topic and the demotion of the agentive to focus. The patient is the object and the agent is the subject of the corresponding active clause. It is characteristic of these languages that an element other than patient can also be promoted in passivization. Topicalization of an element other than agent thus requires passivization in the Ob-Ugric languages (Kulonen 1989).

Filchenko expanded on the study of the Vasyugan Khanty passive from the perspective of information flow, not only at the clause but also at the discourse level. Many of his claims are similar to those made by Kulonen (Filchenko 2010: 392–401).

The most remarkable feature in Filchenko is the function of the passive in discourse. According to Filchenko, the Vasyugan Khanty passive marks a change in the degree of pragmatic centrality of referents, temporally foregrounding the status of the non-agent and backgrounding the status of agent. Even though the passive changes, the pragmatic status of referents at the clausal level, the demoted agentive referent at the discourse level can maintain high activation status. The way its topicality can be maintained is that a demoted agent in a passive structure is allowed to appear as a topic in a discourse immediately after a passive without any topic promotion. He concluded that the passive is not used to establish a new discourse topic (Filchenko 2010: 402–411).

In other words, topics are subjects in both voices. Nikolaeva explains that because there is a strong requirement for topic to be encoded as the subject, the passive aims to maintain this relationship (Nikolaeva 1999b: 30–33, 58–60).

4.3.3 ERGATIVE

The so-called ergative structure seems to be characteristic of Eastern Khanty. Even though Nikolaeva found a few examples of locative subjects in Northern Khanty, they do not show any productivity when they appear in discourse (1999b). According to Filchenko, the ergative is quite a common choice in Vasyugan (see also Kulonen 1989). In his data, passive sentences make up 16% and ergative sentences 12%.

From a syntactic point of view, Honti and Kulonen argue that the ergative structure is used when the speaker wishes to clearly express the roles of agent and patient when they are semantically equal (Honti 1984: 93–94; Kulonen 1989: 297). Additionally, Kulonen has expanded upon the Ob-Ugric passive, stating that the use of the ergative in Eastern Khanty is functional because it depends on semantics and pragmatics. (Kulonen 1989: 298)

Filchenko questions traditional terminology where *ergative* is used in Uralic studies. Traditionally, a non-canonical subject in the locative has been called ergative (e.g. Honti 1984, Kulonen 1989, Ruttkay-Miklián 2002, Havas 2006), even though this structure does not crosslinguistically represent the typical case of ergative in Khanty (see Chapter 3 on this structure). Instead of ergative, Filchenko calls this structure locative S/A and noncanonical S/A. Since the term *ergative* may confuse readers of the present study, I will refer to this structure as locative subject (or locative S/A), even though the phenomenon of the ergative varies crosslinguistically (e.g. Dixon 1994).

Filchenko takes pragmatics into account in his study of the Vasyugan Khanty locative subject structure. His results show that the subject/agent¹⁶ of such a structure is typically known, definite information and also is semantically human/animate. The agent of the clause marks a temporary alternation of the discourse topic and the locative agent expresses a new topic. Locative S/A is a kind of combination of both subject and non-subject features. It tends to encode temporary pragmatic topicality with low control/volition and is de-emphasised. Filchenko linked this conclusion to the fact that the referent of a bear appears as a locative S/A in his data. This fact reflects the cultural background of Khanty in that a bear is a pure totem animal, which one should not discuss. This logic is based on Onishi's (2001) claim that non-canonical clauses reduce control/volition. (Filchenko 2006, See also Sosa 2008).

4.4 TERMINOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

The studies by Nikolaeva are extensive and give new perspectives to both Uralic studies and their theoretical framework. In addition, the terminology

¹⁶ Filchenko uses the term *agent* for the subject of transitive verbs and *subject* for the subject of intransitive verbs according to Dixon who uses the terminology in his explanation and analysis of the mechanism of the ergative (1979, 1994).

in Nikolaeva et al. (1993) differs from what is used in traditional Uralic studies. This may confuse readers accustomed to these traditional studies.

The terms *agreement* and *conjugation* may be confusing. Nikolaeva mainly uses the term *agreement*, and briefly commented on the term *conjugation* in that subject agreement affixes in intransitive and transitive verbs are traditionally called subject conjugation, and subject and object agreement affixes in transitive verbs are traditionally called object conjugation (Nikolaeva 1999a). In the present study, I will use the term *conjugation* because it generally represents a category and is a concrete, formal property of a verb, whereas *agreement* is a phenomenon also used for noun phrases. Based on Coppock and Wechsler (2012: 705-706), the difference between *agreement* and object *conjugation* in the present study is that *agreement* is the systematic covariation between formal properties of the object and *conjugation* concerns formal properties of the verb.

Related to the conjugation, I use the term *subject/object conjugation*, not *subjective/objective conjugation*, in the present study, even though some research on the information structure of Uralic languages use the terms *subjective/objective conjugation* (e.g. Virtanen 2015). The reason is simply to prevent misunderstanding: the adjective *subjective* is based on the human's feeling or opinion, the adjective *objective* means 'neutral' etc.

CHAPTER 5. DATA

5.1 THE DATA

My data consists of 295 minutes 20 seconds of audio recorded personal narratives. It is representative of spoken narrative discourse and correlates with the theoretical framework based on discourse function and the assumption that the cognition of the participants in discourse is limited to planning strategies.

Khanty has had a strong oral tradition, covering, for example, mythology, ritual songs and folklore tales. There is a low amount of Surgut Khanty literature, and its first novel was written by Eremej Ajpin in 1986.

The data in my analysis include traditional folklore tales, life stories, narratives about Khanty culture and interviews after seeing the film *The Pear Story*¹⁷. The speaker's ability to perform is required in this genre (Csepregi 1997: 75). On the other hand, the speaker's strategy in this genre reflects these performances. Some of the data has already been published as language samples taken by Csepregi (1998a, 2002 and 2011) and Csepregi and Sosa (2009). The rest is the property of the author. I will use available published data originally spoken in Surgut Khanty after the 1970s, except for Honti (1978) and Honti & Rusvai (1977). I have not used the aforementioned because even though the language samples are very important, especially since no sample has been published on the dialect previously, as they unfortunately seem to deviate from the original narratives. The amended data doesn't represent the real language use of the speakers. In such instances, it is not clear just how to analyse the speaker's choice of morphosyntactic form and how it would relate to the speaker's intention in the discourse.

Older data, collected by the Finnish scholar Heikki Paasonen approximately 100 years ago (Vértes 2001), has also been left out of the present study, as I have only concentrated on 20th and 21st century data. Similarly the comparison of data from different Khanty variations is also left out of the present study. The comparison of data from different eras and variants will be left for a future study. Some may think that I should enlarge the data by taking the data collected by Paasonen to satisfy the examples of

¹⁷ *The Pear Story* was filmed at the University of California, Berkeley in 1975. The short film (6 minutes) has no dialogue, only background sounds, and was made for linguistic research on how people talk about subjects they have experienced and later recall. The original research is based on the hypothesis that language use depends on what people are conscious of, focusing on their internal attention. More than 50 language samples were used for the original and subsequent projects. The purpose was to show the film to speakers of a number of different languages, and they were asked to explain what happened in it. (Chafe 1980)

rare case as locative subject. However, we can not find locative subject even in the older data, for example in the data of Paasonen (Vértes 2001).

The range and amount of data is limited to Surgut Khanty narrative discourse which was originally spoken in the 20th and 21st century data in the present study. First, in the present study, the whole text has been analysed, not only certain features in the texts. More data would be too big to discuss precisely, and the range and amount of the data would be limited. Surgut Khanty narrative discourse which was originally spoken on 20th and 21st century data in the present study. Second, the older language samples are not suitable because languages changes with time. For this reason, I have excluded the older sample representing variation through time. Comparison of the different eras will be left for future studies. Third, the main method and theory of the present study, PAS is known as to be sensitive to the text genre (e.g. Kärkkäinen 1996). Also, recently, some new publications in Khanty have been published, however, I excluded these in the present study too, based on the reasons mentioned above.

The data used in this study is represented by A through F below. Even though the data has been collected from many Surgut Khanty dialectal areas, it does not cover all its different dialects. For clarity, I will give more detailed information on the unpublished data than those that were published.

Published language samples:

A. Márta Csepregi (1998a): *Szurguti osztják chrestomathia*

This collection contains 11 tales, a total of approximately 90 minutes of recordings, which Márta Csepregi collected in her fieldwork in 1992 and 1996 (Csepregi 1998a). This data also contains songs and written texts, but only narratives and oral language were selected for this study. These narratives were produced by various speakers of all ages.

B. Márta Csepregi and Sachiko Sosa (2009): *Comparable sample texts of Surgut Khanty in 1996 and 2008*

This comparative data contains six tales, a total of approximately 18 minutes of recordings, which Csepregi first collected in the River Tromagan area in 1996 and then with Sosa in Budapest in 2008 (Csepregi and Sosa 2009). The data represents two chronologically different variations of three tales. Olesya Yosifovna Sopochna reproduced the same stories she had told twelve years earlier. The first one had been recorded when she was 8 years old (B1) and the second when she was 19 (B2). She

also recounted a story which had won a prize in a literature competition (*Khanty Yasang* ‘The Khanty language’; 26/2007, p. 4).

B1/2-A “A man made a trap”

B1/2-B “The fire goddess”

B1/2-C “The woman who changed into a cuckoo”

C. Márta Csepregi (2002): *Texte in chantischer Sprache vom Fluss Agan*

C was collected by Csepregi in Agan. The speaker Eremej Aipin is a well-known writer and a Member of the State Duma in the Russian Federation and in the Khanty-Mansjysk Autonomous Okrug. He has published novels and a play in Khanty (e.g. Ajpin 1986 [2003][2004], 1991). This data contains the narratives on Khanty culture: house of Khanty (C-1), baking bread (C-2), fire (C-3). The recording is 14 minutes long.

D. Márta Csepregi (2011): *Szurguti hanti folklór szövegek*

This fieldwork sample comprises materials collected by Katalin Lázár in 1992 and Márta Csepregi between 1992 and 1996. It contains six tales, a total of approximately 84 minutes of recordings. The speakers are from the Great Yugan and the Trom-Agan Rivers.

Unpublished language samples:

E. contains nine tales, a total of approximately 64 minutes of recordings, which the author collected in Budapest in 2008. The speaker Svetlana¹⁸ was 19-years-old at the time of recording. The data consists of fairy tales and other narratives such as myths, life stories and *The Pear Story*. The following is a list of these recordings with titles given by the author.

E1. Recorded 8 February 2008. My Life: The informant speaks about her childhood and family. 7 minutes.

E2. Recorded 15 February 2008. The Sun: The informant speaks about the sun in Khanty culture. 2 minutes.

¹⁸ The names of the speakers have been changed to preserve anonymity. Only relevant information such as age, home, village and so forth, will be shown.

Data

E3. Recorded 22 February 2008. My Life Today: The informant speaks about her life at the time of recording. 7 minutes 25 seconds.

E4. Recorded 7 March 2008. *The Pear Story* in Khanty: The informant recounts *The Pear Story* in Khanty after watching the film. 3 minutes 32 seconds.

E5. Recorded 14 March 2008. The Reindeer: The informant tells a folk tale about reindeer and talks about her experience with them. 9 minutes 03 seconds.

E6. Recorded 20 March 2008. The Fairy Tale: The fairy tale was originally written by the informant in 2007 for a Khanty literature competition. She told the same story, but this time orally, without reading or seeing the printed version. 16 minutes 12 seconds.

E7. Recorded 28 March 2008. Fairies: The informant talks about fairies in Khanty culture. 9 minutes 6 seconds.

E8. Recorded 9 April 2008. The forest monster: The informant tells a folk tale about a mythical beast, the forest monster 4 minutes 47 seconds.

E9. Recorded 9 April 2008. A Woman and her Aunt: The informant tells a folk tale about a woman and her aunt. 5 minutes 20 seconds.

F. contains two, a total of approximately 45 minutes of recordings, which the author collected in Budapest in 2009. The data consists of *The Pear Story* and a life story. The speaker, Oksana (see footnote 18), comes from a village by the Yugan River. She was 43 years old at the time of recording. She has studied in a teacher training programme at Herzen Pedagogical University in Leningrad (now St Petersburg). She has taught Khanty language and culture in schools in the Surgut Khanty speaking area for years. At the time of recording, she worked as a journalist at the newspaper *Khanty Yasang*, which is to date the only Khanty journal in existence. In addition, she has edited Khanty teaching materials. Like informant B and Svetlana (E), Oksana is one of the few native speakers who are very literate in Khanty.

F1 Recorded 21 January 2009. My Life: The informant talks about her life, from childhood to present. 38 minutes 52 seconds.

F2 Recorded 26 January 2009. *The Pear Story*. 6 minutes 24 seconds.

5.2 ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION AND ENCODING OF THE DATA

5.2.1 TRANSCRIPTION

I have partly transcribed the audio data with my Khanty informants (E, F and some of B). The others have been transcribed by Csepregi together with her informants (A, C, D and part of B). The data given by the speakers were directly transcribed with no grammatical corrections. Furthermore, I did not annotate any phonological features such as intonation, pause and so on. The reason why I did not transcribe these features is because morphosyntax is the main focus of this study, not prosody. Basically, I applied the rules of Du Bois et al. (1993) without transcribing these phonological features. The transcription and the orthography of the data have been simplified, mainly following the system of traditional Uralic studies (i.e. Finno-Ugric transcription, FUT).

I have additionally made a digital corpus of the excerpts for the present study and used it for the statistical analysis. The corpus consists of a precise morphosyntax analysis, the meaning of each word and its translation into English. This corpus is useful for this kind of study, especially in terms of the main method, Preferred Argument Structure (PAS), which is much like corpus linguistics: taking statistics of the research findings. I consider this morphosyntactic analysis to be a part of the results of a 'basic analysis' not 'a part of the data' nor a 'translation of the language studied' (cf. Leipzig Glossing Rules to Lehman 1983 on the differences in terms of morphological interlining and glossing).

However, the systematic, basic morphological analysis in this study is limited to part of the data. Even though it is not the main part of my study, my basic morphological and semantic analysis shows enough tendencies to cover it.

5.2.2 MORPHOSYNTACTIC GLOSSING AND ABBREVIATIONS

I have applied the Leipzig Glossing Rules to the morphological analysis of this study. These rules are well designed, but they are limited in certain fields of linguistic phenomena. For example, features that are very common to the Uralic languages, such as possessive suffixes and the number and person possessed as well as object conjugation, are not found in the rules and the list of abbreviations. Thus, I added these missing morphosyntactic phenomena to the list.

In this study, the first line of an example is that of the language analysed, Language 1 (L1), mostly Surgut Khanty. The second line is the morphological and lexical analysis of L1. The third possible line is a syntactic analysis as needed. The last line is the translation into Language 2 (L2), which is English. The figure (5.1) is an example of glossing:

(5.1) Glossing sample.

L1	ma	mən-λ-əm
Morphological analysis	1 SG	go-PRS-1 SG
Syntactic analysis	SBJ	PRD.V
Translation into L2	'I go.'	

In order to keep the analysis as simple as possible, the nominative singular for nouns is not noted. Although the present tense, for the sake of simplicity, is often not glossed, it is for this study. This is because Surgut Khanty has a present tense marker but not for the past tense (see Chapter 3).

Figure 4 Glossing order.

1. Finite verbs:
Lexical stem-Tense-Mood/Voice-Number of Object < Person of Subject
2. Nouns:
Lexical stem-Case-Number of Possessed < Person of Possessor

Note, that Figure 4 does not mean that all clauses have all grammatical elements in them.

In the following, there are examples (5.2–5.6) from Surgut Khanty data, on how the grammatical features of Khanty are described and analysed in this study (see Chapter 3 on the grammar of Khanty).

(5.2) Present and past tense with subject conjugation.

ma	pän-λ-əm.
1 SG	put-PRS-1 SG
'I (do) put (something).'	

ma	pän-əm.
1 SG	put-PST.1 SG
'I (did) put (something).'	
(A.29)	

(5.3) Object conjugation

ma	pän-λ-em.
1 SG	put-PRS-SG<1 SG
'I (do) put it.'	
(A: 29)	

(5.4) Passive

mäŋk iki-nə əntə toŋəmt-i.
forest.monster-LOC NEG understand-PASS.PST.3SG
The Forest monster did not understand.'
'It was not understood by the forest monster'
(A: 30)

(5.5) Participle structures.

mən-tə ne
go-PTCP.PST woman
DEP HEAD
'The woman who is going'

arəŋ tu-tə qo
song bring-PTCP.PST man
DEP DEP HEAD
'The man who brings a song'

jăqə jöwət-t-a λat-nə
to home come-PTCP.PST-2SG time-LOC
ADV PRD POST
'When you come home.'
(A: 32)

(5.6) Possessive nominal phrases.

qut-əm
home-POSS.SG<1SG
'my home (house)'

qāt-λaλ
home-POSS.PL<3PL
'their homes (houses)'
(A: 22)

5.3 INTERVIEWS WITH THE INFORMANTS

In addition to the analysis based on transcribed recordings, I also consulted Surgut Khanty native informants. These informants are same as the data E/Svetlana and F/Oksana. In the present study, I may mention these names when I refer to the interviews with them in the examples. I used questionnaires (appended to the end of the study) as a foundation to the

interviews. First, I chose linguistic features from the Surgut Khanty discourse data to be analysed in the present study. These features from the original text consist of linguistic forms which can both be expected and unexpected from the crosslinguistic tendencies of information structure. For example, the primary topical referent in the A role can be expected to be uttered affixally or pronominally. I then removed these features from the discourse and asked the informants to enter the most appropriate choice from two to six alternatives. The informants could choose one or enter “none of these” giving the possible best expression they would use. If the answers are similar to the original text, it is (at least close to) the expected choice from the native speaker, even if it seems to be an unexpected form compared to crosslinguistic tendencies. The answers give some insight as to how the speakers’ intuitions correlate with crosslinguistically studied theories. Theoretically, the following are possible to expect from the questionnaires (Table 6):

Table 6. *The possible patterns of answers to the questionnaire.*

Is the preferred expression theoretically expected? (Yes or No)

Alternatives	Informant’s choice	In relation to the original text same as the original text?
Yes	Yes	Same as the original text
Yes	No	Not the same as the original text
No	No	Same as the original text
No	No	Not the same as the original text
No	Yes	Same as the original text
No	Yes	Not the same as the original text

I did not reveal the purpose of the task to the informants beforehand since this could have influenced their answers. If the speaker would start considering the use of their language intentionally, the ‘produced expression’ could be unnatural. Such influence could be seen, for example, in the translations and elicited examples. In these interviews, the intuition of the speaker is more important than his or her linguistic knowledge of grammar, and a ‘purely natural’ answer is what is needed the most. After the informants finished all their questionnaires, I discussed their answers with them in detail. The results from the questionnaires and interviews are referred to in the present study in order to support and give more insight to the analysis.

In addition to the above mentioned questionnaire, I have consulted with the informants for the usage of certain words and morphosyntactic features in Surgut Khanty.

Even though the intuition of informants is important in understanding language, it is neither the core interest nor a central part of my research. Instead, the results of the interviews are only considered to be comparative material. The main analysis of my research is based on the real language use, that is, data from the texts, not intuition.

CHAPTER 6. DATA ANALYSIS: NOUN PHRASE TYPES IN SURGUT KHANTY

In this chapter, I will examine my Surgut Khanty data to find patterns of information flow through noun phrases in discourse and argue how it tends to take grammatical shape in discourse-based functional grammar (see Chapter 2). The aim of this analysis is to provide evidence of (surface) formal, semantic and pragmatic functions of core grammatical roles. These could be, for example, semantic roles such as agentive, patient, recipient and pragmatic functions such as topicality, introducing the information and referential continuity in discourse. There is no clear and simple system of preferred referential form, and the output is produced according to various motives and constraints in discourse. The sections in this chapter will present possible motives and constraints to referential choice in Surgut Khanty discourse in terms of correlation between form and function in discourse.

First (section 6.1), I will show statistical evidence on the relations of referential (surface) forms of noun phrases and grammatical roles based on the Preferred Argument Structure theory (Du Bois 1987) and other discourse-based functional grammars (e.g. Givón 1984a, Lambrecht 1994). Grammar offers speakers tools for expressing given propositional contents in different grammatical forms in varied discourse circumstances (Lambrecht 1994). In other words, morphosyntax and referential forms function as grammatical resources in information structure.

Based on PAS theory, the noun phrase types in this chapter will be categorized and analysed morphologically. The term *morphology* may cause confusion with the general understanding in that it usually refers to inflection. In order to avoid confusion, this study will refer to *noun phrase types* instead of morphological types, while *morphology* in the traditional sense will refer specifically to dependent morphology and will also be discussed later in this chapter.

Next, I will analyse the interrelation between grammatical and semantic roles. Since the relationship between morphosyntax and semantics has been discussed a great deal, I will refer to previous studies on this, especially in regard to the Ob-Ugric languages (e.g. Kulonen 1989, Filchenko 2006 and 2010, Nikolaeva 1999ab and 2001, Virtanen 2015). I will also analyse the appearance of an obligatory recipient (See Chapter 3) in addition to the noun phrase types PAS employs.

Finally, I will pursue a pragmatic dimension to configure the abovementioned basic analysis of noun phrases. I will argue how the appearance of a noun phrase relates to its information status and how referent tracking shapes grammatical choice in discourse. Language usage is “packaged” for appropriate assimilation by the hearer, containing previous discourse and nonverbalised information (e.g. Chafe 1976, Du Bois 1987).

I will use a part of the data (A and B, see section 5.1) in my quantitative analysis. I selected A and B for quantitative analysis because they contain different speakers of various ages, whereas C, E and F consist of one single speaker each. I did not carry out the quantitative study on D since the analysis on A and B show enough tendencies and patterns in discourse.

6.1 STATISTICS: REFERENTIAL FORM TYPES OF NOUN PHRASES AND GRAMMATICAL ROLE

I have identified all the referential forms in the data, that is full NPs, pronouns and verbal affixes. This categorisation is based on surface appearance, which includes zero as affixal and a semantic structure characteristic to Khanty in which the grammatical subject does not correspond to semantic subject (e.g. evidential structure; see Chapter 3).

I excluded negative, imperative, passive and other undefined contexts from my quantitative analysis. Crosslinguistically, referencing in negative and imperative cases can be realized differently from affirmative ones. They will be taken into consideration as necessary. I will refer to a quantitative analysis of the passive previously carried out (Kulonen 1989).

Based on the PAS theory, a lexical realization (“mention” under Du Bois 1987) in the present study consists of an overt, full NP with its possible cross-referencing verbal affix, a pronominal realization consists of an independent personal pronoun with its possible cross-referencing verbal affix, and an affixal realization consists of a cross-referencing verbal affix without an overt, full NP or pronoun. The subject of an intransitive verb and a nonverbal predicate is categorized as S, the subject of a transitive verb categorized as A, and the object of a transitive verb is categorized as O. (Du Bois 1987: 814.) In addition to ASO roles, I have identified an obligatory oblique of two or three-place clauses, referred to as Obl (=oblique). In other words, Obl will specifically only refer to obligatory obliques. (See Chapter 3.)

The object has the most alternatives of referential forms: lexical, pronominal in the accusative and affixal with or without lexical or pronominal realization. In addition to the aforementioned noun phrase types, objects are also only classified as LEX+V, which consists of a cross-referencing verbal affix with an overt lexical realization. While the finite verb requires either subject or object conjugation, the presence of object does not automatically trigger object conjugation. Since the affixal argument in verbal inflection is obligatory with the utterance of subject, it is clear that the category of lexical or pronominal argument means a set of lexical or pronominal arguments and verbal inflection. In analysing objects, affixal appearance/utterance/realization means that they only appear in verbal inflection as a suffix of object conjugation, and I will explicate each of these in turn below. The classification of O roles is shown below with examples (6.1):

(6.1) The classification of O roles.

- a) Categorized as affixal: The object is marked only affixally in the object conjugation:

in əkət-λə-təγ.
 just collect-PRS-SG<3SG
 ‘He just takes it.’
 (E4)

- b) Categorized as Lex+V: The object is marked both affixally and lexically in the object conjugation:

op-em mə-λ-em t’iw, t’iw!
 sister-POSS.SG<1SG give-PRS-SG<1SG tweet.tweet
 ‘I will give you my sister tweet tweet!’
 (The speaker is a bird.)
 (A: 68)

- c) Categorized as pronominal: The object is realized in the pronoun, and the verb has no marking of the object:

ma nūŋ-at nik t’i tärt-λ-əm.
 1SG 2SG-ACC down this (PTCL) grill-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will barbeque you.’
 (A: 68)

- d) Categorized as lexical: The object is realized in a full NP and not marked in the verb by object conjugation.

kat newrem-γən tōj-γən.
 two child-DU have-PST.3DU
 ‘They had two children.’
 (B2C)

In this study, transitivity is based on the following syntactic definition:

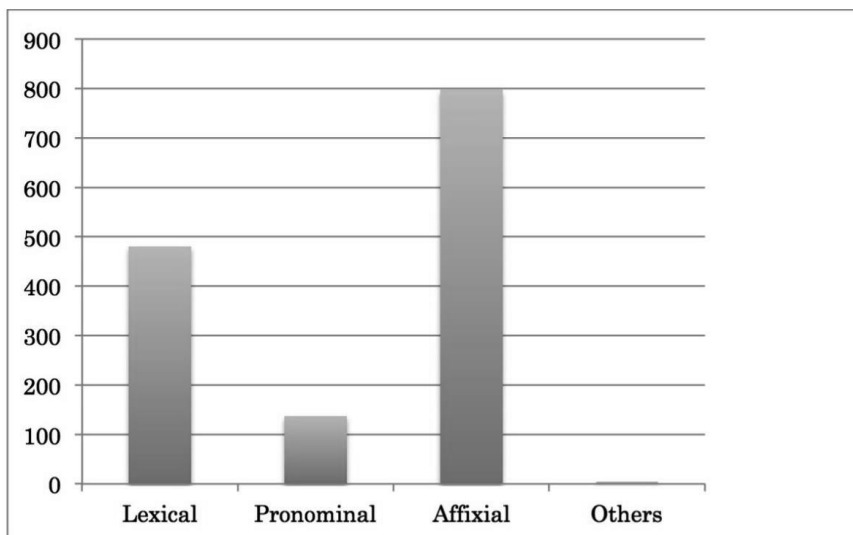
“Clauses and verbs that have a direct object are syntactically transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive.” (Givón 2001: 109.)

In this respect, intransitives in this study also include clauses with a nominal predicate.

6.1.1 S: SUBJECT OF INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The figure 6.1 shows the distribution of referential forms of the S role in my Surgut Khanty data. Of all the S arguments, the most are affixals, being 797 or 57.3%. Second is lexical arguments, a total of 481 or 34.6%. There are less pronominal arguments, 137 or 9.8% (Figure 5).

Figure 5 The distribution of the S role in noun phrases.



It is difficult to see crosslinguistic tendencies in the S role form. As previous studies on S role noun types have differed from each other, it is difficult to see crosslinguistic tendencies in its form. Due to the sub-categories of the S role found in these studies, I have adjusted the results from different languages along with the definition, denoting the subject of a one-argument verb. The S role includes intransitive verbs and non-verbal structures such as nominal predicates. (Du Bois 1987, initiated by Dixon 1979). The data below is from Du Bois et al. 2003 (Table 7):

Table 7. The distribution of noun phrase types of S in different languages (%).

	Lexical	Pronoun	Affixal/ Zero	Clause
Old French	46	22	32	0
Old Spanish	32.3	18.2	49	0.5
Korean (early childhood language)	26	18	56	
English (classroom)	52	37	8	3
English (boys with autism)	11	77	12	
Roviana	22	50	28	
Early childhood Inuktitut	6	9	85	

Table 7 shows the variations of the distribution of noun phrase forms of S in discourse. The statistically favoured form differs between languages and discourse types. The boldfaced percentages are the most favoured noun phrase forms in the discourse of each language.. The result is divided almost equally into three: two discourses (Old French, English) favour the lexical S, two discourses (English, Roviana) favour the pronominal S, and three discourses (Old Spanish, Korean and Inuktitut) favour the Zero/Affixal S.

6.1.2 A: SUBJECT OF TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

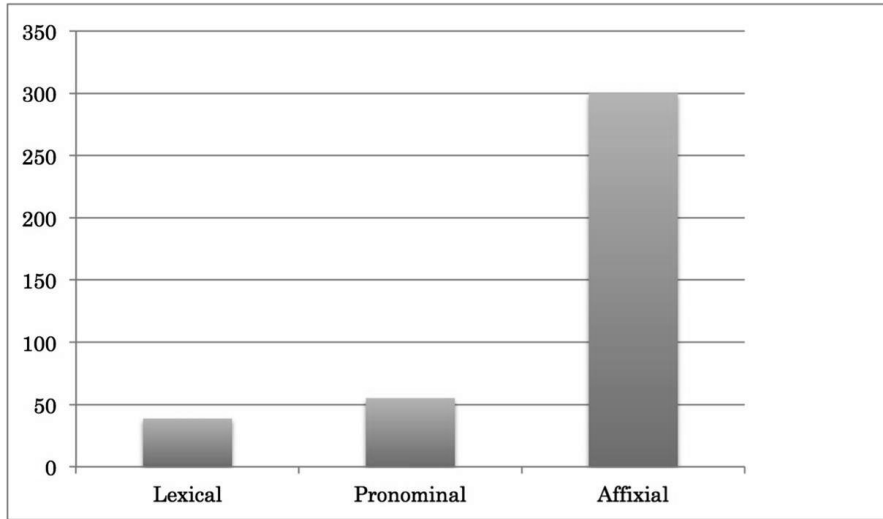
Figure 6 shows the distribution of referential forms of the A role in my data. Affixal arguments are predominant with 302 or 76.3%. Pronominal realizations follow with 55 or 13.9%, and 39 lexical realization or 9.8% (Figure 6).

Previous studies have pointed out the functional difference between a full NP and pronoun or zero anaphora and the link to pragmatic statuses such as new/given information or topicality (e.g. Chafe 1976, Givón 1983a, Lambrecht 1994). In addition to semantics and pragmatics, syntax is also linked to morphological choice. Related to this tendency, Du Bois formulated the constraint as “non-lexical A” (“avoid lexical As”) in PAS theory. He argued that the subject of a transitive clause, A, rarely appears as a lexical realization (“mention” under Du Bois 1987), but rather as a pronoun or zero anaphora. (Du Bois 1987) In Finnish as well, the majority of As are pronouns (Helasvuo 2001: 85–88). The evidence from Finnish supports the non-lexical A constraint as provided by PAS.

The results of the Khanty data analysis also support the non-lexical A constraint. The majority of As are affixal argument (76.1%) and pronominal argument (14%). There are only 39 lexical As or 9.9% of the data. In some of

the Khanty tales (A:56-58, 82-94), there are more clauses with two lexical arguments . I will return to this topic later.

Figure 6 The distribution of noun phrase types in the A role.



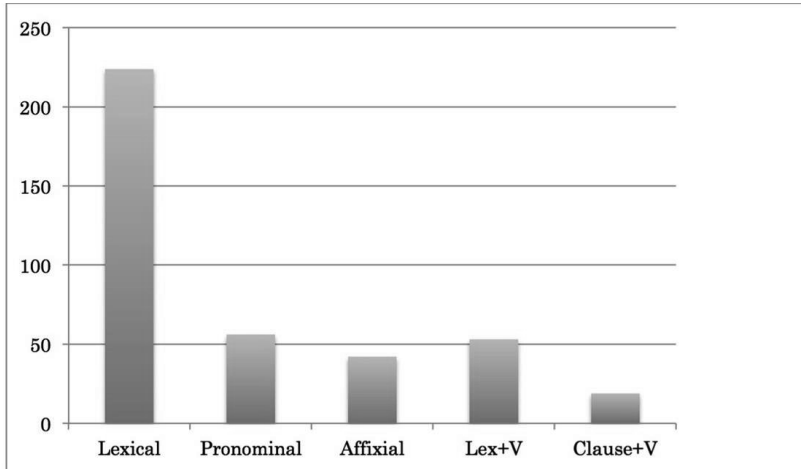
6.1.3 O: OBJECT

Previous studies on PAS theory have demonstrated that O tends to appear as a lexical argument. The results of my Khanty data analysis also supports this tendency. Figure 7 shows the distribution of referential forms of O. The lexical realization is predominant with 224 occurrences or 56.6% and 53 Lex+V or 13.5%, a total of 70.1%. The affixal realizations follow with 44 occurrences or 11.1 %, and the 56 pronominals or 14.1%, the clause as object 19 or 4.7 %.

Here the clause object provides interesting results. The clause object triggers both subject and object conjugation. The verb of the main clause is typically *jastə -ta* ‘to say’. The same phenomenon can be seen in Old Hungarian where *monda-ni* ‘to say’ as a finite verb in a main clause triggers both indefinite conjugation (= agrees only with the subject) and definite conjugation (= agrees with both the subject and object) while clause objects always trigger definite conjugation in contemporary Hungarian. Old Hungarian Indefinite conjugation seems to appear with the demonstrative word *ugy* adverbial, which tends to trigger the subject conjugation, whereas definite conjugation seems to appear with the demonstrative pronoun *az-t* (‘that-acc’). (Benkő 1992: 232, also Old Hungarian corpus). In this study, I

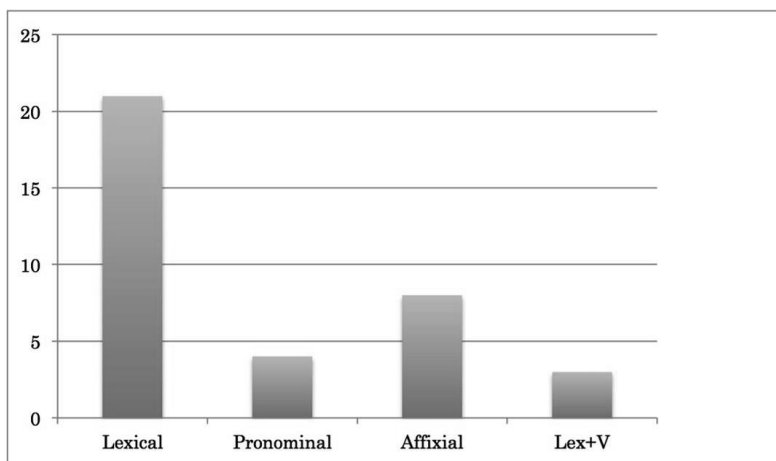
will concentrate on noun phrases and the clause object will be excluded from the research topic.

Figure 7 The distribution of noun phrase types in the O role.



Imperative clauses show slightly different results. I will briefly present the O of an imperative even though this is not within the framework of my analysis. In these clauses, a lexical argument O is most common with a total of 58.4% (21/36); affixial O is 22.2%, pronominal O 11.1%, and Lex V-O is 8.3%. In imperative clauses, a pronominal O is found more than affixial. (Figure 8)

Figure 8 The distribution of noun phrase types of O roles in imperative clauses.



In Eastern Mansi, a closely related language to Khanty, the distribution of the O role is different in spite of the general understanding that the Ob-Ugric languages are similar in their structures (even though the actual forms are not). The object is often realized as zero anaphora, that is with the object conjugation. More than 90% of subject conjugation instances are accompanied by a lexical argument. (Virtanen 2014: 402.) On the other hand, there is also some similarity. Marking definiteness is not limited to the object conjugation. There are other grammatical strategies, such as possessive suffixes. Moreover, the function of the object conjugation is not limited to marking definiteness. (Virtanen 1994:319; 2015.)

6.1.4 OBL: OBLIGATORY OBLIQUE

In the data selected for quantitative analysis, there are only seven Obl, that is “oblique objects”. All of the S roles in the clauses with an Obl argument are realized as affixal, and all of the Obl roles are realized as lexical. There are 10 affirmative clauses with three core participants. Dative shift alternations are more often passivized. There are three pronominal As and six affixals. There are six pronominal Os and four affixals. All the Obl roles of three-place structure are lexical. Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 will show a further analysis.

6.1.5 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OVERVIEW

The quantitative analysis of referential forms of grammatical roles in this study shows a distribution of forms which is predictable on the basis of previous research. Figure 9 shows that the affixal form is predominate for subject (S and A roles). Contrarily, the O role typically appears in full a NP. The low ratio of lexical realization of the A role supports Du Bois’ non-lexical A constraint, being 39/394 or 9.9%. This also reflects the one lexical argument constraint insofar that the O role has a high ratio of lexical realization being 224/394 or 56.9%, and there is a higher percentage when combined with the number of affixes in object conjugation ($224+53 = 277/394 = 70.3\%$). The speaker’s motivations to select an exceptional surface form of lexical A and affixal O will be discussed later.

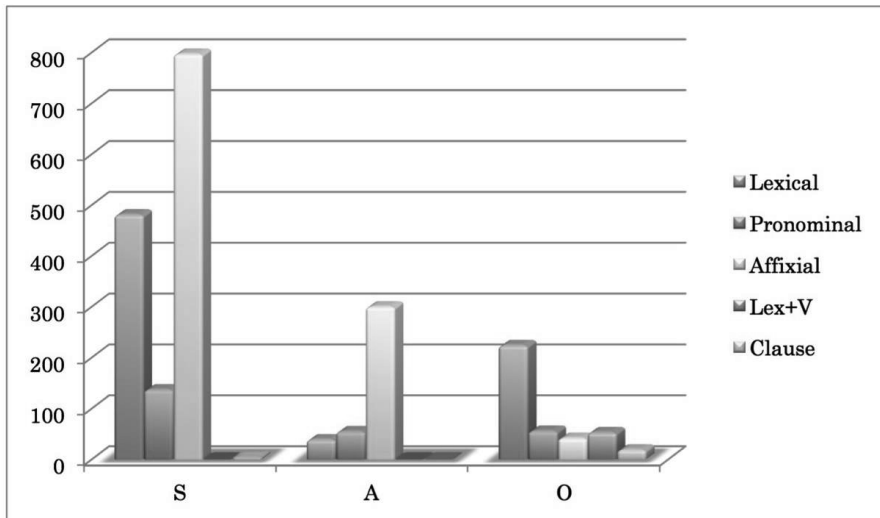
In my Surgut Khanty data, the distribution of lexical realizations amongst structural syntactic positions also shows these PAS constraints. The data and the analysis indicate that Surgut Khanty speakers use a lexical realization for the S and O roles more often than for the A role. Figure 9 shows that a substantial percentage of lexical arguments in the distribution appears in the S and the O roles, but a smaller percentage in the A role.

Crosslinguistic studies have shown that pronouns appear more frequently in discourse than full NPs, and a full NP is the most common choice for the O role. In my data, the most common referential form in Surgut Khanty discourse is affixal (1154), the second is lexical (759) and the least frequent is pronominal (257). It is interesting that the percentage of lexical arguments is

relatively high, in spite of the fact that most of the referents in the discourse represent given information which tends to appear as a pronoun or an affixal/ellipsis form. Even though a lexical or a pronominal realization is not obligatory in anaphoric or referential utterances and an affixal realization in a verb alone would be enough, lexical and pronominal realizations are not rare in my data. It could be related to the genre: according to Fox (1987: 141), more full NPs appears in written monologic text than non-story conversation¹⁹.

Another interesting feature in my quantitative data, in contrast with other languages, is that it demonstrates a substantially higher ratio of intransitive than transitive clauses. The percentage of intransitive clauses is predominant: my Surgut Khanty data contains 1,422 intransitive clauses and 405 transitive clauses or 77.9% intransitive and 22.1% transitive clauses. In contrast, for example Sakapulteko's data show 40.4% transitive clauses (Du Bois 1987: 810) and Korean data shows 50% (Clancy 2003: 84).

Figure 9 The distribution of noun phrase types.



¹⁹The data show 47% of a full NP in monologic text, whereas 22% in non-story conversation. (Fox 1987: 141)

6.1.6 ONE LEXICAL ARGUMENT CONSTRAINT IN SURGUT KHANTY

6.1.6.1 General

According to PAS theory, a clause tends to avoid more than one lexical argument (Du Bois 1987). Crosslinguistically, only 1 to 7% of clauses has two lexical arguments in spontaneous speech (Du Bois 2003: 35). Like many other languages, both A and O arguments of a transitive clause in Khanty may contain full NPs at the grammatical level. The following example is an elicited clause by the author:

(6.2) Both A and O containing full NPs.

<i>imi</i>	<i>quλ</i>	<i>λi-λ.</i>
Woman	fish	eat-PRS.3SG
'a/the woman ate a fish.'		

Both arguments of a transitive verb in (6.2) contain full NPs: *imi* 'woman' for A and *quλ* 'fish' for O. This elicited clause is fully acceptable grammatically, but the question is whether this argument structure is typical in real, spontaneous Khanty discourse or not.

My data however supports the notion of a one lexical argument constraint since there are only 40 transitive clauses with two lexical arguments.²⁰ In the quantitative study, there are 11 of these clauses, making up 2.7%. Clauses that have either one or no lexical argument are almost equally common in my data. It is interesting that clauses with two lexical arguments are rare in spontaneous discourse, despite the fact that the distribution of lexical realization is common, making up 41.6% of the total (Figure 9). Statistically, the ratio of lexical arguments is relatively high. Generally, lexical arguments tend to represent new information and an inaccessible referent, whereas given information and an accessible referent tend to be represented by a less prominent form, pronoun or affix. The relatively high ratio of lexical arguments in my Surgut Khanty data may imply that the discourse function of lexical arguments is not limited to representing new information and referents in discourse.

Even though the constraints of PAS theory are very consistent in many languages, past studies have also shown some exceptional examples. In regard to these exceptions, researchers have found possible connections between these phenomena and the techniques of speakers, which make communication fluent or effective. The speaker tries to present unexpectedness in cases which violate general tendencies in discourse

²⁰Copular clauses with two lexical arguments are found in the data. The arguments of these clauses are, however, subject and predicative, and predicative clauses are not considered in the study on PAS theory.

(Huang 2007: 266). Another reason to violate the constraints of PAS is based on cultural background. In such cases, certain cultural issues limit linguistic choices (e.g. Du Bois et al. 2003).

The ratio of animacy in two lexical argument structures is the same as in the other transitive clauses. Most A role referents are animate (4 inanimate 39 animate) and most O referents are inanimate (31 inanimate and 12 animate).

In the cases when there is a new A representing new information in a two lexical argument clause, ‘a man’ becomes the topic (as in the sentences in the beginning of a tale, see (6.3):

(6.3) A introduces new information in two lexical arguments.

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. əj qo
one man
PST.SG<3SG
‘A man left home,’ | wǎł-ən
be-PTCP.PST | qut-əł
house-POSS.SG<3SG | qij-təγ,
leave- |
| 2. pa
and
‘and built a (new) house.’ | qât | wär.
house | make-PST.3SG |
| 3. qij-m-ał
leave-PTCP.PST-3SG
‘After leaving, a long time passed.’ | | qǒq-qə
long-TRA | jəγ,
come.PST.3SG |
| 4. λapət
seven
‘Seven years passed.’ | ǎł-γə
year-TRA | jəγ.
come-PST.3SG | |
| 5. wǎjəγ-qul
animal-fish | kənč-min
hunt-GRD | jǎŋq-t-ǎł-nə
go-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC | lik-əł
road-SG<3SG |
| t’u
this | qut-əł
house-POSS.SG<3SG | qǎnəŋ-nə
close-LOC | əj
one |
| məta
some | latnə
when | t’u
this | qut-əł
house-POSS.SG<3SG |
| qǎnəŋ-nə
close-LOC | mən-t-ǎł-nə
go-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC | süj
sound | set’-əł,
hear-PRS.3SG |
| qâtłumi-nə.
house of spirit-LOC | | | |

- c) it lüw jâý juk qất əntə
 now PTCL people wood house NEG

wär-λ-ət.
 make-PRS-3PL
 ‘Nowadays, people don’t build wooden houses.’
 (A: 58)

In the data, certain speakers use two lexical argument clauses many times. (6.5.)

(6.5) Clauses with two lexical arguments in the same discourse 2

- a) t’u imi t’u mə́ta
 that woman that some
- wär-λaλ tōwə tər̄mət.
 work-POSS.PL<3SG there finish-PST.3SG
 ‘That woman finished her work.’
 (A74)

- b) t’u pirəs imi lüw pắγ-ə́λ
 that old woman she son-POSS.SG<3SG
- müwə́λ.ɨ́ ä́nta, tōwə mə́j.
 what sure there give.PST.3SG
 ‘The old woman gave her son (away).’
 (A: 80)

Compared with my other informants, the speaker of the narrative (6.4) has a weaker command of Khanty because he has had to live in a sanatorium since childhood in another dialectic area of Khanty. When he was in the sanatorium, he listened to both Russian and the local Khanty dialect. Since the internal difference between Khanty dialects is significant, it is common for even a native Khanty speaker not to understand another dialect. As a result, he missed the opportunity to acquire a good command of the language and knowledge of folklore tales and culture. (Csepregi 1998a: 143.) It could be expected for him to speak differently from other native speakers. This example shows that the speaker’s command of the language also has an effect on the argument structure. (See Clancy 2003, et al. Du Bois 2003.)

In another example, the speaker chooses the two lexical argument structure four times (6.6). I classify this case as a storytelling technique. There are three competing topics in the story, boys who are following the same action. The overt appearance of the agentive makes the listeners clearly understand who is responsible for a given action. Also repeating of the

phrases or the clauses is typical in Khanty folklore tales. This traditional technique can also add to the use of the lexical realization in folklore tales.

(6.6) Clauses with two lexical arguments in the same discourse.

a) ənəλ-pi lel sar jəwət,
big-COMP older.brother forward shot.PST.3SG

ńáλ.

arrow

‘The eldest brother shot an arrow.’

b) kütəp-pi păyəλ ńáλ-länk jəwət.
middle boy-POSS.SG<3SG arrow-dull shoot-PST.3SG

‘His middle son shot a dull arrow.’

(A: 82)

c) os əj tãyi-nə kat
also one place-LOC kaksi

imi-γən=ik iyən

woman-DU-man-DU

əj

one

áčńi

sheep.leather

pul-əli

piece-DIM

λuŋk-kən.

quilt-PST.3DU

‘In one place, a woman and a man (have) quilted sheepskin.’

(A: 90)

In (6.7), the clause with two lexical arguments shows cultural influence on the argument structure. Line 1 has two lexical arguments, but line 3, which refers to the same situation, is uttered in the passive, resulting in the avoidance of two lexical arguments in the clause:

(6.7) A clause with two lexical arguments motivated by a cultural feature.

1. ‘ənta, măč qo łitot-quλ λil,
NEG stranger man food-fish eat.PRS.3SG
‘No, the guest (= the speaker) will eat food,’

2. f'ut pɪrnə jis arəγ, jis mǎńf'.
That after old song old tale
‘after that, an old song and an old tale (will be told)’

3. ja, t'u iki-nə λitot-at-quλ-at
 and that man-LOC, food-fish-INSFIN

λipt-i.

feed-PST.PASS.3SG

‘And the man gave him food.’ (*lit.* and then he was given food by the old man)

(A: 70)

In (6.7), the A role, *măč qo* ‘guest’, is a new expression, however the main character of the story, though the main character tends to be coded as given and activated information in attenuated forms as pronoun and/or affix. It is interesting that the extralinguistic context requires a lexical A: in Khanty culture, it would be impolite for a guest to say **ma λitot-quλ λi-λ-ə m* ‘I will eat food’. According to my informant, this full NP A cannot be replaced by the first person singular pronoun. Additionally, the storyteller chooses him as the A of the active clause, wanting to keep the man/I as the topic of the discourse. (Sosa 2009.)

Passivization is one strategy for avoiding two lexical arguments in a clause. Many passive sentences in the data have two lexical arguments. On the other hand, passivization is selected because of referent tracking and context. The result may shed light on the speaker’s strategy of passive use, the management of a lexical argument.

6.1.6.2 The possessive *tăj-ta* ‘to have’

In my Surgut Khanty data, it is noticeable that the verb *tăj-ta* ‘to have’ is rather common amongst two lexical argument clauses. This fact may relate to the differences in possessive structures in Surgut Khanty and other Uralic languages. All the other Uralic languages except Khanty and Mansi use other possessive structures with possessive suffixes and/or case marking of the possessor. A deeper analysis of Khanty possession will be set aside for a later study, but here I will give some examples on the possessive verb with two lexical arguments (6.8):

(6.8) A *tăj-ta* clause with two lexical arguments

ma m̄aqi jis-nə jəγ-ə̄m narkas
 1SG very old-LOC father-POSS.SG<1SG sounding

juq-qən-nin juq-qən t̄öj
 wood-DU-ADJ wood-DU have.PST.3SG

‘A long time ago, my father had two sitars.’

(A: 88)

Some clauses with a possessive verb and two lexical arguments appear at the beginning of a tale:

(6.9) A clause with two lexical arguments at the beginning of a tale.

a) əj	məta	latnə	t'u	wáč-nə
one	some	when	this	city-LOC

wǎlt-ał-nə
be-PRS.PTCP-3SG-LOC

wáč-lǝq-puyəł-lǝq-pirəs-imi-γən-iki-γən
city=edge=village=edge=old=woman-DU=man-DU

tǎqa	pǎγ	tǝj-γən
well	son	give.birth-PST.3DU

‘Once upon a time, a son was born to an old woman and a man at the edge of the city, at the edge of the village.’

(D: 32)

b) keñar	imi-γən-iki-γən	äwi	tǝj-γən
poor	woman-DU=man-DU	girl	have-PST.3DU

‘The poor man and woman had a daughter.’

(E6)

Because the tale has just started, the protagonists are introduced as new referents, and this represents information which is expected to be introduced lexically. (6.9a) introduces new information/referents in both A and O, and (6.9b) introduces a new O and a given A. Each argument, whether it is new or given information, can recur in the discourse. In (6.9a), here the verb *tǎj-ta* ‘to have’ means ‘to give birth’, it doesn’t function as the possessive verb.

In Finnish, the function of a possessed referent (existential noun phrase) in a possessive structure tends to introduce a new referent to the discourse and it tends not to be tracked. This low trackability is characteristic of an oblique argument, not to a core argument. (Helasvuo 2001: 99–100) In Khanty, possession with a possessive verb can represent both a new and given referent in O (possessed). A mainly represents a given referent, but can also represent a new one:

(6.10) Given A and new O.

säsəγ t'mint	aj	pärtəlit	tǎj-əł.
trap such	small	wooden.slat	have-PRS.3SG

‘The trap has such a small, wooden slat.’

(B1-A)

This phenomenon can be expected in Surgut Khanty under the DFA framework. In Chafe's categories of verbs based on the level of the content which they convey, the possessive is included in low content verbs which do not carry a full load of activation cost but rather is subservient to the idea expressed by the object. The possessive verb converts a referent into a state, and its meaning of possession is more predictable and less informative than the meaning of those contributing purely new information (Chafe 1994: 111). The possessive Surgut Khanty verb *tǎj-ta* also conveys more predictable and less informative content. Due to its lower activation cost, the referents of the possessive verb as A and O are not purely new, and two "new" pieces of information can exist, based on the standard definition of information status. In other words, the possessive verb presents the exceptional restriction of information status and the function of other verbs. My Surgut Khanty examples showing exceptional PAS constraints with the possessive verb also support its exceptionality amongst verbs and information structuring resources.

6.1.7 NOUN PHRASE FORMS AND PRAGMATICS

Surgut Khanty discourse supports previous analyses on the information structure of the interference between noun phrase forms and grammatical roles. As in many languages, including Surgut Khanty, a lexical argument represents new information and focal referents, whereas pronominal and affixal arguments represent given information and topical referents; the A role tends to be realized affixally and also tends to represent given information and the topical referent; the O role tends to be realized lexically and also tends to represent new and given information, and a focal referent.

6.2 ALIGNMENTS

6.2.1 DITRANSITIVE ALTERNATION

In Surgut Khanty, the instructive-final case is multifunctional: it functions as an oblique (tool) and in an obligatory patient/theme role. (See Chapter 3.) The difference between the instructive-final case and the nominative (accusative in personal pronouns) as the second argument (S/A+ X) is syntactically clear: a noun in the instructive-final is an adverbial, and the nominative/accusative is the object. Some verbs take only one of them, and some take both. In this section, I will compare the structure with both the instructive-final and the nominative/accusative in discourse.

According to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011: 142–148, 173–175), the object conjugation (*agreement* according to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva) is controlled by the level of topicality, the primary and secondary topics (See Chapter 4). Since Khanty has no double object construction like English, its

level of topicality is distinguished by the grammatical role. If the recipient (*goal* according to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva) is realized as being in the O role of the dative shift alternation, it must be topical and trigger the object conjugation. Their argument is based on another claim that object-realization patterns depend on the grammatical role of the theme. (6.10)

(6.10) Ditransitive alignment in Northern Khanty.

a) ma	a.n	Pe:tra	e:ti
1SG	cup	Peter	to

ma-s-ε.m / ma-s-ə.m
 give-PST.SG<1SG /give-PST.1SG
 'I gave a/the cup to Peter.'

b) ma	Pe:tra	a.n-na	ma-s-ε.m	/*ma-s-ə.m
1SG	Peter	cup-LOC	give-PST.SG<SG	/give-PST.1SG

'I gave a/the cup to Peter.'
 (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 148)

In spite of the claim by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011: 174), my Surgut Khanty data shows that objects of ditransitive verbs can trigger subject conjugation. Ditransitive verbs trigger subject conjugation when the O argument is realized in 1st and 2nd personal pronouns (See more 6.2.4.). In the data, I didn't find the lexical object which triggers the subject conjugation in dative shift structure. I found such structure only in the interviews with the informant (6.11):

(6.11) The dative shift alternation triggers subject conjugation.

ma	čaj-at	alesja	<u>wär-λ-ə.m</u>
1SG	tea-INSFIN	Alesja	make-PRS-1SG

'I will make Alesja tea (not surely, not right now).'
 (From the interview with the informant)

ma	t'aqa	nüŋ-at	t'imint	nipək-at	<u>mə-λ-ə.m</u>
1SG	well	2SG-ACC	such	paper-INSFIN	give-PRS-1SG

'I will give you such a paper.'
 (D: 32)

məŋ-at	ar	quλ-at	olən	<u>mə-λ-ə.n</u>
1PL-ACC	many	fish-INSFIN	first	give-PRS-2SG

'You will give us many fish.'
 (E7)

This conflictive result implies that the information structure of Northern Khanty and Surgut Khanty are not completely the same, though more data is needed to confirm this. Typologically, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva's claim is hardly surprising. In many languages, the recipient object is overwhelmingly definite and anaphoric, often automatically topical and has the syntactic role of direct object. Because of its topicality and definiteness, the effect of defining a recipient object results in the fact that the direct object controls pronominal object agreement (Givón 1984b, 2001:471). As regards frequency, object is often focal, inanimate and indefinite, but a topical object is animate and definite and triggers an overt expression. A definite and animate object is unexpected in discourse, therefore its unexpectedness often receive some overt coding. (Iemmola 2011.)

Regardless of the aforementioned Northern Khanty typological tendencies, Surgut Khanty discourse also allows for subject conjugation in the dative shift alternation. In this respect, dative shift is not completely grammaticalised in Surgut Khanty. Instead, it is a pragmatic phenomenon because of its non-obligatoriness in morphosyntax. (See also Givón 1984b: 163.)

In Surgut Khanty discourse, the object of the dative shift alternation is more often coded pronominally than affixally (see also 6.2.2.1). If the object in the dative shift alternation is topical (as Dalrymple and Nikolaeva argue), the Surgut Khanty pronoun will represent a more topical object than a lone verbal affix. This sounds logical since pronouns are in the highest position in animacy, definiteness and topicality hierarchies (Iemmola 2011:206).

6.2.1.1 Noun phrase types

Typologically, it is not often that a language has both a dative and a dative shift alternation. Here alternation is a situation where one and the same verb can occur in different constructions with roughly the same meaning, while a lexical split is when different verbs use different constructions (Malchukov et al. 2010: 18). Despite the fact that some previous studies on the Ob-Ugric languages use, for example, the terms PO/SO (primary topic object/secondary topic object) and DO/IO (direct/indirect object) for the ditransitive alignment (e.g. Virtanen 2015, Nikolaeva 1999a), I will use *alignment* and *alternation* (See chapter 2). Since topical property is not ruled by syntactic features and are not absolute rules, they can only be defined as tendencies. Moreover, my main focus is to compare the morphosyntactic alternations in Surgut Khanty discourse.

In spite of typological rareness, my Surgut Khanty data attest to both the dative shift and dative alternation. Because of their low number of tokens, I have classified and counted the arguments of three-place structures in all of my data (not limited to the selected data for quantitative analysis). The results of this are shown below (Table 8).

Table 8. *Distribution of noun phrase types of the dative shift.*

	Lexical	Pronominal	Affixal
A	0	4	8
O	0	9	3
Obl.	12		

The distribution of the A role in the three-place structure is predictable in terms of the Surgut Khanty distribution of noun phrase types with two-place cases, affixes are most frequent. However, the distribution of the O role is mostly pronominal. This finding may be related to the oblique, which always appears lexically. This result indicates that the O role of the dative shift alternation is always definite and given information since both pronominal and affixal arguments are naturally referential to a previous discourse. Even if the pronoun is not to be found in a previous discourse, they, especially first and second-person, are always referential and given. In addition, a pronominal object does not trigger the object conjugation in my Surgut Khanty data. (See 6.2.4.)

Statistical studies on ditransitive clauses may be linked to the Preferred Argument Structure in discourse, according to which, crosslinguistically, two lexical realizations (“mention” under Du Bois) do not tend to appear in a clause, even though the Preferred Argument Structure constraints do not include an oblique role (Du Bois 1987, 2000). Although my data has 43 clauses with two lexical arguments, there is not a single clause where the theme role is one of the lexical arguments. Instead all the arguments in the theme role appear lexically. In other words, the only one lexical realization in a clause is realized as theme in the instructive final case, and the speaker would not select a lexical realization for O or S. This may imply that the theme role is obligatory and a core argument in a Surgut Khanty clause. This also implies that the function of the Obl role is to introduce new information, and more so than the O role which typically introduces new information into the discourse. This is because the lexical realization tends to represent new information.

Moreover, the dative alternation is infrequent in the data, as is the dative shift alternation. There is a total of 14. The distribution is as below (Table 9):

Table 9. *Distribution of noun phrase types in the dative structure*

	Lexical	Pronominal	Affixal	Lex+V	Zero
A	4	4	6	-	
O	6	5	1	1	1
D	4	10	-	-	

The distribution of the A and O roles in the dative structure correlates to their distribution in the usual two-place clauses in the selected data. Compared to the alternative choice in noun phrase types between the dative shift and the dative alternation. The distributions of O between these alternations conflict with each other. The frequency of the O in the dative structure correlates to the Obl. in the dative shift alternation, and the ratio the Obl of the dative structure correlates to the O in the dative shift alternation. (Figures 10–12).

Figure 10 Comparison of the A role distributions.

Two-place classes	affixal>pronominal>lexical
Dative shift alternation	affixal>pronominal
Dative alternation	affixal>pronominal, lexical

Figure 11 Comparison of the O role distribution.

Two-place clauses	lexical>affixal>pronominal
Dative shift alternation	pronominal>affixal
Dative alternation	lexical>pronominal>affixal

Figure 12 Comparison of the dative and the patient distribution.

Instructive-final of the dative shift alternation	lexical
Dative of dative alternation	pronominal>lexical

The conflicting result is predictable based on the semantics of these grammatical roles. The O role in the dative shift and the dative of the dative alternations are recipients, whereas the instructive-final of the dative shift and the O role of the dative alternation are patients. The distribution of noun phrase types depends on semantic not grammatical roles. (Figure 13)

Figure 13 Semantic roles of ditransitive alignment.

Dative Shift Alternation:

A	O	Oblique (INSFIN)
agent	recipient	theme
affixal	pronominal	lexical

Dative Alternation:

A	O	Oblique (DAT)
agent	theme	recipient
affixal	lexical	pronominal

6.2.1.2 Animacy

The A roles of both the dative structure and the dative shift alternation are animate. The conflicting result also appears in the animacy of obliques. In the dative alternation, all obliques (in dative) are animate, whereas the obliques (in instructive-final) in the dative shift alternation are almost all inanimate (Figure 14):

Figure 14 Distribution of animacy in three-place clauses.

Dative shift alternation:

A: animate

O: animate 12 > inanimate 1

Obl (=INSFIN): inanimate 10 > animate 3

Dative alternation:

A: animate

O: animate 7 > inanimate 4

Obl (= DAT): animate

In most three-place structures, both A and O arguments are animate. One interesting phenomenon in the dative shift alternation is the clear-cut relationship between recipient as the O role and theme as oblique (instructive-final case). The O role, the recipient, is usually animate, but the instrumental, theme, is usually inanimate. (6.12)

(6.12) A typical semantic structure in the dative shift.

čaj-at	uč	jeńəłt'ə-təγ,	łitot-at
tea-INSFIN	thing	make.drink-PST.SG<3SG	food-INSFIN

λipət-təγ.
 feed-PST.SG<3SG
 'She let him drink tea and eat food.'
 (A: 86)

This contrast, however, does not reflect the crossing correlation of noun phrase types in both alternations: in the dative structure in my Surgut Khanty data, both theme as O and recipient as oblique/dative are animate. This may imply that the semantic category of animacy does not trigger morphosyntactic differences.

6.2.1.3 Verbs

In my Surgut Khanty data, the use of the dative shift alternation is limited to ditransitive verbs. The following verbs are found in my data (Table 10):

Table 10. Verbs with the dative shift alternation in the data.

jeńə λtə -ta 'to make (one) drink' (See 6.12.)
 λapə t-ta 'to feed' (See 6.12.)
 wär-ta 'to make' (See 6.11, 6.14 and 6.15.)
 kiťə pt-ta 'to leave' (See 6.13.)
 mə -ta 'to give' (See 6.11 and 6.17.)

tu-ta 'to bring'

jəŋk-at	min	nüŋat	tu-λ-əmən.
water-INSFIN	1DU	2DU.ACC	bring-PRS-1DU

"We shall bring you water!"
 (B2A)

jastə-ta 'to say'

t'utəŋ	<u>köl-at</u>	jastə-γəλ.
such	word-INSFIN	say-PST.SG<3SG

'She said such a word to him.'
 (D30)

t'ərəkintə-ta 'to leak'

t'utəŋ	<u>köλ-at</u>	əj	məta	latnə
such	word-INSFIN	one	some	time-LOC
t'ərəkintə-γəλ.				
leak-PST.SG<3SG				
'There was blood leaking out.'				
(D30)				

6.2.1.4 Pragmatics

According to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011), the choice of Northern Khanty ditransitive construction alternatives depends on topical predominance: the most topical argument (*primary topic* according to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva) takes a syntactic subject role, whereas a less topical argument (*secondary topic* according to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva) takes a syntactic object role. Adverbial roles in Northern Khanty are realized in the dative shift alternation locative, and a lative adposition in the dative alternative. A similar pragmatic tendency is reported in Eastern Mansi (Virtanen 2015). The claims made by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva and Virtanen are hardly surprising in light of the generalisation of functional typology and the findings that the dative shift in Northern Khanty and Mansi trigger the object conjugation (see section 6.2.4). Crosslinguistic studies show that “the higher in prominence a direct object is, the more likely it is to be overtly marked”. (Aissen 2003: 437, Iemmolo 2011: 30.) This result is also predictable because of syntactic and topicality hierarchy. (Figure 15). In crosslinguistic frequency counts as well, topical direct objects strongly tend to receive an overt expression since they are less topical than A, which is usually an agentive and therefore more prominent (Iemmolo 2011: 51).

Figure 15 Topicality hierarchy in case role, noun phrase types and animacy (e.g. Givón 1984:151).

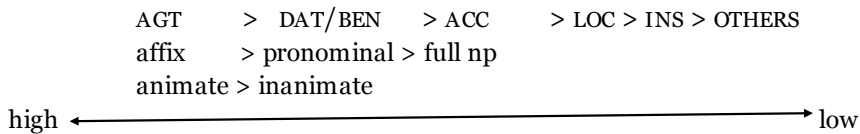


Figure 16 Topical hierarchy, grammatical relationship and semantic role in the Khanty dative alignment.

Dative shift alternation

	A	O	Obl.
Semantic role	Agentive	Recipient	Theme
Noun phrase type	Affixal	Pronominal	Lexical
Animacy	Animate	Animate	Inanimate

Dative alternation

	A	O	Obl.
Semantic role	Agentive	Theme	Recipient
Noun phrase type	Affixal	Lexical	Pronominal
Animacy	Animate	Inanimate	Animate

The above figures are logically related to each other. The most topical argument, A, is realized as an affix and represents an animate entity, whereas the recipient, which can be O in a dative shift alternation and Obl. in a dative alternation, is realized as pronominal and is also animate, which are secondary topical features in discourse. The instructive-final case as theme is a less involved and less affected object than the nominative/accusative object, although it is the pragmatic focus and new information in the discourse (Givón 1984b: 154). The object in the dative alternation demonstrates typical features of a normal direct object (e.g. Du Bois et al. 2003, Iemmolo 2011).

In my Surgut Khanty data, I found alignment alternatives which have the same arguments. I will analyse them as allosentences for comparison. Most of the examples show similar results as in Northern Khanty. The speaker chooses between alternations depending on the topicality of the constituents.

(6.13) Use of the dative shift alternation and the dative alternation in Surgut Khanty discourse.

- 1) piʔəŋkəli-ɣən=opisa-ɣən wǎλ-λəɣən.
 little.bird-DU older.sister-DU be-PRS.3DU
 ‘There once was a little bird and [her] older sister.’

- 2) ʔi wǎλ-tin əj məta
 this be-PTCP.PST.3DU one some

latnə piʔəŋkəli jastə-λ:
 when little.bird say-PRS.3SG

‘One day, the little bird said.’ [*lit.* ‘living in such a way, a little bird said one time’]

12) pan ǎlint-əγ.
 and sleep-PST.3SG
 ‘and she lay.’

13) nõq wärət-əm-aλ-nə:
 up wake-PTCP.PST-3SG-LOC
 ‘When she woke up.’

pöč quλ-əlij-at mant kit’əpt-ən
 back fish-DEM-INSFIN 1SG.ACC leave-PST.2SG

qõn quλ-əlij-at?
 belly_ fish-DEM-INSFIN
 ‘Did you leave me the back and belly of the fish?’

14) opi-λ jast-əλ:
 older sister-POSS.SG<3SG say-PRS.3SG
 ‘Her older sister says.’

15) ənta!
 no
 ‘No!’

16) panə pit’əŋkeli pitəmt-əγ:
 and little.bird get.angry-PST.3SG
 and the little bird got angry:

17) māŋk ikij-a mən-λ-əm
 forest.monster-LAT go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will go to the forest monster.’

18) pan nün-at māŋk iki-j-a mə-λ-əm
 and 2SG-ACC forest.monster-LAT give-PRS-1SG
 ‘And I will give you this forest monster.’

19) t’i mən.
 this go.PST.3SG
 ‘So she went.’

20) māŋk iki qāt-a jöwət,
 forest.monster home-LAT come.PST.3SG
 ‘She came to the forest monster’s house.’

21) kát qǝn-i jǎqə-nam λəjλ-əλ,
 house roofhole-ABL inside-APPR look-PRS.3SG
 ‘She looks inside the house through a hole in the roof.’

22) māṅk iki jǎq-ən əntəm.
 forest.monster inside-LOC NEG
 ‘The forest monster wasn’t at home.’

23) māṅk iki lump sǎṅkiλ-tə suj.
 forest.monster ski hit-PTCP.PRS sound
 ‘The forest monster’s ski’s clapping sounds.’

24) t’u latnə pit’əṅkəli qǎnt’əqint-əγ.
 this when little.bird be.frightened-PST.3SG
 ‘At this time, the little bird was frightened.’

25) ker pǝča tǝγə qǎṅimt-əγ.
 oven behind to.there hide-PST.3SG
 ‘She hid behind the oven.’

26) māṅk iki jǎqə λǎṅ-m-aλ
 forest.monster inside come.in-PTCP.PST-3SG

lat-nə ṅǎwəλ:
 time-LOC say-PST.3SG

‘When the forest monster came inside, he said:’

27) mā wojə putəl-əm
 1SG oily pot-POSS.SG<1SG

qǝja-nə liw-i?
 who-LOC eat-PASS.PST.3SG

‘Who ate my fatty stew? [*lit.* By whom was eaten my fatty stew?]

28) pit’əṅkəli t’ə kem ṅərimtət-əγ.
 little.bird so out pull-PST.3SG
 ‘He (forest monster) pulled the little bird out.’

- 29) əj, an̩kenoš-linki, ma nün-at
 one devil-DEM 1SG 2SG-ACC
- sar ker-a lükəmtə-λ-əm.
 forward oven-LAT stick-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will stick you in the oven, little devil.’
- 30) t'u latnə pit'ənkəli n̩wəm:
 that when little.bird say.PST.3SG
 ‘Then the little bird said.’
- 31) qānəm²¹ iki, mant ker-a
 relative man 1SG.ACC oven-LAT
- aλ lükəmt-a,
 NEG pull-IMP.2SG
 ‘Kinsman, don’t stick me in the oven.’
- 32) ma nünati op-em mə-λ-em.
 1SG 2SG-DAT older.sister-POSS.SG<1SG give-PRS-SG<1SG
 ‘I will give my sister to you (as a wife).’
- 33) ja, wəs, tōγəno quntə tōγəno.
 PTCL PTCL so if so
 ‘Then so, if so.’
- 34) nün mən-t-an ma nün-at
 2SG go-PTCP.PRS-2SG 1SG 2SG-ACC
- qōλnə ǝjəγtə-λ-əm?
 how find-PRS-1SG
 ‘How will I find you when you leave?’
- 35) ma mən-t-am s̩əγət əj
 1SG go-PTCP.PRS-1SG along one
- p̩j̩λəŋ p̩alk-əm ɪlə
 wing part-POSS.SG<1SG down
- j̩əγəntə-λ-əm,
 draw.a.line-PRS-1SG
 ‘When I leave, I will draw a line along my wing.’

²¹ The male relative of the daughter/son in law

- 36) kimət pǎjlan-əm ðta
 second wing-POSS.SG<1SG down
- järyəntə-λ-əm
 draw a line-PRS-1SG
 ‘Along my second wing, I will draw a line.’
- 37) nün t’u lek-i jüw-a!
 2SG that trail-ABL come-IMP.2SG
 ‘You, follow my trail.’
- 38) panə pit’ənkeli mən.
 and little.bird go.PST.3SG
 ‘And the little bird left.’
- 39) pit’ənkeli jāqə jöwət-m-aλ-a jastə-γ.
 little.bird inside come-PTCP.PST-3SG-LAT say-PST.3SG
 ‘When she came home, the little bird said.’
- 40) ma nün-at mānk-iki-nam(ja) məj-əm.
 1SG you-ACC forest.monster-APPR (LAT) give-PST.1SG
 ‘I will give you to the forest monster.’
 (A: 66)

The above discourse (6.13) is extracted from a folklore tale. Line 32 means that the speaker will give her sister away as a wife.

Line 13 is constructed with the dative shift alternation. The pronoun *mant* ‘me’ is syntactically the object and semantically the recipient. The lexical arguments *pöč quλə lijat* ‘back of the fish’ and *qön quλə lijat* ‘belly of the fish’ are syntactically oblique and semantically the theme. The recipient is a human referent, and the theme is an animal referent. The basic correlation of semantics and syntax is present in this example. Moreover, in terms of topicality, the recipient is the main character of the tale and the fish pieces are not. The fish piece as a referent does not persist in the discourse long. Most of the examples of three-place alternations can be explained on the basis of topicality. My informant commented that the dative alternation does not work in this context.

Corresponding alternations are found in lines 9 and 10 where the recipient, the speaker, is realized in dative, and the theme, the fish, is realized in nominative. My informants’ interpretations are in conflict, as one favoured the dative shift alternation and the other the dative alternation. The conflict between my informants might be explained in that the speaker in this story is a main character, that is, the most topical referent. In other words, the most topical referent is uttered in the dative as a recipient whose topical hierarchy is higher than theme (Figure 6.13). However, the utterance in the dative

alternation conflicts with the semantic hierarchy wherein the human referent/argument is more important. Thus, the more important argument also can be found as the object in the dative shift alternation in the more important syntactic position. The human referent/argument in lines 9 and 10 is found in the oblique position, in spite of its importance both pragmatically and semantically. In fact, the semantic hierarchy (see Figure 6.13) and the syntactic hierarchy in topicality conflict. We also must note that these two sentences are not complete three-place constructions, as the subject (A) and the verb are missing.

Lines 18, 32 and 40 also show predictable choice of alignment alternation in terms of topicality. These lines show that the main character is found in the subject position, the most topical referent, her sister as theme in the O role, the supporting character, *māŋk-iki* ‘monster’, the third animate referent, as recipient as an oblique. According to my informant, the other alternation with the approximative, or dative shift or passive, does not work in this context.

Below is another example (6.14) of how topicality affects the choice between the two alignments:

(6.14) Use of the dative shift alternation and the dative alternation in Surgut Khanty discourse.

1. əj _____ iki wǎλ-λ
 one man be-PRS.3SG
 ‘There once was a man.’

2. t’u wǎλ-t-aλ-nə t’ǎqa öntəλnə
 this be-PTCP.PRS-3SG-LOC well himself

 nöməqs-əλ,
 think-PRS.3SG
 ‘The man thought to himself,’ (*lit.* ‘So living, he thought to himself’)

3. ma säsəγ wär-λ-əm
 1SG trap make-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will build a trap.’

- 4. t’ǎqa säsəγ t’i wär.
 well trap this make.PST.3SG
 ‘Then he built a trap.’

5. lūk _____ iki t’eλ kütəγəλtəλ-təγ.
 capercaille man here toddle-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘A male wood grouse toddled toward it (in sweeping the sand).’

6. lūk iki ńǎwmił-əł:
 capercaille man say-PRS.3SG
 ‘Uncle wood grouse said,’
7. nün müwəli wär-ł-ən ma käw
 2SG what do-PRS-2SG 1SG stone
- li-tə sǎŋqəŋ tǎγ-əm-nə?
 eat-PTCP.PRS sandy place-POSS.SG<1SG-LOC
 ‘What are you doing in my rocking sandy place?’
8. müw qılıγ-at wär-ł-ən?
 What woodstack-INSFIN do-PRS-2SG
 ‘What kind of wood stack are you building?’
9. jastə-ł:
 say-PRS.3SG
 ‘He said,’
10. ma nün-at sǎsy-at wär-ł-əm.
 1SG 1SG-ACC trap-INSFIN do-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am building a trap for you.’
11. lūk iki ńǎwmił-əł:
 capercaille man say-PRS.3SG
 ‘Uncle wood grouse said,’
12. ma nün qılən-a əntə
 1SG 2SG woodstack-LAT NEG
- łǎŋ-ł-əm.
 go-PRS-1SG
 ‘I won’t go to your wood stack.’
13. nün ńǎməqsə-ł-ən,
 2SG think-PRS-2SG
 ‘Do you think,’
14. mant qót-a payət-ł-ən.
 1SG.ACC hand-LAT drop-PRS-2SG
 ‘you will catch me (drop me into a hand)’

15. t'i iki n̄äwmīl-əλ.
 this man say-PRS.3SG
 'The man said,'
16. ma nün-at pom̄ləγ qorəp ikij-a
 1SG 2SG-ACC pom̄ləγ.qorəp.god man-LAT

mul̄əytə-λ-əm.
 offer-PRS-1SG
 'I will offer you to the pomleg korep²².'
-
17. pan t'i iki t'i iki
 and this man this man

 t̄oγə j̄owət-m-aλ λatnə, iki
 to.there come-PTCP.PST-3SG when man

n̄äwmīl-əλ:
 say-PRS.3SG
 'And the man said when he got there.'
18. wot t̄ebe na, mantem mul̄əyt-əγ, wəλε,
 here.to.you (Russian) 1SG.DAT sent-PST.3SG well

pom̄ləγ qorəp iki
 pom̄ləγ qorəp man
 The pomleg korep surely sent [you] to me.
 (B1/A)

Line 10 in (6.14) is realized as a dative shift alternation, and the A role is *ma* 'I', the man, the O role is *nün* 'you', the wood grouse, and the theme is the trap in the instructive-final case. As the discourse shows, the wood grouse is one of the main characters and more topical and animate than *səsə γ* 'trap'. In line 16, the wood grouse is still uttered in the O role and the new referent, *pom̄ləγ γ qorə p iki* 'god who divides animals' (Csepregi & Sosa 2009: 198) is introduced in an oblique case, dative. By occupying the O role, the referent, the wood grouse, continues the topicality in the discourse. The O role, realized affixally, is the wood grouse in line 18, too, even in the dative alternation. This choice may depend on the tendency for the Obl role/theme in the dative shift to be inanimate (Figure 16).

In the interrogative clause of line 7, the speaker selects the pronoun in the nominative, but in line 8, she continues with the instructive-final and in line

²² This can be translated as '(male)god of a grassless channel' and refers to a deity who divides animals into categories (Csepregi and Sosa 2009: 198).

10, she answers with the instructive-final case. It is interesting to see that the same speaker produced the same tale later in 2008 (B2/A). In the newer version, however, she did not select dative alignment (6.15):

(6.15) Different version of the same folklore tale.

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. nūŋ,
2SG | qǎntək
Khanty | qo
man | mīwəli
what | tet
here |
| wär-λ-əm,
do-PRS-2SG | ma
1SG | käw
stone | λi-tə
eat-PTCP.PRS | |
| tâγ-əm-nə?
place-POSS.SG.<SG-LOC
'What are you doing here where I eat my stones, Khanty man?' | | | | |
| 2. qǎntək
Khanty | qo
man | jastə-λ:
say-PRS.3SG | | |
| 'The Khanty man says.' | | | | |
| 3. tem
this | ma
1SG | nūŋ
2SG | kičəγə
for | säsəγ
trap |
| <u>wär-λ-əm</u> ,
do-PRS-1SG | štobı
so.that(Russian) | nūŋ
2SG | təγ
here | |
| λǎŋ-tə
go-PTCP.PRS | kiča.
for | 'I am building a trap for you to fall in to.' | | |
| (B2/A) | | | | |

In addition to topicality, there are other competing motivations for the choice of alignment alternations for three-place verbs. These other factors were pointed out by my informants. Configuring their comments, the choice may also depend on the difference in aspect, modality, politeness and style such as colloquial versus literary Khanty. These factors also explain the alignment alternations in this discourse. The following example shows allosentences from the interview with my informant. The example 6.16 expresses how these alternations differ in aspect with each other, even though they convey the information of the same event:

(6.16) Difference in aspect in the ditransitive alignment

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| a) ma
1SG | čaj-at
tea-INSFIN | alesja
Alesja | wär-λ-əm.
make-PRS-1SG |
| 'I will make Alesja tea (not surely, not right now).' | | | |

b) ma	čaj	alesjaγ-a	wär-λ-əm.
1SG	tea	Alesja-LAT	make-PRS-1SG
‘I will make tea for Alesja (surely, now).’			

In (6.16a), the aspect is imperfect. The speaker, I, will make tea in the future, but is not sure, if or when he or she would. In this case, the semantic hierarchy of animacy is shown in that the animate and human argument, Alesja, is found in the syntactically more important position, the O role, while the inanimate argument, the tea, is in a syntactically less important oblique position. The aspect in (6.16b) is perfective. The speaker, I, will make tea, surely and now. Similar phenomena have been attested in Mansi (Sipócz 2015).

This phenomenon is reminiscent of nominal tense theory in which dependent NPs are inflected for TAM categories (tense, aspect and mood), whereas traditional, nominal inflection is categorized as case, gender and number and TAM is categorized as verbal inflection (e.g. Nordlinger and Sadler 2004, traditional category: e.g. Givón 2001). In the Uralic languages, such a phenomenon is found in Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1997: 108–110). As far as Surgut Khanty is concerned, there is no representation of a prototype for the nominal tense, since a nominal tense marker should be fully productive and can be affixed to all regular nominal word classes. In addition, the “true nominal tense” seems to be a morphological category, whereas it is more of a morphosyntactic phenomenon in Surgut Khanty. (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004: 780.)

This deviates from the semantic hierarchy since the inanimate argument, the tea, is found in the O role and the animate, human argument is in the oblique. This implies that the speaker’s choice of morphosyntactics does not only depend on the semantic hierarchy of animacy but also on other factors, in Surgut Khanty. This phenomenon may be called a hierarchy of importance. This importance is defined by the perspective of the speaker (and the hearer). In other words, the hierarchy may be based on the speaker’s point of view. Givón’s theoretical framework of topicality may illustrate this situation. A referent realized as an oblique in the instructive-final case is a less involved and a less affected object than a nominative/accusative object (Givón 1984b: 154). In this framework, the recipient in the dative shift alternation is a more involved and affected argument than the theme.

There are more similar examples that can be seen in my Surgut Khanty data. The dative shift alternation forms a more polite utterance in 6.13 (13). Since a question to an object is considered “too direct”, and the expression in the dative alternation seems impolite. Lines 9, 10, 18, 32 and 40 are realized as dative alternations. According to my informants, the dative alternation implies an action which may be done “right now”, “quickly” and “definitely” while the dative shift alternation implies “may be”, and “not right now”. Based on my informants’ interpretation, the aspect of these lines can be interpreted as perfective: the bird will surely and quickly or right now give

her sister to the forest monster. In fact, the bird leaves home to the forest monster right away, promises to give her to him in exchange for her own life, and she goes home right away. (This is also related to topicality, but it is unclear which is the secondary topic, the sister or the forest monster.) The same tale, told by a different speaker, also shows the same dative alternative structure in the same situation. (Csepregi 1998a: 68).

Another interesting fact in this discourse is that the referent, the forest monster, has a strong realization as a lexical argument in spite of the relatively high topicality and the status as given information. Other characters, the bird and her sister, are often realized as suitably affixal considering their high topicality and information status. This may be related to the folkloristic phenomenon of “traditional dominant”. This cultural feature can influence language usage, but it will not be investigated in the present study. (See similar example Hofling 2003).

Another example of the difference in aspect is the following (6.17). In this story, the main character is *ropə ltə tə qo pə rili* ‘poor working man’, and other important participants are *tasə ŋko* ‘rich man’, his employer, and *ǎwə s ort* ‘Nenets hero’. One day, the Nenets hero attacked and threatened to kill the rich man. The rich man bartered to have his life spared by offering his employee, the poor man. The Nenets hero went to the poor man, but he was strong and told the hero to cut off his (Nenets hero) big toes. The Nenets believe that the soul lives in one’s big toes. The Nenets hero bartered to have his life spared, and the following dialog begins:

(6.17) The difference in aspect between the types of ditransitive alignments.

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | <i>ǎwəs</i> | <i>ört</i> | <i>jast-əλ</i> | <i>tōwa:</i> |
| | Northern | hero | say-PRS.3SG | to.there |
| | ‘The Nenets hero says there.’ | | | |
| 2. | <i>tʰi</i> | <i>λōwət</i> | <i>jəm</i> | <i>wər-a,</i> |
| | this | extent | well | do-IMP.2SG |
| | (jəm wera = do well = please) | | | |
| | ‘Please, please.’ | | | |
| 3. | <i>ənəλ</i> | <i>kür</i> | <i>piŋ-əm</i> | <i>aλ</i> |
| | big | foot | toe-POSS.SG<1SG (=big toe) | NEG |
| | <i>səyr-e!</i> | | | |
| | cut-IMP.SG<2SG | | | |
| | ‘Don’t cut off my big toe!’ | | | |

4. ənəλ kūr piŋ-əm aλ
 big foot toe-POSS.SG<1SG (=big toe) NEG
- səγr-e!
 cut-IMP.SG<2SG
 ‘Don’t cut off my big toe!’
5. müw ar-ət tas-wăγ öjajətə-λ-əm,
 what much-PL property find-PRS-1SG
 ‘(If) I can find a great deal of treasure.’
6. t’u ari-t-at nün-at mə-λ-əm.
 that much-PL-INSFIN 2SG-ACC give-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will give you a large part of it.’
7. qoləm jāŋk käləŋ puλ-əm,
 three white castrated.reindeer hold-PTCP.PST
- weləŋ ăw-λam t’en nünati
 reindeer’s (ADJ) sleigh-POSS.PL<1SG so 2SG.DAT
- mə-λ-əm
 give-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will give you my sleigh with three white castrated reindeers.’
8. t’ăqa äwəs ört qon-γə t’i
 well Northern hero belly-TRA this
- wəj-γant-əγ.
 take-FREQ-PST.3SG
 ‘And so, the Nenets hero went home.’
 (A: 96)

In 6.17 (5) and (6), the Nenets hero promised to give the poor man a large part of his treasures if he would find any. This means that he is not sure of having any treasures at all. At this place and time, the Nenets hero does not have any treasures, only a reindeer sleigh which he came with. This is something he definitely has and gives it to the poor man right away in line 7. The difference in aspect is apparent in 6.17(6) and (7). In 6.17(6), the dative shift alternation means that he will give the treasure, but he is not sure about the action, as to when and how much he will give to the poor man, or possibly, he does not know if he will give any or not. In line 8, he is sure of the action and reacts right away.

However, this is in conflict with Nikolaeva’s statement on Northern Khanty. In Northern Khanty, the dative shift alternation triggers the object conjugation because of the secondary topicality of the object role argument.

Iemmolo criticised the claim by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) in that it does not seem to be empirically grounded in terms of the frequency and reality of topicality, animacy and definiteness of the object. In contrast to their claim, the focal, inanimate and indefinite direct object is crosslinguistically much more frequent (Iemmolo 2011: 45-46). Iemmolo's criticism towards Dalrymple and Nikolaeva also seems to be focused to the fact that their examples are mainly from questionnaires, not spontaneous speech. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva's claim is also in conflict is another typological tendency, that one clause is too short to have both a primary and a secondary topic and focus. One of Du Bois's findings is that the object of a transitive clause often introduces new information to the discourse and is realized as a full NP, and its topicality is low (e.g. Du Bois 1987).

(6.18) shows that the object is the focus and the dative is the topic. In this tale, a man lived with his aunt. The man went towards a prayer wall despite his aunt prohibiting him from doing so. He encountered many supernatural phenomena and an iron-nosed, copper-nosed old woman. The following extract is from a scene with the old woman.

(6.18) Focal O and topical oblique.

1. jəγ-ən t'u-t, əss-ən
 father-POSS.SG<2SG that-PL mother-SG<2SG

 t'u-t amp wōs-en,
 that-PL dog be-PRS.2SG
 'your father, your mother, you are a dog.'

2. kōλ-nat pāwəptə-λ-i!
 hand-COMINS flatten-PASS.PRS-3SG
 'It is flattened by a hand (I will flatten you).'

3. nūŋ ma jis ar ik-em,
 2SG 1SG old many man-POSS.SG<1SG

 jis ar in-em λiw-e,
 old many woman-POSS.SG<1SG eat-PST.SG<2SG
 'You ate many of my male and female ancestors.'

4. tōjλ-e,
 have-SG<2SG
 'You have it (many of my ancestors).'

5. nūŋ qǒłɣa os mantem nūŋ
 you kill now 1SG.ACC 2SG

nāmłəytəɣ-λ-ən.

think-PRS-2SG

‘Now you are thinking of killing me.’

6. ma wəɾəŋ qo pul-əm
 I bloody man piece-POSS.SG<1SG

λi-ta nāmłəytəɣ-λ-ən.

eat-INF think-PRS-2SG

‘You are thinking of a bloody piece of my flesh.’

7. əj jəɣ-ən tʰu-t,
 one father-POSS.SG<2SG that-PL

əss-ən tʰu-t amp.
 mother-POSS.SG<2SG, that-PL dog

‘Your father, your mother, a dog.’

8. jis ar ik-em, jis
 old many man-POSS.SG<1SG old

ar im-em quntə
 many woman-POSS.SG<1SG if

tälaŋ λǒnt-ɣə, tälaŋ pǒra-ɣə quntə
 whole duck-TRA, whole flock-TRA if

mantem pəɣi əntə kiriytə-λ-e
 1SG.DAT back NEG change-PRS-SG<2SG

quntə,

if

‘If many of my male and female ancestors, if you don’t change them back from a whole flock of ducks for me.’

9. äʔlək qo tüyərləkqo nüŋ-at ʔäqa
 lonely man pine.man 2SG-ACC well
- kit-λ-əm.
 send-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will send you away, lonely man.’
10. ilən ʔäqa, wäγʔələkkintəγəl,
 down well shout.PST.3SG
 ‘[The man] shouted.’
11. wikkintəγəl,
 plead.PST.3SG
 ‘He pleaded.’
12. ʔarəkkintəγəl:
 sob.PST.DU
 ‘He sobbed.’
13. qilγə-li, qilγə-li, ʔi λōwit jəm wär
 brother-DEM brother-DEM this extent good thing
- wər-a!
 do-IMP.2SG
 ‘Little brother, little brother, be good (to me)!’
14. mā najəŋ qo najəŋ λil-əm
 1SG royal man royal soul-POSS.SG<1SG
- aλ qōrəγt-e.
 NEG hurt-IMP.SG<2SG
 ‘I am a royal man, don’t hurt my royal soul.’
15. mā ortəŋ qo ortəŋ λil-əm
 1SG heroic man heroic soul-POSS.SG<1SG
- aλ qōrəγt-e!
 NEG hurt-IMP.SG<2SG
 ‘Don’t hurt my heroic soul.’

16. jis ar iki jis ar
 old much man old much
- imi māqi mən-əm
 woman time go-PTCP.PST
- täləŋ łǫnt pǫra-γə nūŋati kiriγtə-λ-əm,
 whole goose flock-TRA 2SG.DAT change-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will change back your many ancestral uncles, your ancestral aunts for
 you, long gone goose flock.’
17. täləŋ wasəγ pǫraγə nūŋati kiriγtə-λ-əm.
 whole duck back 2SG.DAT change-PRS-1SG
 ‘I will change back the valiant duck flock for you.’
 (D: 28–29)

In (6.18), the speaker chooses the dative alternation in lines 16 and 17. In both cases, the main character is coded with the dative, the man, and the objects of lines 16 and 17 *łǫnt* ‘flock’ and *wasəγ* ‘duck’ are introduced in line 8. These object referents represent a less topical status.

As noted by my informant, the following allosentences are explained by the concept of presupposition.

(6.19) Allosentences of dative shift and dative alternations.

- a) *lūw* mant kat qułə-γən-at
 3SG 1SG.ACC two fish-DU-INSFIN
 məj.
 give-PST.3SG
 ‘She gave me two fish.’
- b) *lūw* mantem kat qułə-γən məj.
 3SG 1SG.DAT two fish-DU give-PST.3SG
 ‘She gave two fish to me.’

The clauses of (6.19) differ from each other in presupposition. In clause (6.19a), the hearer presupposes that the speaker, ‘me’, which is realized as the reference of O, has not asked for the fish in the instructive-final case. In clause (6.19b), the speaker, who is realized in the dative, has already asked for two fish. In this case, (6.19a) is more natural and implies that the subject offers fish without a request, while (6.19b) implies that the recipient requested fish.

Iemmolo’s argumentation (2011: 51) relates to interactions between the differences in the function of objects in Surgut Khanty discourse. He

discusses the differences in animacy and definiteness in the objects in the framework of the differentiating approach to DOM. The subject of a transitive clause typically receives an agent role, and the object typically receives the role of patient, therefore the subject functions as initiator, a volitional and controlling entity, as opposed to the object. In information structuring strategy as well, it is natural for the subject as initiator to appear as a more prominent topic in discourse. Because transitivity presents the action and the subject is the initiator, the object is a kind of endpoint. The object as an endpoint is inert and less controlled since the action is already done, therefore it demonstrates less animacy and less definiteness in discourse. In contrast to prototypical functions and properties of the object, the direct object in the dative shift alternation can receive a definite, animate, and (secondary) topical role. In fact, the object in the dative shift alternation is more definite and more animate in Surgut Khanty discourse as well, therefore we can describe it as being less inert than the typical object because of its definiteness, animacy and topicality. In this argumentation, we can define a less inert argument naturally as a less typical endpoint. (6.20.)

The above argumentation may be associated with the relationship between the topical and aspective function of the object in ditransitive alignment in Surgut Khanty discourse. The action of the dative shift alternation is not ended because the object is not yet inert, whereas the action of dative alternation is ended because the object is inert. In 6.20, the object in the dative shift alternation may be made, but not surely because the object is still inert and action is not ended, whereas the typical object in dative alternation may be made now and surely since the object is already inert and clearly represents the endpoint of the action.

(6.20) Functions of object and the aspect

Typical object (object in dative alternation)

A	O	(Dat)
Primary topic	Focus	
Initiator	Endpoint	=ended=inert=perfective= surely done

ma	čaj	alesjaγ-a	wār-λ-əm
1SG	tea	Alesja-LAT	make-PRS-1SG

‘I will make tea for Alesja[, surely and now].’

Object in the dative shift alternation

A	O	Obl	
Primary topic	Secondary topic		
Initiator	Not endpoint=not ended=less inert=imperfective		
	=not surely done		
ma	alesja	čaj-at	wär-λ-əm.
1SG	Alesja	tea-INSFIN	make-PRS-1SG
'I will make / give Alesja tea, but not sure if I would it make or not.'			

Aspect is not only an additional function of ditransitive alignment. The following examples from the interview with my informant demonstrate the nuances of the argument of theme (6.21–22):

(6.21) The difference between ditransitive alignments 1

a) ma	amp-at	aλəsja	mə-λ-əm.
1SG	dog-INSFIN	Alesja	give-PRS-1SG
b) ma	amp	aλəsjaγ-a	mə-λ-əm.
1SG	dog	Alesja-LAT	give-PRS-1SG
c) ma	imp-əm	aλəsjaγ-a	mə-λ-əm.
1SG	dog-POSS.SG<1SG	Alesja-LAT	give-PRS-1SG

In the clauses in 6.21, the difference appears in the quality of O. In clause 6.21 (a), the speaker gives a dog as a present. In clause 6.21(c), the speaker brings his/her dog for Alesja to watch because the speaker can't. Clause 6.21(b) is neutral. According to my informant, 6.21(a) is the best and most natural morphosyntactic choice.

(6.22) The difference between ditransitive alignments 2.

a) ma	čaj	wär-λ-əm.
1SG	tea	make-PRS-1SG
'I will give [you] tea.' ('I will make some tea')		
b) ma	čaj-at	wär-λ-əm.
1SG	tea-INSFIN	make-PRS.1SG
'I will make some tea.' ('I will make tea for [you])		

According to my informant, the speaker in 6.22 (a) makes tea for herself, whereas the speaker in (b) makes tea for other(s). According to my informant, (b) is a better and a more natural morphosyntactic choice.

Another example is the influence of negation (6.23).

(6.23) Dative alignments with negation.

a)	ma	čaj	saɣər-at		pǎn-λəm
	1SG	tea	sugar-INSFIN		put-PRS-1SG
	'I will put sugar in the tea.'				
b)	?ma	čaj	saɣər-at	əntə	pǎn-λ-em
	1SG	tea	sugar-INSFIN	NEG	put-PRS-1SG
c)	ma	čaj-a	saɣər	əntə	pǎn-λ-em
	1SG	tea-LAT	sugar	NEG	put-PRS-1SG
	'I will not put sugar in the tea.'				

The original clause is constructed with the dative shift alternation (a), but the negation is constructed with the dative alternation.

6.2.2 “OBLIQUE OBJECT”: AN ALTERNATION OF THE NOMINATIVE/ACCUSATIVE OBJECT

In addition to the aforementioned object marking and its alternations, there are also “oblique objects” that can be seen in two-place structures in Surgut Khanty discourse. An oblique object in Surgut Khanty discourse is realized in the instructive-final case, the same case which is used to mark theme in the dative shift alternation. Here we define that the oblique object structure would be the alternation of a nominative/accusative object which would form an alignment pair (6.24).

(6.24) Object alignment as “oblique object” alternation and nominative/accusative alternation.

a) Oblique object

ma	quλ-at	λǎŋq-λ-əm
1SG	fish-INSFIN	want-PRS-1SG
'I want a fish.'		
(From the interview with the informant)		

müwλij-at	λǎŋk-ən
what-INSFIN	want-PST.2SG
'What did you want?'	
(E6)	

tas-wǎγ-at λǎŋk-λ-ən
money-INSFIN want-PRS-2SG
'You want money.'
(E6)

b) Nominative object

ma quλ λǎŋq-λ-əm.
1SG fish like-PRS-1SG
'I like fish.'
(From the interview with the informant)

məŋat ət'e λǎŋq-λ-ət
1PL.ACC also like-PRS-3PL
'[Reindeers] like us too.'
(E3)

The meaning (or nuance) of the verb *λaŋq-ta* ('to want' and 'to like') seems to change, depending on the case of the object without context. It can be seen that the verb has two meanings 'to want' and 'to like'. In the case of 'to want', the verb takes an object argument in the instructive-final case and in the case of 'to like', it takes an object argument in the nominative.

Based on the syntactic definition of transitivity, the "oblique object" structure is not transitive and thus an oblique object cannot be a true object but an oblique. Regardless of the syntactic definition, the oblique object can be interpreted as an object because the semantic principal of transitivity is based on agentivity (agent), affectedness (patient) and perfectivity (in real time) (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Even though the majority of semantically transitive clauses are also syntactically transitive, both definitions are independent and based on different principles or views. (Givón 2001:109). Transitivity is truly related to semantics and pragmatics, not only to the indexing of case marking (Iemmolo 2011).

In this section, I will discuss the distinction between core argument and oblique in Khanty discourse based on object alignment as nominative/accusative object versus instructive-final object. Finally, I will suggest what motivates case marking in Khanty discourse. Thompson (1997) suggests that the distinction between core argument and oblique is motivated by information flow and semantics. Generally speaking, core arguments are given information and trackable in discourse, and they are also able to become a discourse topic, whereas obliques are new information and non-trackable (see also Laury 1997). In Finnish discourse, a trackable oblique is marked with a demonstrative (*se* 'it') (Laury 1997).

The oblique object structure seems to be a rare choice in Khanty discourse; only three are found in my selected data for quantitative analysis. All S arguments in these three clauses are affixal and all Obl arguments are

lexical. In animacy, all S arguments in these three clauses are animate and all Obl arguments are inanimate. Even though intransitive verbs are used much more than transitive verbs in my Surgut Khanty data, the evidence for the appearance of the instructive-final as a grammatical case with three-place verbs is found more often than for those with intransitive verbs. Another point is that verbal semantics is also related to the use of the instructive-final since only certain verbs, such as *make*, *say* and *give*, can have the O role as oblique.

The number of clause types with oblique objects is quite low, and I counted a total of 11 in my data. There are a total of 11 of these structures. Affixal S dominates, as it is found in all 11 appearances. Nine 7 of them show a lexical oblique. There are also four pronominal Obl found in the data. All the S and one of the oblique arguments are animate, and the remaining 10 Obl arguments are inanimate. Both distributions in noun phrase types and animacy are similar to those of the dative shift alternation. The subject tends to be realized as affixal and the argument of theme tends to be realized as lexical. Since I cannot find a transparent motivation for the choice of oblique object in my data, partly because of its infrequency, I will classify the evidence into groups according onto pragmatic background.

The verbs which appear with oblique objects in my data are listed below. Because of the low number, I will also show the verbs in the imperative and participle structure, which otherwise are excluded from the analysis. Like the three-place structure, the oblique object structure is also only associated with certain types of verbs. Some of these verbs also appear as ditransitive (Table 11):

Table 11. *Verbs with the ‘Oblique object’ in the data.*

- wär-ta* ‘to make’ (See 6.25 and 6.29)
- mə -ta* ‘to give’ (See 6.27 and 6.30)
- kit-ta* ‘to send’ (See 6.33)
- läŋq-ta* ‘to want’ (See 6.25)
- läyλə qsə -ta* ‘to wait’ (See 6.25)
- lejλə γə λ-ta* ‘to see well’ (See 6.25)

Some of the verbs in my Surgut Khanty data seem to only take the instructive-final case or they function as intransitives without Obl (6.25). In this case, the speaker seems to have no other choice for object argument with these verbs.

(6.25) Verbal category.

a) Verbs that also take the nominative case.

1) Nominative

ma	it	nüŋati	jəm	wär-et
1SG	now	you.DAT	good	thing-PL

nüŋati	wär-λ-əm.
2SG.DAT	do-PRS-1SG

‘I will do good things for you now.’
(E6)

2) Instructive-final

qõłtayəł	sär	jəm	pårj-at	wär-λ-əttən.
tomorrow	forward	good	feast-INSFIN	make-PRS-2DU

‘The two of you are preparing a large feast tomorrow indeed.’
(D:19)

b) Verbs which only trigger the instructive-final case

jəmnam	māntemat	<u>λǎγλəqsə-λ.</u>
in.vain	1SG.INSFIN	wait-PRS.3SG

‘She waits for me in vain’.
(D30)

aŋki	nüŋ,	jıŋk-at	<u>λǎŋq-ən?</u>
mother	you	water-INSFIN	want-PST.2SG

‘Mother, did you want [any] water?’
(E9)

müwλj-at	<u>λǎŋq-λ-ən.</u>
what-INSFIN	want-PRS-2SG

‘What do you want?’
(E6)

c) Verbs that function as intransitives with an oblique object and without one, and transitives

1) intransitive verbs

küč λejλəγəλ-ət.
 just see.well-PST3.PL
 ‘They saw well.’
 (A84)

2) Transitive verb

jäq	qât	löq-it	t’i	λejλəγəλ-tayə
inside	house	polar-PL	PTCL	see.well-INF

λejλəγəλ-tayə wär-əl.
 see.well-INF do-PRS.3SG
 ‘She see well inside of the rooms.’
 (A84)

3) verb takes the instructive-final case

juγ-at λejλəγəλ
 wood-INSFIN see.well-PST3SG
 ‘He looked for a wood.’
 (A86)

In some cases, both alternations are possible, but the instructive-final case is preferred.

Some combinations of the “oblique object” and verb seem to only take the instructive-final in a certain discourse, even though the verb in question can be used with a nominative/accusative object. The nominative/accusative choice may be due to Russian influence. At least, according to my informant, the nominative/accusative choice sounds more Russian-like (6.26):

(6.26) Verbal category 2a: Russian influence.

tem	mun	qöjəyi	<u>λitot</u>	uč	wärənt-əγ
this	earlier	who	food	thing	make-PST.3SG

‘Who made food earlier?’
 (A: 82)

According to my informant, *λitot* ‘food’ sounds Russian, and *λitot-at* ‘food-INSFIN’ is a better choice:

(6.27) Verbal category 2b

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| a. ma | литот-at | мәј-әм. |
| 1SG | food-INSFIN | give-PST.1SG |
| | | |
| b. ma | литот | мәј-әм. |
| 1SG | food | give-PST.1SG |
| ‘I gave some [someone] food.’ | | |

Alignments with an O/Obl referent and V are found in the data (6.28, and 6.29 and 6.30). (6.28) also contains a border case in which the verb *лејлə γə λ-ta* ‘see well’, is also used in a participle structure in some clauses. Also (6.29) and (6.30) may be elliptic clauses that may lack the expression of the recipient.

(6.28) Alignment with the verb *лејлəγəλ-ta* ‘see well’

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. jaγ | əj-nam | kem-nam | nürəγ-tət. | | |
| people | one-APPR | outside-APPR | run-PST.3PL | | |
| ‘All the people run to outside.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 2. əj | məta | wär | pə | əntem. | |
| one | some | thing | PTCL | NEG | |
| ‘There was nothing.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 3. küč | <i>лејлəγəλ-ət.</i> | | | | |
| just | see.well-PST.3PL | | | | |
| ‘They (=people) saw well.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 4. os | jăqə | läŋ-ət. | | | |
| also | inside | go-PST.3PL | | | |
| ‘and they went inside.’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| ----- | | | | | |
| 5. panə | əjməta | лат-nə, | t’u | pări | tərm-əm |
| and | some | time-LOC | that | party | end-PST.PTCP |
| | | | | | |
| pirnə, | | t’u | məta | wäl-m-İL | |
| after | | that | some | be-PST.PTCP-3PL | |
| | | | | | |
| pirnə, əj | məta | латnə | törəm | qän | |
| after one | some | time-LOC | sky | god | |
| | | | | | |
| imi | jöwin | nöq | wärəγləγ. | | |
| woman | night | up | wake.up.PST.3SG | | |

‘After the party was over, after people was (there), the God’s wife woke up at night.’

6. temi müwəli?
 this what
 ‘What is this?’

7. qât lâɣpi toqqaya mata nõq
 house inside very most up

qõtəλ.
 bright
 ‘The inside of the house was very bright.’

8. jāq qât lõq-it t’i lejləɣəl-tayə,
 inside house polar -pl PTCL see.well-INF

lejləɣəl-tayə, wär-əλ.
 see.well-INF do-PRS.3SG
 ‘She see well inside, the rooms.’

9. t’u ajpi pǎq-qəλ mǎñ-ɣəλ
 that small-sup boy-POSS.DU<3SG wife.of.son-POSS.DU<3SG

qât lõqij-a küt-i tõλ sąɣit
 house room-LAT center-ABL there along

naj t’olal.
 fire glitter.PST.3SG
 ‘The fire glittered in the room of boy and bride.’

10. qǎλtaŋ qõlat, lejləɣəl-tayə, jəɣ,
 night.ADJ to.where see.well-INF come.PST.3SG

naj üλtaŋ kõλ-at, juɣ-at.
 fire igniting power-INSFIN wood-INSFIN
 ‘When night came, he began to look for igniting power and wood.’

11. panə quλməλ-tayə nõməqsə-λ.
 and spend.night-INF think-PRS.3SG
 ‘And he decided to spend the night.’

In contrast to what is found on lines 10, 12 and 16, the oblique objects refer to indefinite and generic referents: after his wife had disappeared, the youngest son left home and walk around. When night came, he decided to spend the night. On line 9, for staying he needed fire and wood for the fire. On lines 10, 12 and 16, he saw well enough to find some wood/logs there (cf. In Komi Zyrian, the word *аддзыны*-means both to see and to find). Here the translation into English changed from ‘to see well’ to ‘to look for’ (cf. KT1057b).

(6.29) Alignment with the same expression in O/Obl and V

a) t'u jay p̄ari w̄arət.
 this people feast prepare.PST.3PL
 ‘The people prepare a feast.’
 (A:82)

b) q̄ɔłtayəl s̄ar jəm p̄arij-at w̄ar-λ-əttən.
 tomorrow f̄orward good feast-INSFIN prepare-PRS-2DU
 ‘The two of you are preparing a large feast tomorrow indeed.’
 (D:19)

In 6.29(a) the referent *p̄ari* ‘feast’ is uttered in the nominative and refers to a concrete and specific feast, whereas *p̄ari-j-at* in 6.29(b) is realized in the instructive-final and does not refer to a specific concrete referent, but metaphorically to the discourse as the action sequence by an elderly couple. Such a discourse topic does seem to be important enough to be the clausal topic. The concrete referent of *p̄ari* 6.29 (a) appears four times in the discourse: in addition to 6.29 (a), it appears twice in the preceding discourse and once in the subsequent discourse, even though it is not a well tracking referent, but more recurring than (b). (b) as a metaphoric referent is completely non-tracking and non-continuous since this is the only appearance in the discourse. All four appearances are realized in the nominative and the first three appearances of *p̄ari* is uttered in the participle structure as a subordinate clause.

In 6.30 as well, the same expression referent does not exactly refer to the same specific referent. The oblique object *t̄iwə t-at* ‘fire’ refers to a general referent (lines 3 and 4), but the nominative object *t̄iwə t* (line 5) refers to a concrete one which was actually given to the character in the story.

(6.30) Referential difference between ‘oblique object’ and O

1. t̄aqa t̄iwət-at məj-a!
 well fire-INSFIN give-IMP.2SG
 ‘Give fire [it to him]!’

2. *nūŋ* *jis* *arəɣ*, *jis* *mánt'a*,
 2SG old song old tale
 'You, old song and old tale,'
3. *tüwət-at* *mə-λ-əm*.
 fire-INSFIN give-PRS-1SG
 'I will give fire'.
-
4. *t'ut* *tüwət-at* *mə-λ*.
 there fire-INSFIN give-PRS.3SG
 'He will give fire.'
-
5. *tüwət* *wəj*,
 fire bring-PST.3SG
 'He brought the fire,'
6. *itpə* *mən-əλ*.
 now go-PRS.3SG
 'Now he goes.'
 (A:70-72)

According to my informant, the nominative/accusative alternation is an impossible choice with lines 3 and 4. Even with the recipient, it is favoured for *tüwə t* to appear in the instructive-final in the dative shift alignment with the same verb *mə -ta* 'to give' in the same discourse. In this discourse, the referent in the nominative is definite, whereas the referents in the instructive-final are indefinite and do not refer to a specific referent. This phenomenon is reminiscent of Givón's notion of a speaker's referential intention and strength. The grammatical devices coding referential strength form a clear gradation anchored by the speaker–hearer referential intention referring to a specific individual (2001: 439, 449). In the case of Surgut Khanty, the oblique object and the nominative/accusative object may also form such coding gradation based on the speaker's referential intention.

Givón argues that referentiality is also related to modality. According to his claim, tense and aspect correlate with modality and furthermore referentiality. In his theoretical framework, there can be two tense types: a *fact* tense correlates with the past and present tenses, whereas a *non-fact* tense correlates with the future. The fact tense allows for a referring interpretation of the indefinite object, whereas the non-fact tense allows for a non-referring interpretation of the indefinite object. (2001: 443) In this framework, it is not surprising that the present form, which also indicates the future, is an overwhelming choice in the oblique object structure in Surgut Khanty discourse (10 present tense, 1 past tense). We should note, however, that more evidence is needed to confirm this claim.

Furthermore, the nominative object in my data refers to the object referent more directly and exactly and emphasises it, whereas the oblique object refers less to the referent. As a result, the oblique object alternation may end in a more polite expression (6.31). In this respect, it is also understandable why my informant commented that the dative shift is a more “polite” alternation.

(6.31) Politeness and morphosyntactic choice.

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| a) | ʔaqa | tüwət | mantem | məj-a! |
| | well | fire | to.me.DAT | give-IMP.2SG |
| | ʔaqa | tüwət-at | mant | məj-a! > polite |
| | well | fire-INSFIN | me.ACC | give-IMP.2SG |
| | ‘Give me fire!’ | | | |
| b) | ʔaqa | litot-at | məj-a! | |
| | well | food-INSFIN | give-IMP.2SG | |
| | ʔaqa | litot | məj-a! > exactly | food |
| | well | food | give-IMP.2SG | |
| | ‘Give [me] food!’ | | | |
| c) | ʔaqa | litot | amp-a | məj-a! |
| | well | food | dog-LAT | give-IMP.2SG |
| | ʔaqa | litot-at | amp | məj-a! > emphasise the dog |
| | well | food-INSFIN | dog | give-IMP.2SG |
| | ‘Give a/the dog food.’ | | | |

Another example is the following (6.32). I cannot find any alignment pair to the same referent in the data. The speaker describes the traditional Khanty house. In the preceding discourse of the oblique object, he has talked about sleeping (*äl-ta* ‘sleep’). The referent *wälə* ‘sleeping place/stage’ recurs both in the preceding and the subsequent discourses:

(6.32) “Oblique object”.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------|------|-------------|------------|
| 1. | qäntəq | qät-nə | ar | <u>wälə</u> | wäl-əł. |
| | Khanty | house-LOC | many | berth | be-PRS.3SG |
| | ‘There are many berthes in a Khanty’s house.’ | | | | |
| | ----- | | | | |

whereas the A of the oblique object is temporarily the discourse topic and a tracking referent. Both objects are inanimate and-non tracking.

(6.33)

1. t'ajγə kurək tɪsəl-nə ot jowət
 march month-LOC thing come.PST.3SG

 Bengrija-nam mən-tə, qǒjayi lãŋq-əl,
 Hungary-APPR go-PRS.PTCP who want-PRS.3SG
 'In March, the issue of going to Hungary came up, who wants to go to Hungary.'
2. qǒjayi əntə.
 who NEG
 'Who does not.'
3. ma nɪpək-λam dokument-λam
 1SG paper-POSS.PL<1SG document-POSS.PL<1SG

kit-am
 send-PST.PL.1SG
 'I sent my papers and documents.'
4. pan, t'u piren pan jast-ət,
 and then after and say-PST.3PL
 'and then, they said.'
5. što, kak vɪ,
 what how (Russian)
 'What, how to.'
6. təγ-nam,
 there-APPR
 'to there.'
7. priglašeñjay-at kit-ət.
 invitation-INSFIN send-PST.3PL
 'They sent an invitation.'

(E3)

Of all 11 S arguments in the oblique object clauses, the first person appears only once. Most of the S arguments are realized in the second person (six cases), and then in the third person (four cases). Thus, a first-person subject with an oblique object is quite rare in Surgut Khanty discourse. These statistics may be related to the referential intention of the speaker. Referential intention is measured by the speaker's intention to refer to a

specific referent. The speaker is usually first person. In this respect, representatives of the second and third person in the subject position has less referential intention from the speaker. In Surgut Khanty discourse, an oblique object tends to have the second- and third-person subject, and these do not have high referential intention from the speaker less than the first-person. This implies that the oblique object is a less important referent in the discourse.

6.2.3 PASSIVE

The Ob-Ugric languages have a rich variation of passive types. Of these, the patient–subject passive is the most common. Even though these different types of passives can be regarded as having different functions, there are no strict boundaries between them. Kulonen has concluded that the topicalization of the secondary actant is the primary function of the Ob-Ugric passive. In addition to topicalization, Kulonen also points out primary actants in the personal passive with an agent (focalization) as well as without (indefiniteness). (Kulonen 1989.) My analysis of Surgut Khanty discourse also supports the same conclusions. The purpose of this section is to compliment previous studies from the perspective of pragmatics and discourse analysis. I will focus on the information status and flow of the agent and subject of Surgut Khanty passive clauses.

6.2.3.1 Transitive verbs: two-placed structures

The most common type of passivization in Surgut Khanty is that of a simple subject–verb–object structure. The agent, which corresponds to the subject of the active voice, functions as focus and agentive, and the subject, which corresponds to the object of the active, functions as topic. In conclusion, generally, the topicality in the arguments of a Surgut Khanty passive clause is:

Figure 17 The hierarchy in topicality of a Surgut Khanty passive clause.

Subject/patient > Agent/agentive

Kulonen's statistics show that the agent in a passive clause is strongly dependent on its semantic structure. For example, the patient subject with an animate agent is quite common (nearly 40% of the total number of passive clauses) in Eastern Khanty. The number of pronominal agents is also greater than what is found in other dialects. In Eastern Khanty, around 20% of the agents of passive sentences are pronominal. Moreover, personal pronominal

agents are more frequent than interrogative pronominal agents, whereas the data on Western Mansi and Northern Khanty show only interrogative and relative pronominal agents. (Kulonen 1989: 85, 272–283.) These results may let us interpret that most of the agents in Eastern Khanty passive sentences are animate and agentive.²³

The following will describe the functions of the subject and the agent of passive sentences, with examples. The percentage of passive clauses in Eastern Khanty with an agent is exceptionally high. Almost half of these passive clauses are agentless, whereas in many other dialects, the number is around 70%. Typological studies claim that the agentless passive is impersonal and that the agentive can clearly be found from context (Givón 1990: 567–568). In the Ob-Ugric languages, the neutral subject forms a large group of agentless passives, and their clauses typically contain one-place verb. The main motivations of the agentless Ob-Ugric patient–subject passive are topicalization of the patient and indefiniteness of the agentive. (Kulonen 1989: 88, 109).

My Surgut Khanty data basically shows that the subject functions as topic and the agent as focus. Example 6.34 shows how the agent and the subject work together in a topic–focus relationship. This relationship is seen throughout the whole discourse, but the morphosyntactic choice seems to depend on local discourse, not on the whole discourse. Even though the agent of the passive represents focus, it is not always a new referent or new information; however, the agent can be the referent in the preceding discourse and given information.

(6.34) Topic–focus relationship between voices.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|------|--------------|
| 1. tʰəqa | kem-nam | mən-ta-γə | tʰi | jəγ, |
| well | outside-APPR | go-INF-TRA | this | come.PST.3SG |
| ‘When he went outside,’ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 2. iki | ayən | nälčəyt-i. | | |
| man | chin | tickle-PST.PASS.3SG | | |
| ‘The man’s chin was being tickled.’ | | | | |

²³An inanimate agent mostly takes on the role of force and instrument (Kulonen 1989: 85). This kind of agent can also be found in my data. Often the animacy hierarchy governs the choice of voice, but the following example has an inanimate agent and subject:

naj-nə	λiw-i.
fire-LOC	burn-PST.PASS.3SG
The fire burned [the school] > ‘[the school] was burned by the fire’.	
(F1)	

3. wəle, imi, nūŋ ma iŋn-əm
 but old.woman 2SG 1SG chin-
 POSS.SG<1SG

ńälčəγ-λ-e?
 tickle-PRS-SG<2SG
 ‘But are you tickling my chin?’

4. imi ńäwmiλ-əl:
 old.woman say-PRS.3SG
 ‘The old woman says,’

5. quntə ma nūŋ iŋn-ən
 when 1SG 2SG chin-POSS.SG<2SG

ńälčəγ-λ-əm?
 tickle-PRS-1SG
 ‘When did I tickle your chin?’

6. ʔu wär aj wäl-m-aλ-γə
 that thing small be-PTCP.PST-3SG-TRA

pit-əm pɪrnə λüw-nə imi aγən
 fall-PTCP.PST after 3SG-LOC old.woman chin

ńälčəγt-i.
 tickle-PST.PASS-3SG
 ‘A little later, the old woman’s chin was tickled by him.’
 (D: 17)

In the above example, the listener knows that the main character is tickling the old man’s chin, but the (invisible) boy is unknown to the elderly couple. He tickled the man, knowing that he was not visible to them. As a result, the speaker chooses the agentless passive which functions impersonally (line 2). The next clauses are uttered in the active voice, naturally with an agent since the agentive is important as a topic (lines 3 and 5). In the last clause, the speaker chooses the passive again (line 6) and mentions the agent. Here, the morphosyntactic choice seems to depend on the speaker’s strategy of constructing the discourse: the mention of an agent lets the listener share knowledge and understanding/feeling with the main character. Even though the agent of the clause is the primary topic, in regard to the whole discourse, it is not topical, rather locally focal, in the excerpt. In a way, the agent is “new information” for the old couple.

Passive clauses in Khanty folklore tales with an interrogative personal pronominal agent is common in established expressions (6.35). In these

types of clauses with an agent, the person is less important since this is just a typical phrasal expression.

(6.35) Passive clauses with an interrogative personal pronominal agent.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|-------|------------|
| 1. əj | məta | latnə | imi | qǎləysayən |
| one | some | when | woman | nephew |

wǎλ-λəγən.

live-PST.3DU

‘Once upon a time, there was a woman and her nephew.’

- | | | |
|--------|---------|--------------|
| 2. λin | wanəpti | wǎλ-λəγən, |
| 3DU | long | live-PST.3DU |
- ‘They lived together for a long time.’

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| 3. qǒja-nə | wu-λ-i, |
| who-LOC | know-PRS-PASS.3SG |
- ‘Who knows.’

- | | | |
|--------|---------|--------------|
| 4. λin | qǒwəpti | wǎλ-λəγən, |
| 3DU | short | live-PST.3DU |
- ‘They lived together for a short time.’

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| 5. qǒja-nə | wu-λ-i |
| who-LOC | know-PRS-PASS.3SG |
- ‘Who knows.’

(D: 25)

The passive is an overwhelmingly common choice except in all the descriptive narratives in my data (e.g. C) with the exception of one (C1). This is a predictable result due to the nature of text genre. A descriptive narrative does not focus on agentiveness and transitivity as the initiation, intent and control of the agentive. Example (6.36), about a Khanty house, shows this one exception (C1). Most of the active verbs in this example are a copular or intransitive. The active voice is chosen only when the agentiveness and the action are important. Example 6.36 has very few passive clauses because the agent is important.

(6.36) Use of the agentless passive and the active voice in descriptive discourse.

1. müwat măč jay owpi qut'əŋ-nə
 why guest people door close-LOC
- áməs-ta əntə mäs-λ?
 sit-INF NEG must-PRS.3SG
 'Why can't the guests sit close to the door?'
2. măč=qo owpi ąŋ qut'əŋ-nə
 guest=man door mouth(=doorway) close-LOC
- áməs-ta əntə taλ-λ-i
 sit-INF NEG take-PRS-PASS.3SG
 'No guest is to be taken close to the door.'
3. t'umint jasəŋ-köl wäl-əλ.
 such word-language be-PRS-3SG
 'There is such a word.'
4. măčqo owpi qut'əŋ-nə im-əλ
 guest door close-LOC take.a.seat-PRS-3SG
- quntə, qăt keńar-γə wär-əλ.
 when house poor-TRA make-PRS-3SG
 'If a guest takes a seat close to door, the family will become poor.'
5. əj-məta qăt-pə keńar-γə wäl-tayə əntə
 one-some house-PTCL poor-TRA be-INF NEG
- łăŋq-əλ.
 want-PRS-3SG
 'No family wants to become poor.'
6. panə t'u wär pətan t'u
 and that thing due.to that
- măč=qo t'umint mustəm tayəj-a ámət-λ-i
 guest such necessary place-LAT sit-PRS-PASS.3SG
- wičipə.
 always
 'and due to this, guests must always be seated in a certain place.'

7. qât	aj	quntə,	ar	măč=qo
house	small	when	many	guest
jōwət-tə	latnə	t'umint	məγ-i	qo
come-PTCP.PRS	when	such	land-ADJ	man=resident

jast-əλ:

say-PRS-3SG

'If the house is small and many guests come, the dweller says.'

8. ja	<u>ma</u>	owpi	qu'əγ-a	iməλ-λ-ə̄m.
and	1SG	door	close-LAT S	sit-PRS-1SG
"I will sit close to the door."				
(this is a quotation, 'I' represents the dweller, not the speaker.)				

(C1)

Example (6.36) has both active and passive clauses. The subject, the guest, in the passive clauses of lines 2 and 6 is the patient, while another agentive does exist. The agentive, however, is not apparent since the patient and the action are more important than the agentive. The agentive in the active clauses on lines 1, 4, 7 and 8 is important and must be noted.

In Khanty, the primary topic is clause-initial. The initial position is often used for the agent in a passive clause, whereas the initial position in an active clause is often used for an overt subject or a verb which agrees with the subject. In other words, in terms of word order, the agent of the passive is found in the topical, not the focal, position, whereas the subject of the passive is the primary topic in the clause. Agents are rarely found in a different position. (6.37):

(6.37) Agent of passive is not topical position.

nūŋ	qōja-nə	t'e-nam	jāŋq-ta	part-λ-o?
2SG	who-LOC	this-APPR	go-INF	order-PRS-PASS.2SG
"Who orders you to go?"				
(2011:17)				

The subject of the passive is not limited to topic. In other words, topicality is not the only reason why a speaker chooses the passive instead of active voice in Surgut Khanty discourse. In the following example, the subject is not topical. Instead it is focal and new.

(6.38) Focal subject and topical shift.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------|---------|--------|--------|
| 1. | ńáń | wártə | | wär: | |
| | bread | make-PTCP.PRS | | job | |
| | ‘Bread-making job.’ | | | | |
| 2. | tõγəñə | mǎqi | jisnə | qǎntəγ | jaγ |
| | there-LOC | old | old-LOC | Khanty | people |

ńáń wär-λ-ət,
bread make-PRS-3PL
‘The Khanty (people) have been baking bread for a long time.’

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------|----------|--------|-----------|------------|
| 3. | tũłəγ | qǎtnə | ǎntaqapə | λõγ | qǎtnə | <u>ker</u> |
| | winter | house-LOC | or | summer | house-LOC | oven |

wär-λ-i.
make-PRS-PASS.3SG
‘The oven is made in the winter house as well as in the summer house.’
(C2)

The discourse which (6.38) is taken from is descriptive and has many passive clauses. The agentive is *qǎntə γ jaγ* ‘Khanty people’ as in line 2, but line 3 is passivized, and its subject is a new referent. For baking bread, *ker* ‘oven’ is both necessary and the referent, and it recurs in the discourse. The motivation for this kind of use of passive voice seems to be a topic shift (See more on the topic shift in section 6.2.5).

In Surgut Khanty discourse, a passive clause often appears amongst active clauses and is used as the topic keeper. For example (6.39):

(6.39) A passive clause as topic keeper.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|------------------|
| 1. | <u>ma</u> | jəmat | roγpəŋ | newrem | wõł-ə <u>m</u> . |
| | 1SG | well | sly | child | be.PRS.1SG |
| | (Subject of the active voice) | | | | |
| | ‘I was a very sly child.’ | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 2. | urek-kə | mən-λ-ə <u>m</u> . (Subject of the active voice) | | | |
| | too.much-TRA | go-PRS-1SG | | | |
| | ‘I’ve done too much’I does too much.’ | | | | |

3. $j\ddot{a}q-q\ddot{a}\lambda-am-\ddot{a}n$ $wi\check{c}ep\ddot{a}, panam$
 people-POSS.DU<1SG-LOC always badly
- $\lambda\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}y-t-am$ $s\ddot{a}yit$
 badly.behave-PTCP.PRS-1SG due.to
- $\lambda\ddot{a}w\ddot{e}t\ddot{a}\lambda t\ddot{a}-\lambda-oj\ddot{a}m$ (Subject of the passive voice)
 say.badly-PRS-PASS.1SG
 ‘Because of my naughtiness, my parents say bad things to me.’
4. $\check{s}to\ w\ddot{i}t'en$ $a\lambda$ $\lambda\ddot{a}j\ddot{y}-\lambda-\ddot{a}m$ (Subject of the active voice)
 for - just NEG badly.behave-PRS-1SG
 ‘So that I would not behave naughtily.’
 (E3)

The speaker in (6.39) is talking about her childhood. The speaker ‘I’ is the primary topic in the whole discourse, as she utilizes both voices in turn: lines 1 and 2 shows how the speaker continues as topic and subject of the active voice before the passive. In line 3, a new referent $joq\ddot{a}\ \lambda-am-\ddot{a}\ n$ ‘my parents’ becomes an agentive, but this is only a transient referent in the discourse. The clause is passivized and the agentive $joq\ddot{a}\ \lambda-am-\ddot{a}\ n$ appears as the agent and focus, the speaker as subject of the passive and the topic. When the active voice returns in line 4, the primary topic, (I), also returns to the subject, which is also, topical position. The same phenomenon can also be attested in Vasyugan Khanty (Filchenko 2010: 402–411). Moreover, discourse can have several topics. In many cases, the listener can easily comprehend the topicality and the scale of it from the context, but in other cases, the competing topics in a discourse fragment may make the listener confused and not be able to recognise the topic and agent. In such cases, active and passive clauses are efficiently used.

(6.40) Passive use as topic keeper

1. $m\ddot{a}$ $s\ddot{a}m-a$ $p\ddot{i}t-\ddot{a}m$ $j\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}n$ $\ddot{o}j$
 1SG eye-LAT fall-PST.1SG(=born) river long
- $w\ddot{o}\check{c}$ $raj\ddot{o}n$ $p\ddot{u}nsi$ $p\ddot{u}y\ddot{a}\lambda-n\ddot{a}$ $q\ddot{a}rem$
 city rajon Punch village-LOC Qarem.river
- $t\ddot{o}j-n\ddot{a}$ $s\ddot{a}m-a$ $p\ddot{i}t-\ddot{a}m$
 mouth.of.the.river-LOC eye-LAT fall-PST.1SG
 ‘I was born in Pungsi village of the Nefteyugansk (*lit.* ‘river (Yugan) mouth city’) rajon, on the upper reaches of the Qarem River.’
-

2. ma λapət oλ mōt'ə wōnt
 1SG seven year until forest
- ōnt-nə, wōnt məγ-nə wōl-əm.
 inside-LOC forest land-LOC live-PST.1SG
 'I lived in the forest until I was seven years old.'
3. λapət oλ-nə eškoλαγ-a wə-jojəm.
 seven year-LOC school-LAT bring-PST.PASS.1SG
 'I was brought to school at the age of seven.'
4. γγət pyγət eškoλα-nə ōnəλtəγλə-m.
 Uγət village school-LOC study-PST.1SG
 'I studied at a school in the village of Ughet.'
 (F1)

In (6.40) the topical referent, 'I', first appears as subject of active voice in lines 1 and 2. In line 3, the agentive is shifted to an unmentioned person, possibly her parents, and the topical referent 'I' becomes to patient. The speaker in line 3 chooses the passive voice to keep the topicality of 'I' in the discourse and it becomes the subject again in the next line.

6.2.3.2 *Borderlines on transitivity: the cases of intransitive and ditransitive verbs*

The Ob-Ugric languages do not have transitivity that corresponds to, for example, the Indo-European languages. Unlike the Indo-European languages, the passive and reflexive verbs are not connected to each other in the Ob-Ugric languages. The Ob-Ugric languages have constituents that behave like objects but are connected to intransitive verbs. Such "objects" are strongly linked to the verb. They most commonly appear as a goal of verbs of motion. (Kulonen 1989: 71–72) In the following example, the GOAL can be an oblique argument in the corresponding active clause (6.41):

(6.41) GOAL subject in a passive clause.

1. t'aqa aλəη-nə jəγ-əm λatnə t'i
 well morning-LOC come-PTCP.PST when this
- pōrəγλəγ,
 fly.PST.3SG
 'When the morning came, the wood grouse (it) flew off.'
2. mən,
 go.PST.3SG
 'He went.'

3. mən,
go.PST.3SG
'He went,'
4. pǝrəɣləɣ,
fly-PST.3SG
'He flew away,'
5. pǝrəɣl-əm-aλ t'aqa t'i säsy-a
fly-PTCP.PST-3SG well this trap-LAT
- tǝɣə jǝwət.
to.there come.PST.3SG
'After he flew away, he came up to the trap.'
6. tǝɣə jǝwət-m-aλ-a, t'aqa, λüw-nə
to.there come-PTCP.PST-3SG-LAT well 3SG-LOC
- aj pärtə-li-t t'i
small wooden.slat-DIM-PL PTCL
- pǝrənt-at.
tread-PST.PASS.3PL
'When he got there, he trod on the small wooden slat [in the trap].'
7. lük iki – t'i säsäɣ il-nam
capercaillie man this trap down-APPR
- köry-əm latnə - iry-əλ muñt-əλ
fall-PTCP.PST when song-POSS.SG<3SG tale-POSS.SG<3SG
- müwən tuw-i
what-LOC take-PASS.PST.3SG
'When the wood grouse fell into the trap, it took his song and tale.'
(=he died)
8. lük iki tǝt qǎλ.
capercaillie man there die-PST.3SG
'Uncle Wood Grouse died there.'
(B1A)

Lines 1 through 5 of the above examples keep the topicality of the main character *lük iki* 'Uncle Man wood grouse' as the subject of the active voice. As the voice turns passive in line 6, the wood grouse is demoted to agent, which is in the focal position, and the subject, the wooden slat, is less topical

and semantically the goal. The referent could be the oblique argument in the corresponding active clause.

In the Ob-Ugric languages, constituents other than the object of an active clause can be promoted to subject of a passive clause. This perspective is connected to intransitive (including oblique objects as well) and three-place verbs. (Kulonen 1989: 152) In this section (6.2.3.2), I will discuss the passive of ditransitive, intransitive and *täj-ta* ‘to have’ verbs.

Kulonen also shows the similarity between the passive and the dative shift alternation in regards to the promotion of semantic and pragmatic roles. The dative shift (*movement* according to her) in the Ob-Ugric languages promotes the recipient and benefactives from ADV to O. Moreover, the passive promotes the recipient O to the status of subject and topic. The promotion of recipient to subject seems to be related to the dative shift in many languages where this is possible. The promotion of oblique to subject implies the passivization of an intransitive verb. The passivization of an intransitive locative O (S) is motivated by the requirement of the situation in which a locative constituent is important and its status can be emphasised grammatically. The passivization of such clausal types explains that an oblique constituent is significant and plays a central role as topic. (Kulonen 1989: 156–157.)

6.2.3.2.1 Ditransitive alignment and the passive

The passivized dative shift alternation in my Surgut Khanty data is common. In fact, the dative shift alternation is a more common choice in the passive voice than it is in the active. 78 passivized dative shift alternations are found in my data, whereas only 12 dative shift alternations are found in the active voice. Moreover, the dative shift alternation is overwhelmingly more common than the dative alternation in passivization, even though these alternations appear almost equally in the active voice. My data shows only four passivized dative alternations. In this section, I will discuss the background motivation of why the dative shift alternation appears more in the passive than in the active voice, and why it appears more than the dative alternation in passivization.

Kulonen compares the relationship between the passive and the dative shift in the Ob-Ugric languages. In both processes, a secondary argument (in a normal situation) is raised to a more important argument, depending on the context. In terms of the dative shift, the tertiary argument, the recipient, is raised to a secondary important position, the object; in passivization, any important argument is raised to subject, depending on the context. Kulonen argues that the passive structure can be regarded as more developed than the dative shift because the raised subject is more prominent than the raised object. (Kulonen 1989). In this framework, it is most effective when the passivized dative shift alternation process promotes the recipient twice: the

promotion to object in the dative shift alternation, then the promotion to subject in passivization (Figure 18).

Figure 18 The promotion process of the recipient role.

ADV	> OBJ	> SUB
Dative alternation	> Dative shift alternation	> Passive

A functional-typological framework may also be related to the choice and function of ditransitive alignment in aspect. The dative shift alternation in active voice can also represent a more inert and incomplete aspect, whereas the dative alternation can represent a more complete action. The active and the passive differ from each other in transitivity. The active voice focuses on the intent, control, initiation and responsibility of agentive, and as a result, its event is most likely construed as being fast-moving, bounded and complete. On the contrary, the passive does not focus on such transitive properties, and its event focuses on a stative-resultative aspect. (Givón 1990:567, Hopper and Thompson 1980.) This difference in the aspective feature is reminiscent of the difference in aspect/mood within the ditransitive alignment (Figure 19) (see also section 6.2.1):

Figure 19 Aspective difference between voices and ditransitive alignment.

Complete	Incomplete	
Active	Passive	
Dative alternation		Dative shift alternation

Since the passive and the dative shift alternation have the same end results, it is easy to see why the latter is easier to passivize than the dative alternation. In the present Surgut Khanty data, I did not find a strong connection between voice and aspect. Such a connection theoretically works because of the demotion of the agent and passivization of action. This relationship in Surgut Khanty discourse will be left to future study.

The following is an example (6.42) that shows that the dative shift tends to be passivized in Surgut Khanty discourse. The referent *järnas* ‘cloth’ recurs in the active and passive voices. The clauses are constructed in the dative shift alternation in the passive voice only. It is also interesting that the theme argument *järnas-at* ‘cloth-INSFIN’ is only chosen with adverbial arguments denoting the future. This implies that voice and/or the instructive-final case may be linked to aspect. However, further study will be required to ascertain this.

8. os kütəppi pǎγ-əλ jǎrnas
 also middle boy-POSS.SG<3SG cloth
- wəj:
 take.PST.3SG
 ‘He (=their father, the God) took also the middle son’s cloth.’
9. os tʹu ajpi mata pǎγ-əλ
 also this young-SUP some boy-POSS.SG<3SG
- jǎrnas wəj,
 cloth took.PST.3G
 ‘He also took the youngest son’s cloth.’
10. panə jastə-λ:
 and say-PRS.3SG
 ‘He says,’
11. oγ, tʹǎqa! temi tōŋqə jəm
 oh well this very good
- jǎrnas,
 cloth
 ‘Oh, this is very good cloth.’
 (A: 84)

Second, the case marking of theme may make passivization possible in Surgut Khanty. This is because the marked case cannot morphologically be a direct object or subject of the passive. From another perspective, the morphology of the dative shift is also linked to topicality and passivization (Figure 20).

Figure 20 Morphology of the dative shift in the active and passive voice.

Act:	S	DO	OBL	V
	Topic	(Secondary) topic	Focus	Act
	nom	nom/acc	insfin	
	Animate	Animate	Inanimate	
Pass:	Agt	S	OBL	V
	(Secondary) topic/focus	Topic	Focus	Pass
	loc	nom/acc	insfin	
	Animate	Animate	Inanimate	

Third, topicality is key in the difference between the alternations of the ditransitive alignment, too. It is interesting to see from this perspective that dative alternations are less passivized in Surgut Khanty. In the dative alternation of the active voice, the object is a theme and generally inanimate. An inanimate thematic object tends to be typologically less topical in discourse, but in my Surgut Khanty data, the percentage of animacy in the dative alignment of active voice is almost the same.

The object of the dative shift alternation in the active voice is topical, but rarely primary. The primary topic in active voice is typically the subject/agentive in all clausal types. The subject in the passivized dative shift alternation, which corresponds to the object in active voice, can be a primary topic in discourse. This may be the reason why a speaker chooses passive with the dative shift alternation.

(6.43) Topical subject of a ditransitive verb in the passive.

- | | | | |
|--|-------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. ma | əntə | obšežitija | komnatay-at |
| 1SG | NEG | dormitory | room-INSFIN |
| qot=loqij-at | məj-ojəm, | | qot=loqij-at. |
| room-INSFIN | give-PST.PASS.1SG | | room-INSFIN |
| 'I was not given a dormitory room' | | | |
| 2. os | əj | qot | loq-əŋ |
| also | one | house | corner-ADJ(=room) |
| kwartiray-at | məj-ojəm. | | |
| flat-INSFIN, | give-PST.PASS.1SG | | |
| 'A single-room flat was given to me.' | | | |
| 3. panə | prapiskay-at | | wär-ojəm. |
| and | register-INSFIN | | make-PST.PASS1SG |
| 'And I was registered.'(lit. They made me a register.) | | | |
| (F 1) | | | |

In Example 6.43, the referent 'I' is the speaker herself and the main character in the whole discourse. By choosing the passive, the speaker holds the status of topic in the segment that has another agentive. Although the object is topical in the active voice, only the subject holds the primary or more topical position. Topicality higher than agent can only be found in the passive.

Passivized dative shift alternation is most often agentless. However, only 19 have an agent of the passivized dative shift (24%) in my data. The most common motivation for omitting an agent is that it is clear from the context and does not need to be overtly mentioned. In Surgut Khanty discourse, the motivation for the mention of an agent is competing topics. Most of the

passivized dative shift alternations with an agent are found in two folklore tales in data A. There are several competing topical referents in the discourse of these tales. These competing topical referents can appear in the small discourse segment at the same time.

The main characters in (6.44) are two women (*imi*), and they function as the primary topics. Another important character, an old woman (*pr rə s imi*), has a recurring appearance in the discourse. Most lexical realizations of the agent of the passive in this discourse represent the old woman as *t'u imi* ‘this/that woman’. In fact, reference to the old woman is often realized lexically and overtly in other grammatical roles, whereas the main characters are almost always realized anaphorically/affixally.

(6.44) Competing topical referents and passive.

1. *tōwə-nə* *läjɣ-əl.*
 there-LOC tend-PRS.3SG
 ‘There she (the main character) was working.’

2. *panə* *tʰäqa* *tʰu* *imi-nə* *litot-at*
 and well that woman-LOC food-INSFIN

quł-at *wärənt-i.*
 fish-INSFIN make-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘And the (old) woman cooked the food for her.’ (*lit.* Food and fish was prepared by the woman)

3. *li-k-kən –*
 eat-PST.3DU
 ‘The two of them ate’

4. *jiitʰ-ɣən,*
 drink-PST.3DU
 ‘The two of them drank,’

5. *panə* *tʰu* *imi-nə* *tʰi*
 and that woman-LOC PTCL

pamił-λ-i.
 teach-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘And the (old) woman taught her. And this thing to be taught was taught by the (old) woman.’

6. *tʰu* *imi* *näwmił-əl:*
 that woman speak-PRS-3SG
 ‘The (old) woman speaks,’

7. “ĕt ma qât pälk-am-nə
 here 1SG house part-POSS.SG<1SG-LOC
- kürmən lek.”
 footed trail
 “Here is a trail on the part of my house.” - - near to / by my house
 (A: 80)

The referent in (6.44), the (old) woman, always appears lexically (lines 2, 5 and 6), including the active voice (line 6), whereas the main character appears affixally. The primary topic of discourse can almost always be realized affixally, even though the discourse segment has other competing topical referents or if this topic is not present in the discourse. Both the old woman and the two main characters are very trackable in the discourse, but the main characters are, of course, more trackable.

The following example (6.45) is from the interview on the *Pear Story*. Before this segment, the main character, *pay* ‘boy’, rode a bicycle and stole a basket of pears. After that his hat blew off, he fell down off his bicycle and the pears fell out.

(6.45) Passive choice depending on the function of topic retention.

1. pan t’i pay-ət-nə pəryi
 and that boy-PL-LOC back
- t’oyip-i,
 whistle-PST.PASS.3SG
 And the boys whistled back to him.
2. mīl-əλ öjyt-i, t’i
 hat-POSS.SG<3SG notice-PST.PASS.3SG that
- äwi-n kösip-əm mīl-əλ.
 girl-LOC take-PST.PTCP hat-POSS.SG<3SG
 ‘The girl noticed his hat and took it.’
 (*lit.* His hat was noticed, the girl took his hat)
3. pəryi tury-i,
 back bring-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘The hat was brought back to him.’

4. λūwati məj-i t'i paγ-əli-n t'i
 he.DAT give-PST.PASS.3SG this boy-DEM-LOC
 that
- pɪrən,
 after
 'After the boy gave him the hat.'
 (*lit.* After that the hat was given to him by the boy)
5. pan λūw-ən qoλəm gruša-γ-at məj-i,
 and 3SG-LOC three pear-INSFIN give-
 PST.PASS.3SG
 'And the boy gave him three pears.'
 (*lit.* and three pears were given to the boy by him)
6. t'i qoλəm paγ pan t'i
 that three boy and that
- qoλəm paγ mən-ət.
 three boy go-PST.3PL
 'The three boys left.'
 (E4)

The primary topic in the whole discourse is the main character, the boy. The discourse segment also starts with the primary topic as the subject of the passive (line 1). The girl, in line 2 appears as the agent of the subordinate clause. The main clause, however, is agentless and the referent, his hat, is promoted to topic, here and the primary topic, the boy, is not mentioned. It is interesting that the hat had been mentioned once in the previous discourse and topicalized after a long pause. *mil-ə λ* 'his hat' holds the topical position in the following clause, but it is still agentless (line 3). In the following clause (line 4), the primary topic appears in the dative case. The topic is still the hat and the agent is one of the three boys. The clause is passivized because the agent is not the topic. However, the primary topic, the boy, is not promoted to being the topic as the subject of the passive. Here, topic continuity is retained, which is a more important factor than the realization of the primary topic as the most topical referent. The primary topic of the following clause (line 5) appears as the agent, which is not in the topical position in the passive, whereas the topic of the clause is still one of the three boys. The passive clause is realized in the dative shift alternation. The topicality of one of the three boys also continues in the following clause (line 6).

In many passive clauses in my data, the hierarchy and trackability of topicality is clear. In many cases, all arguments of the passivized dative shift alternation represent given information and are trackable. The agent and especially the subject are very trackable. All subjects of the passivized dative shift alternations are primary topics, such as the main character or the

speaker in the discourse. All agents are human and topical, but less topical than the subject. In passivization, the recipient occupies the most topical position.

Figure 21 Hierarchy of the topicality of dative shift alternation in the active and passive voice.

Active:
 Subject/agentive > Recipient/Object > Oblique/Theme

Passive:
 Subject/recipient > Agent/agentive > Oblique/Theme

6.2.3.2.2 *Intransitive verbs*

There are some examples of passive clauses with intransitive verbs. In these cases, a goal subject would be expected, but it seems that these sentences are mainly impersonal, that is lacking a subject. The example below (6.46) is an exception: there clearly is a subject (1SG).

(6.46) GOAL subject of passivized intransitive verbs.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1. | f'i | ənəλ-γə | jəγ-əm. | | |
| | this | big-TRA | come-PST.1SG | | |
| | 'I got older.' | | | | |
| 2. | ńiləγ | ol-γə, | ńiləγ | ol-ən | |
| | eight | year-tra | eight | year-LOC | |
| | jəγmama | | latən | školaγ-a | mən-ojəm. |
| | come-PTCP.PST-1SG-LAT | | when | school-LAT | go-PST.PASS.1SG |
| | 'I went to school when I turned eight.' | | | | |
| 3. | ruskinskii | internat-ən | onəλtəγλ-əm. | | |
| | Ruskinski | internat-LOC | study-PST.1SG | | |
| | 'I studied at Ruskinski boarding school.' | | | | |
- (E3)

The speaker in Example (6.46), the referent 'I', is kept as the topic in the whole discourse. The passive in the discourse where this segment is found is chosen only when the agent is clearly someone other than the speaker. In this segment, however, the intransitive verb 'to go' is passivized, even though the corresponding active clause is also possible from the perspective of topic continuity in the discourse (line 2). As previously noted, the agent is less important in the passivization of intransitive verbs in Surgut Khanty

discourse than the subject, and this passivization functions in the demoting of the role of agentive. This implies that the speaker did not go to school of her own free will, but someone, probably her parents, forced her to go. Honti's hypothesis on the negative connotation of intransitive passive clauses seems true, but this cannot be seen in all my examples of these types of clauses. This kind of passivization is somewhat reminiscent of a causative function. (Honti 1982: 48). The action caused by someone may have obligation, disagreement and so on.

The function of the passive also seems to be interpreted as a kind of causative in my data (Example 6.47):

(6.47) Causative function of the passive.

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| 1. pɪmə | qätəλ-nə | os | mən-λ-i, |
| following | day-LOC | again | go-PRS-PASS.3SG |

məttə.

PTCL

'The next day it was said "Let's go again." '

- | | |
|-------|------------|
| 2. os | mən-γən. |
| again | go-PST.3DU |
- 'The two of them went again.'

(D: 12)

In Surgut Khanty discourse, the difference between transitive and intransitive passive clauses can be seen in topicality. Almost all subjects of the transitive passive are topical, and rather primary, whereas both topical and focal referents are found as the subject of an intransitive passive clause (6.48):

(6.48) Focal subject of the passive.

- | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|------------------------|--------------|------------|
| 1. əjməta | λatnə, | tem | məta | λat-nə, |
| some | when | this | some | time-LOC |
| tem | məta | qujəŋ | qo | nöpət-nə, |
| this | some | human's | human | period-LOC |
| tem | məta | jåγ-ən | qo | nöpət-nə |
| this | some | people-LOC | human | period-LOC |
| əj | λatnə | āntp-əλ-a | sās-əm | |
| one | when | cradle-POSS.SG<3SG-LAT | dry-PTCP.PST | |

aj _____ pāγəli wōł.
 small boy-DEM live-PST.3SG

‘Once upon a time, during the time of this person, a time of other people, there was a small boy who was tucked in cradle.’

2. äntapə kit qätł wōł-əṃ pirnə,
 perhaps two day be-PTCP.PST after

äntapə qoləṃ qätł wōł-əṃ pirnə
 perhaps three day be-PTCP.PST after

arək qo, mǎñt’ qo kōtəl
 song man tale man bright

wōkkəŋkəčək jə-ta jəγ,
 strong come-inf come.PST.3SG

‘Perhaps two or three days later, the man of the song, the man of the tale, began to powerfull.

3. kūr-əl wōkkəŋ-kə jə-ta-γə
 leg-POSS.SG>3SG strong-TRA come-INF-TRA

jəγ.
 come-PST.3SG
 ‘His leg became to strong.’

4. lüw-at nōq kilt-əl,
 him-ACC up raise-PRS.3SG
 ‘He raises him(self).’

5. ilə qoč-əl.
 down unfasten-PRS.3SG
 ‘He gets loose.’

6. pōŋəlñə lejłəγəl –
 close-LOC see-PST.3SG
 ‘He looked around.’

7. temi puγəl qäriñə äməs-ł.
 this village square-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
 ‘He sits in the village square.’

8. pōŋəλ-nə kăw ittən wəs-ət núla
close-LOC stone glass window-PL back

riγλ-ət,
touch-PL3

‘Close to them, the glass window is set off.’

9. tʰumint ənəλ qát – ðwər-nam ðwər
such big house tall-APR tall

qát, ənəλ-nam ənəλ qát.
house big-APR big house.

‘There is such a big, tall house.’

10. nów qátəmnəŋ qārə qōr, qār
moose palate holy.place swamp cow

qátəmnəŋ qārə qōr.
palata holy.place swamp

‘It is a holy swamp of moose palate, a holy swamp of cow palate.’

11. tʰi qōr qānəŋ-a küč wiŋk,
this swamp bank-LAT just cling.PST.3SG
‘He clinged to the bank of the swamp.’

12. tem qōr jăčə-nə pāŋqəλ čāŋkλ-əm
this swamp center-LOC shoulder grow-PTCP.PST

punəλ čāŋkλ-əm ənəλ wōnt qār.
fur grow-PTCP.PST big forest cow

‘In the center of the swamp, there is a big moose cow with growing shoulder and fur.’

13. qōr λiw-min pom λiw-min λ’āλ’-əλ,
swamp eat-GER grass eat-GER stand-PRS.3SG
‘It (cow) stands with eating swamp and grass.’

14. qās-γəλ-a pomγəλa qm-min
sedge-POSS.DU>3SG-LAT grass-POSS.DU>3SG-LAT scratch.out-GER

λiw-min.
eat-GER

‘It (cow) stands in digging to sedge and grass.’

15. wanyə wiŋk.
 near creep.PST.3SG
 ‘He crept close to it.’
16. t’i qār qõw arintəλ-nam təλ
 this reindeer.bull long aim-APPR full
 jäwət-təy-
 shot-PST.SG3<SG
 ‘He shot this reindeer bull from far away.’
17. səm pälək muryti mən-i.
 heart half through go-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘[The arrow] went (=pierced) through the heart [of the reindeer bull].’
 (A: 98)

The main character in Example 6.48, *aj pǎγə li* ‘small boy’, is introduced at the beginning of the tale (line 1). In lines 2 and 3, the main character still keeps its topicality in the subject role. The topical main character is not mentioned in line 4, but the passivized intransitive clause brings a new referent into the discourse as the subject.

For intransitive verbs, passivization functions as a demotion of agentiveness rather than topic continuity in discourse, whereas transitive verbs are often passivized to keep topic continuity. In terms of topic continuity and tracking, the active voice can equally be a suitable alternation in discourse, but in terms of agentiveness, the passive is a more suitable choice in context.

6.2.3.2.3 The possessive verb *täj-ta* and the passive

The Surgut Khanty possessive verb will be discussed in the section on the borderline of transitivity. It is often said that the reason why the possessive verb cannot be passivized is because passivization does not affect the possessed object. In Surgut Khanty, the possessive verb can be passivized regardless of this typological tendency. There are 15 passivized possessive verbal clauses found in my data. Because of its rareness, crosslinguistically, it is worth discussing these passive clauses regardless of their limited number.

It is remarkable that the meaning of the possessive verb is changed in the passive voice. The basic meaning of this verb is possession in the active voice, but in Surgut Khanty discourse, there are various meanings: ‘to keep’, ‘to exist’, ‘to contain’, ‘take X as’ and ‘to love’. Paasonen’s dictionary only notes possession and ‘to store’ (1926: 230), but Karjalainen’s dictionary also lists ‘to keep’, ‘to use’, ‘to give birth’ and ‘to call’. Karjalainen notes also a passivized possessive verbal clause which means ‘to call’ (1948: 969–970):

(6.49) Passivized possessive verb ‘to be called’

jiwan-γə tǎj-λ-ojəm.
Iwan-TRA have-PRS-PASS.1SG
‘I am called Iwan.’
(Karjalainen-Toivonen 1948: 969)

In most passive clauses with a possessive verb, the agent is not realized. Some of these clauses are impersonal or the agent is a general noun such as a person, some of the agents are not realized because they are clear from the context. In Kulonen’s study, the agent is realized in almost 50% of whole passive clauses in Eastern Khanty (Kulonen 1989: 273).

The subject of passive clauses with the possessive verb also differs from that of other passive clauses. Most of them are overtly realized in noun phrases. They are mostly given information and trackable, yet some of them are new information which starts the tracking from the sentence in question. Even though they are trackable in discourse, they are rarely the primary discourse topic. Instead, they are an episodic transient topic in a local sense. Below I will show examples from discourse.

(6.50) Passivized possessive verb with the meaning of ‘to be regarded as something’

1. təm qātəλ n̄awəm-t-i jasəŋ-ən
this day talk-PTCP.PRS-ABL speech-LOC

lɔhne-γə tǔj-λ-i lɔhne.
frog-TRA have-PRS-PASS.3SG frog
‘In today’s talk, it is regarded as a frog.’

2. məŋən, n̄ewrem-ətt-ən aŋkaŋki-γə
we-LOC child-PL-LOC grand.mother-TRA

tǔj-λ-i.
have-PRS-PASS.3SG
‘She is regarded as a grandmother by us, the children’
(E7)

(6.51) Passivized possessive verb with the meaning of ‘to be loved’

1. it t̄i jis jasəŋi, weli
now this old story reindeer

wiči qāntəγ qo kuʔeŋ-nə.
always Khanty man close-LOC
‘Now this legend, the reindeer was always close to the Khanty man.’

2. qāntəγ qo tǒj-λ-i
 Khanty man have-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘The Khanty man is loved.’
3. mā-s-min t’umin tǒj-λ-i
 love-GER such have-PRS-PASS.3SG
 ‘The Khanty man is loved. (*lit.* The Khanty man is held with love.)’
 (E5)

(6.52) Passivized possessive verb with the meaning of ‘to be kept’.

- weli-t tǒt tǒj-λ-at.
 reindeer-PL there keep-PRS-PASS.3PL
 ‘Reindeer are kept there.’
 (E5)

(6.53) Passivized possessive verb with the meaning of ‘to be called’

- nim wǎλə ǎλəŋ-kə tǎj-λ-i
 below berth end-TRA call-PRS-PASS.3SG
- nāməλ.
 name-POSS.SG<3SG
 ‘It is called “below the head of the bunk”, this is the name.’
 (C1)

Evidence from the possessive verb implies that Surgut Khanty passivization may affect a change at the semantic level. Additionally, the possessive verb is multifunctional and is also grammaticalized as an evidential expression, for example. This interesting phenomenon should be examined in a future study.

6.2.4 OBJECT VERSUS SUBJECT CONJUGATION

6.2.4.1 Referential forms

Object conjugation is a relatively common choice in my Surgut Khanty data. As a quantitative analysis (section 6.1) reveals, there are a total of 98 clauses with object conjugation (affixal and Lex+V, including ditransitive alignment in the selected data. Of all those with object conjugation, the total (103/112 appearances) of chosen referential forms of the affixal A role is 91.9%. There is only 4.4% (5/112) pronominal and 3.6% (4/ 112) lexical A forms. The percentage of referential forms with object conjugation is different from both conjugations in my data: the percentages also indicate major appearances of

the affixal A role (69.9%, 197/282). Pronominal A arguments is second with 18.8% (53/282) and lexical A arguments with 12.4% (35/282).

Table 12. *Ratio of referential form of the A role depending on verbal inflection (%).*

	Subject conjugation	Object conjugation
Affix	69.9 (197/285)	91.9 (103/112)
Pronoun	17.7 (50/285)	4.4 (5/112)
Full NP	12.4 (35/285)	3.6 (4/112)

The referential form of the O role with object conjugation is clear-cut and striking. No pronominal O arguments are found in my selected quantitative analysis data. This result strongly conflicts with the results of a study on Mansi wherein the overt realization of an object as a personal pronoun (accusative) in object conjugation is common (Virtanen 1994: 325, conversation with Forsberg and Skribnik 2015). Quantitatively, the most common referential form of O with a verb in object conjugation is an overt lexical argument at 50.9% (57/112), then an affixal argument with 42.8% (48/112) and clausal O with 6.3% (7/112) (Table 13). The percentage of an overt realization of O is almost the same in North Khanty where it's approximately 50% of having an overt lexical realization in object conjugation (Nikolaeva 2001, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011).

In my selected Surgut Khanty data for quantitative analysis, 20 overt lexical realizations of O marked with a possessive suffix are found from among 57 overt lexical realizations in object conjugation context. This means approximately 35% of overt realizations include a possessive suffix. The use of a possessive suffix with the object conjugation confirms the accessibility of the object. Compared with the distribution of all O roles, there are lexical arguments with 58.4% (224/406), pronominal arguments with 16% (65/406), Lex V with 13.1% (53/406), affixal arguments with 11.1% (45/406), and with 4.7% (19/406) undefined.

Table 13. *The percentage of referential forms of O. (appearance)*

	Subject conjugation	Object conjugation
Affix	-	42
Pronoun	56	-
Overt Pronoun	-	0
Full NP	224	-
Overt Full NP-	53	-

Lexical arguments are overwhelmingly aligned with subject conjugation, while almost half of the referents with object conjugation are represented affixally. Only one pronominal argument with the object conjugation is found in all of my data (6.54):

(6.54) Personal pronominal O with object conjugation

əsək-kə	par	jəγ-m-in-nam	nün	müw
old-TRA	ash	come-PTCP.PST.2SG-APPR	2SG	what

töγ-əλ		<u>mant</u>	nün	nälčiy-λ-e,
place-POSS.SG.3SG		1SG.ACC	2SG	tickle-PRS-SG<2SG

‘Why in your old age are you tickling me,’

(D: 19)

cf. the personal pronominal O with subject conjugation

<u>mant</u>	panpə	pɪɪp-əγ.
1SG.ACC	and	ask-PST.3SG.

‘And (my father) asked me.’

(A: 62)

There are also eight ambiguous cases with a negated imperative clause in all of my data. All of the phrases are repeated in one folklore tale (6.55):

(6.55) Border cases of personal pronominal objects with object conjugation

a)

<u>mant</u>	töwə	aλ	taλil-ittən.
1SG.ACC	to.there	NEG	drag-IMP.SG.DU2/IMP.DU2

‘Don’t drag me there!’

b)

<u>mant</u>	töwə	aλ	taλil-i-təγ.
1SG.ACC	to.there	NEG	drag-IMP.SG.PL2/IMP.PL2

‘Don’t drag me there!’

(A: 64)

This ambiguity is based on the fact that in Surgut Khanty, the imperative of the second-person dual and plural with subject conjugation take the same morpheme:

Figure 22 Paradigm of second-person imperatives.

păn-ta ‘to put’

	Subjective conjugation	Object conjugation, SG object
Sg.2	păn-a	păn-e
Du.2	păn-ittə n	păn-ilə n
Pl.2	păn-tə γ	păn-ilə n

(Pokačeva and Pesikova 2006: 116)

In the light of this paradigm (Figure 22), the clauses in (6.55) can be interpreted as both subject and object conjugations since their object is the singular *mant* ‘me’.

As regards other Uralic languages, Nenets and Hungarian object conjugation show a similar phenomena. The first and the second persons in Nenets and the first person in Hungarian never trigger object conjugation, whereas any person can trigger it in both Northern Khanty (e.g. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011) and Mansi (Skribnik 2001, Virtanen 2015). According to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva, Hungarian object conjugation is not controlled by the same domain as it is in Northern Khanty. Hungarian object conjugation is conditioned by definiteness and appears with objects which are, for example, pronouns or complement clauses or are marked with a definite article, whereas in the Ob-Ugric languages, it is conditioned by information structure, topicality. (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 196-7, 7.2, also Skribnik 2001 and Virtanen 2015)

Furthermore, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva suggest that the contemporary marking system of definiteness is an innovation that came after the grammatical category of definiteness and the definite articles *a* and *az* developed in Old Hungarian. In this respect, the Northern Khanty system today is closer to earlier Hungarian (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 197–199). Compared to Hungarian object conjugation, complement clauses in my data can trigger object conjugation, but the choice seems optional.

Most of the personal pronominal objects (with a verb in subject conjugation) in my data represent the first and second-person singular. The third-persons are only realized three times as a personal pronoun in the object role. In (6.56), two of them are the object of the verb *ǫnə ltə -ta* ‘to teach’.

(6.56) Third-person pronominal O with the verb *ɔ̃nəl̩tə-ta* ‘to teach’

ma	<u>λəγ-at</u>	ɔ̃nəl̩t-əm:	rut'	jasəŋ,
1SG	3PL-ACC	teach-PST-1SG	Russian	language
λɔ̃ŋəl-tə		jasəŋ,	fizkultura,	arəγ-tə
read-PTCP.PRS		language,	physics,	sing-PTCP.PRS
urok,		pirodowedenja.		
lesson		biology		
'I taught them Russian, reading, physical education, singing and biology.'				
(F1)				

In the case of (6.56), the choice of personal pronoun and subject conjugation might be controlled by the verb. More analysis on person pronominal O will be shown in section 6.2.4.5.

Some other constraints with object conjugation are found in Surgut Khanty discourse. Words of an indefinite nature as an object, such as ‘all’ or ‘what’, also trigger only subject conjugation as expected, e.g.

(6.57) Indefinite word with subject conjugation.

ʔit	ɔ̃ləŋ	<u>müwəli</u>	wär-əlʔ
there	well	what	do-PRS.3SG
'What does she do there?'			
(A:78)			

Moreover, the possessive verb *täj-ta* ‘to have’ seems to never trigger object conjugation in Surgut Khanty discourse. According to my informants, the object conjugation is hardly acceptable with this verb. I requested one of my informants to construct sentences, and after long contemplation, she actually did come up with idiomatic expressions. Regardless of its rareness, my informant gave some examples with this verb in the object conjugation (6.58):

(6.58) Possessive verb in object conjugation.

Subject conjugation:		
ma	wəl̩i-t	täj-λ-əm.
1SG	reindeer-PL	have-PRS-1SG
'I have reindeer.'		

Object conjugation:

ma weλi-t tǎj-λ-em.
1SG reindeer-PL have-PRS-SG<1SG
'I take care of/keep reindeer.'

In actual discourse, there seems to only be exceptions when the possessive verb is inflected in the object conjugation, and when it does so, its meaning changes. The same phenomenon was already shown with the passivized possessive verb (sections 3.2.6.4 and 6.2.3.2.3). This phenomenon could merit further study, as a passivized possessive verb has crosslinguistically been argued to be impossible. Clauses with the possessive verb are also common in violating PAS constraints in two lexical clause types (A and O, 30/105). However, this should be left for future study.

6.2.4.2 Text genre

Looking at the text genre, it is interesting that the object conjugation is found much less in the data of descriptive tales (not fairy tale, incl. pear story) (Figure 6.21):

Table 14. *Text genre and object conjugation.*

Text genre	Time	Object conjugations	Per min.*
Descriptive tale	89 minutes 50 seconds	8	8.8%
Fairy tale	195 minutes 34 seconds	137	71.3%
<i>The Pear Story</i>	9 minutes 56 seconds	4	40%

* For simplification, the descriptive tales are counted as 90 minutes, the fairy tale as 195 minutes and *The Pear Story* as 10 minutes.

There are only eight occurrences of the object conjugation (incl. Lex+V) in the descriptive tales in my data. The appearance frequency of the object conjugation is higher amongst the fairy tales than the descriptive tales.

6.2.4.3 Animacy

In regard to animacy, I could not find any significant evidence for a choice between the two conjugations. My data indicates that body parts (mostly with a possessive suffix) tend to trigger the object conjugation (6.59).

(6.59) Body parts with object conjugation

imi,	nüŋ	ma	<u>ɣn-əm</u>
woman	2SG	1 SG	chin-POSS.SG<1SG

müwat	<u>ňälčəɣɫ-e?</u>
why	tickle-PST.SG<2SG
‘(old) Woman, why did you tickle my chin?’	
(D: 17)	

Indefinite referents, such as indefinite pronouns, general referents and interrogative pronouns, trigger subject conjugation. Human beings, animals and physical items can trigger both conjugations.

6.2.4.4 Pragmatics

In this section, I will compare the pragmatic functions of the subject and object conjugations as alignments. The topics discussed will be information status as new versus given information, topicality and referent tracking.

In my Surgut Khanty data, objects with a verb in the subject conjugation represent either new or given information in discourse, whereas most of the objects appearing with a verb in the object conjugation represent given information. Quantitatively, 74 of 287 objects with subject conjugation introduce new information into the discourse. This result is supported by a similar previous study on Northern Khanty. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011: 146) argue that the object in constructions with the object conjugation has been realized in a previous discourse, or it refers to an entity which is relevant in the context. My analysis indicates that an object in a clause with subject conjugation is not controlled by given information, where as those which principally trigger object conjugation are. In the following sentences, the object which triggers subject conjugation introduces new information and recurs many times throughout the discourse. The object with a verb in the object conjugation represents given information:

(6.60) Choice of conjugation depending on information status.

1.	əj	mətə	məɣ-ən	repəŋ	məɣ-ən,
	one	some	land-LOC	hilly	land- LOC
	ɣɫ	məɣ-ət-ən,	əj	iki	<u>gruʂəɣ-ət</u>
	below	land-PL-LOC	one	man	pear-PL
	əkət-əl.				
	collect-PRS.3SG				

‘In some hilly land, a man is picking pears.’

- 2. t'u pɪrən, əj paɣ-əlɪ, welocipeg-nat
 that after one boy-DEM bicycle-COMINS

jüw əj mətə pələk-i.
 come.PST.3SG one some side-ABL

‘After that, a small boy with a bicycle came from somewhere.’

- 3. tom iki nom-ən wɔl, koŋtɪp-ən
 this man up-LOC be.PST.3SG ladder-LOC

jɪɣ-ən.
 tree-LOC

‘This man was up a tree on a ladder.’

4. gruʂay-ət nom-ən əkət.
 pear-PL up-LOC collect.PST.3SG
 ‘He was picking pears.’

5. pan tom əj paɣ-əlɪ-n,
 and that one boy-DEM-LOC

wu-λ-(ə)təɣ.
 see-PRS-SG>3SG

‘And the boy saw him [the man].’

6. tom iki-n əntə wuλ-i
 this man-LOC NEG know-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘The man didn’t see him [the boy].’

7. welosipət-əl ɪlə pon-təɣ.
 bicycle-POSS.SG<3SG down put-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘He [the boy] put his bicycle down.’

8. karzina kučej-a mən.
 basket near-LAT go.PST.3SG
 ‘He came close to the basket.’

9. əj, kat wəta_ gruša
 one two take-INF pear
- jəγɪləγ noməks-əλ
 be.going.to.PST.3SG think-PRS.3SG
 'He was going to take one or two pears, he thinks.'
10. λejλ-əγ=λejλ-əγ,
 look-PST.3SG=look-PST.3SG
 'He was looking and looking.'
11. paka tom iki-n əntə
 still this man-LOC NEG
- wu-λ-i
 know-PRS-PASS.3SG
 'The man still doesn't see him [the boy]'
 (E4)

(6.60) is an extract from the interview with an informant after she saw the movie *The Pear Story*. The referent *gruša* 'pear' is realized as the object and introduces new information into the discourse (line 1). The referent recurs in the discourse (lines 4 and 9). The boy came to the place with a bicycle. In the first utterance, the bicycle appears as an adverbial and represents new information (line 2), but in the second utterance (line 7), it triggers the object conjugation. The referent takes a possessive suffix and it may motivate the affixal realization of the subject, the boy (line 6). Most of the objects which trigger the object conjugation are episodic/local topics or background information that recur in the discourse.

In Surgut Khanty discourse, a clause object can also trigger object conjugation. For example (6.61):

(6.61) Clause object with object conjugation

1. qōwli mən-m-aλ pɪrɪnə, wanli
 long go-PTCP.PST-3SG after short
- mən-m-aλ pɪrɪnə jăčəŋ qătλ jăčə-γə,
 go-PTCP.PST-3SG after middle day middle-TRA
- səməŋ qătλ səmə-γə jəγ,
 heartly day heart-TRA begin.PST.3SG
 'After wandering around for a long or even short time, it became the middle of the day, noon was the time of the midday sun.'

(6.62) New referent with object conjugation

1. eto finljandijay-i jöytił-əm sanna
 this Finland-ABL come-PTCL.PST Sanna
- mantem jastəγ, sanna suomalainen.
 1SG-LAT say-PST.3SG Sanna Suomalainen
 ‘This Sanna from Finland said to me, Sanna Suomalainen²⁴.’
2. nūj – gawarit – molodeč,
 2SG “talks” (Russian) “brave”[Russian]
 ‘You say, “molodech” (Russian *молодец*)’
3. ma t’e lat-nə, in t’i
 1SG that time-LOC, still this
- perwij rut’ jasəŋ-əm, t’etti.
 “first” Russian word-POSS.SG<1SG there.
 ‘At that time I learnt my first Russian words’
 (She did not speak Russian at that time, only Khanty)
4. t’u åł-ən, mənati pa, müγ
 that year-LOC PL1.LAT and guest
- jâγ jöwti-ł-ta jəγ-ət.
 people come-FRE-INF start-PST.3PL
 ‘that year, there were many people that came to us’
5. finljandijay-i, wengrijay-i jowttił-ət.
 Finland-ABL Hungary-ABL come-PST.3PL
 ‘People came from Finland and Hungary.’
6. t’u t̄ayi-t e’e nom-łə-łam
 this time-PL well think-PRS-PL<1SG
 ‘I think about those times.’
 (E3)

In (6.62), the new referent *t̄ayi-t* ‘times’ is not new information nor an indefinite referent. Instead, it refers to the previous discourse. As such, it is able to trigger the object conjugation.

Moving on to referent tracking, a new referent realized as an object of a verb in the subject conjugation can or cannot be trackable. In most cases, they seem to be trackable, but the tendency is not as strong as with objects that trigger the object conjugation. Thus, on the one hand, objects with a verb

²⁴ The name is referred anonymously.

in the subject conjugation can basically introduce any sort of referent and information, but on the other hand, almost all objects that trigger the object conjugation represent given information and a very trackable referent, and they have also been realized in the previous discourse. They are very continuous both cataphorically and anaphorically. For example, the referent in the following discourse (6.63), a drum, is already given information and trackable.

Most of the objects that trigger the object conjugation are topical at all levels, only with minor exceptions. Most topical objects that trigger the object conjugation are not primary but rather secondary or episodic topics. If they are primary topics with a verb in the object conjugation, the referent which is realized as O with the object conjugation has naturally been realized as any of the grammatical roles (A, S, O, ADV etc.) in a previous discourse (see also Example 6.60).

(6.63) Referent tracking 1:

Secondary topicalized PAT > Primary topicalized PAT > Impersonalised AGT and topicalized PAT.

1. küjəp ilməytə-təy.
 drum pick.up- PST.SG>3SG
 ‘He picked up the drum.’

2. utə ələŋ-a luñt’əmtə-təy.
 tent end-LAT throw-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘He threw it to the back of the tent.’

3. t’əqa munt t’i qut qo-nə
 well earlier this 6 man-LOC

qoγətət-i.
 bring.in- PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘The drum was brought earlier by those six men.’

4. t’i küjəp, püməŋ qåt ləγpji-a
 that drum warm house inside-LAT

luñt’-i lüw.
 throw-PASS.PST.3SG PTCL
 ‘The drum was thrown into the warm house.’
 (A:102)

The topicalized patient/object in Example (6.63), *küjə p* ‘drum’, appears with a verb in the object conjugation with an overt realization (line 1). The referent continues in line 2 affixally, that is, as the object conjugation suffix. In lines 3 and 4, the voice is changed to passive due to topicality. The referent keeps its topical status in the ongoing discourse and takes the position of subject in the passive sentence. In both lines 3 and 4, the agentive of the action as an agent does not represent a primary topic, so it takes the position of agent in line 3 but the sentence in line 4 is agentless, i.e. impersonal. Another example is the following (6.64):

(6.64) Referent tracking 2: Topic-focalised-secondary topic (Topic: different forms).

1. pit'əŋkəli-γən=opisa-γən wäl-λə-γən.
 little.bird-DU=sister-DU live-PRS-3DU
 ‘A little bird lives with her sister.’

2. t'u latnə pit'əŋkəli qäñt'əqint-əγ.
 that when little.bird be.frightened-FREQ.PST.3SG
 ‘At that time, the little bird was frightened.’
3. ker pöč-a tōγə qäñimt-əγ.
 oven behind-LAT to.there hide-PST.3SG
 ‘She hid behind the oven.’
4. māŋk=iki jāqə λāŋ-m-aλ
 forest.monster=man home come-PST.PTCL-3SG
- latnə ñāwəm:
 when say-PST.3SG
 ‘When the forest monster came home, he said,
5. mā wojə putəl-əm qōja-nə
 1SG fatty stew-POSS.SG<1SG who-LOC
- liw-i?
 eat-PASS.PST.3SG
 ‘Who ate my fatty stew?’ (*lit.* By whom was my fatty stew eaten?)
6. sar mā ker nōq üλ-əm,
 forward 1SG oven up light-PST.1SG
 ‘I heated the oven’

7. ker-a tam lükəmtə-λ-em
oven-LAT that(adv) put-PRS-SG<1SG
‘I will put it in the oven.’
8. panə ker üλ-ta juw-a kənčča-γə
and oven light.up-INF wood-LAT collect-INF
- f’ōwal-nam f’i kōt nürtəmtə-təγ,
open.oven-APPR this hand reach-PST.SG3<SG
‘And he reached out his hand towards the oven to set the wood on fire.’
9. pi’ənkəli f’ə kem nərəmtə-təγ.
little.bird well out bring-PST.SG<3SG
‘He took the little bird out’.
10. əj aŋkenošliŋki, ma nün-at
one mother.damned 1SG 2SG-ACC
- sar ker-a lükəmtə-λ-əm
forward oven-LAT put-PRS-1SG
‘I will put you in the oven, you “damned mother”.’
(A:66)

In Example 6.64, the referent in question *pi’ə nkə li* ‘little bird’ was introduced as a main character in the discourse (line 1). It continues as a primary topic (lines 2 and 3), but a competing referent, *māŋk iki* ‘forest monster’, takes the topical status later (lines 4, 6–10). After the appearance of the monster, the primary topic, the little bird, appears at first as focus as the agent of passive (line 5), then a secondary topic at the clause level (the primary topic at discourse level) (lines 7, 9 and 10), which is actually unknown at first from the monster’s point of view. In addition, lines 9 and 10 are examples in which the same referent *pi’ə nkə li* ‘little bird’ is realized lexically with the verb in the object conjugation and as a personal pronoun with the verb in the subject conjugation.

6.2.4.5 Overt utterance of an object

As regards the referential form of an object triggering object conjugation, there are more lexical, overt expressions found than affixal (53 overt/42 affixal expressions), and even though most objects with a verb in the object conjugation represent given information, an affixal utterance might just be enough. Naturally, the first appearance in a discourse is always introduced as a full NP. However, even though the referent has already been realized in the preceding discourse, some referents in affixal O trigger overtly lexical referents. Most transitive subjects with object conjugation with overt lexical

utterance are realized affixally, and this is partly based on the one-lexical argument constraint and partly based on the listener understanding the clause. In this section, I will analyse the function of an overt lexical utterance with a verb in the object conjugation.

As it is in other languages, A in Surgut Khanty discourse tends to be realized affixally because of its high topicality. It may be difficult for listeners to understand the grammatical and semantic relationships in a clause (agentive/subject and patient/object), if both A and O are affixal. Quantitatively, there are 30 clauses realized with affixal A and O in my Surgut Khanty data. This is about one third of the transitive clauses with a verb in the object conjugation (30 affixal A and O; 105 O). Both A and O can be chosen as affixal referential forms only when the listener gets enough information from the context in order to recognise the relationship. (The context with the drum is a good example of this). For example (6.65):

(6.65) Textual excerpt with clauses in which both A and O are affixal.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1. <u>gruʃay-i</u> | karzina-γəλ | əntəm. | |
| pear-ADJ | basket-POSS.DU<3SG/PL | NEG | |
| 'There were no baskets for pears.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 2. katγən, | koλəm | karzina | wəλ. |
| two | three | basket | be.PST.3SG |
| 'There were two, three baskets.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 3. əj-əλ | | əntəm, | |
| one-POSS.SG<3SG | | NEG | |
| 'One of [his baskets] was not.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 4. katγən | kit'-γən. | | |
| two | be.left-PST.DU | | |
| 'Two were left.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 5. to=est, | əj-əλ | täl-λ-a | kit', |
| so | one-POSS.SG<3SG | full-LAT | be.left-PST.3SG |
| 'Well, one of his [baskets] was left full.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 6. əj-əλ | | täl-λəγ. | |
| one-POSS.SG<3SG | | full-ABESS | |
| 'One of his [baskets] was empty.' | | | |
| | | | |
| 7. in | <u>əkət-λə-təγ.</u> | | |
| just | collect-PRS-SG<3SG | | |
| 'He just takes it.' | | | |
| (E4) | | | |

Line 7 in (6.65) has both affixal A and O. The affixal utterance of A is expected since the referent of A, ‘he’, is one of the main characters of the tale and very topical. The referent of O, *gruša* ‘pear’, is uttered in line 1 and also is recurred in the preceding discourse, and the listener understands the affixally realized O from the context. It may also depend on verbal semantics. Possible referents as O with the verb *ə kə t-ta* ‘to collect’ in the above discourse are limited. However, its most probable referent is *gruša* ‘pear’. In addition to the context, the interpretation of A and O at the line 7 is also guaranteed by the animacy parameter. The agent ‘who take’ must be animate, mostly human referent and the token inanimate referent.

We can assume that a referent will be realized lexically after having not been uttered for a while since its first realization, even though it is topical and no longer represents new information. We can thus imagine that, after a long break without mentioning a referent, it is not semiactivated – not activated – information which is not currently in the listener’s cognition. Regardless of the expectation, the speaker’s choice is not limited to such a case.

The following excerpt illustrates an overt lexical utterance:

(6.66) Recurring lexical O.

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. ma | jəγ-əm | qǎλ-əm | latnə | <u>arəγ</u> |
| 1SG | father-POSS.SG<1SG | die-PTCP.PST | when | song |
| <u>ary-i</u> | <u>juq-qən=</u> | <u>mǎnt</u> | <u>mǎnt'-i</u> | <u>juq-qən</u> |
| singing-ADJ | tree-DU= | tale | telling-ADJ | tree-DU |
| təj-əm. | | | | |
| have-PST.1SG | | | | |
| ‘When my father died, I had a singing tree, a tale-telling tree (a zither).’ | | | | |
| --- | | | | |
| 2. a, | məttə, | il | lew-nam | kity-i-λ-ojəm. |
| well | well | down | world-APPR | send-PRS.PASS-1sg |
| ‘It was sent to me to the underworld.’ | | | | |
| 3. <u>arəγ</u> | <u>ary-i</u> | <u>juqqən=mǎnt</u> | <u>mǎnt'-i</u> | |
| song | singing-ADJ | tree-DU=tale | telling-ADJ | |
| <u>juq-qən</u> | kənčča-γə. | | | |
| tree-DU | catch-INF | | | |
| ‘to catch the singing and tale-telling trees.’ | | | | |
| ----- | | | | |

4. tōrəm	qān	jəγ-əm=	iki
sky	god	father-POSS.SG<1SG	man

jast-əλ.
 say-PRS.3SG
 ‘The Sky God father says.’

5. mətə	jəγ-əλ	qǎλ-əm	latnə
well	father-POSS.SG<3SG	die-PTCP.PST	when

<u>arəγ</u>	<u>ary-i</u>	<u>juq-q-əλ=</u>	<u>mǎnt</u>
song	singing-ADJ	tree-POSS.SG<3SG=	tale

<u>mǎnt'-i</u>	<u>juqq-əλ</u>	lūwati	pān-λəλ.
telling-ADJ	tree-POSS.SG<3SG	3SG-LAT	put-POSS.PL<3SG

‘When his father died, he gave his singing and tale-telling tree to him.’
 (A92-94)

In (6.66) *arə γ aryi juq-qə n – mǎnt mǎnti juq-qə n* ‘Khanty zither’ is realized almost always lexically in the discourse regardless if the break without mentioning it is long or not. As it can be seen in 6.60, the O referent has a possessive suffix and is possessed by the topical referent.

To sum up, object conjugation represents O as given information and topic affixally, with or without an overt lexical realization. The question is why an overt lexical realization is needed for a referent which represents given information and topic (however, not primary). According to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva, the use of an overt object is often motivated by the need to disambiguate between rival referents in Northern Khanty discourse at the moment of appearance (Nikolaeva 2001, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 146). In Surgut Khanty discourse, an overt lexical realization with a verb in the object conjugation seems to be chosen when a (new) referent represents 1) a definite referent as part of the topic, 2) something possessed by the topic (a full NP with possessive suffix; See examples 6.61 and 6.68) or 3) a referent which is expected to be part of a recurring referent in the previous discourse, e.g. a door is expected to be part of a house (see Example 6.63).

These findings support the idea that local discourse controls morphosyntactic choice more directly than a whole discourse. The object conjugation is mainly connected to given information and topic, which is more continuous and trackable in discourse, whereas the subject conjugation is connected to both given and new information, both topic and focus.

6.2.4.6 Personal pronouns and the object conjugation

Regardless of having a close function to topicality, the first- and second-person pronouns only trigger the subject conjugation. This means that

objects which trigger subject conjugation can also be topical, even primary topics, when they occur as personal pronouns. The first- and second-person pronouns are referents which have the potentiality of becoming a primary topic. In this section, I will take a more detailed look at why the first- and second-person pronouns do not trigger the object conjugation.

A good example for the absence of a pronominal O with object conjugation is found in the following fairy tale:

(6.67) Personal pronominal O with subject conjugation and lexical O with subject conjugation for the same referent.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 1. | <i>op-em</i>
sister-POSS.SG<1SG
'I will give my sister, tweet tweet.' | <i>mə-λ-em,</i>
give-PRS-SG<1SG | <i>t'iw, t'iw,</i>
<i>tiw tiw</i> |
| 2. | <i>op-em</i>
sister-POSS.SG<1SG
'I will give my sister, tweet tweet.' | <i>mə-λ-em,</i>
give-PRS-SG<1SG | <i>t'iw, t'iw,</i>
<i>tiw tiw</i> |
| --- | | | |
| 3. | <i>nün-at</i>
2SG-ACC
'I will give you to the forest monster.' | <i>mänk=ikij-a</i>
forest.monster-LAT | <i>t'i</i>
well
<i>mə-λ-əm.</i>
give-PRS.1SG |
- (A:68)

The referents in the A and O role are identical in lines 2 and 3. The referents represent the main characters in the tale and appear as a subject many times in the preceding discourse. In line 2, the referent O *opi* 'sister' is realized lexically with the verb in the object conjugation, whereas in line 3 it is realized as a personal pronoun with the same verb in the subject conjugation.

The interview with my informant also supports the choice of referential form with a verb in the object conjugation. The clauses in (6.67) were originally constructed for discussing the dative shift and dative alternations. My informant corrected the inflections of the verbs as shown below. According to the comments of another informant on the clauses in (6.67), it is impossible to choose the object conjugation form *mə -λ-em* 'give-PRS-SG>1SG' since O is represented by a personal pronoun. She explained that the object conjugation only takes the third-person as the object. She corrected the elicited sentences (constructed examples) as follows (6.68):

(6.68) Choice of conjugation with personal pronoun O

Original clause: *ma čaj-at nūḡat məλem.*

Corrected clause: *ma čaj-at nūḡat məλəm.*

object conjugation >> subject conjugation

Another example in my Surgut Khanty data also supports this choice. According to my informant, the clause in (6.69) should trigger the subject conjugation. The corrections imply that the noun phrase types of the O role also defines conjugation type:

(6.69) Interpretation of O between the two conjugations.

a) Object conjugation

wəλ-e!

take-IMP.SG<2SG

‘Take him/her!’

b) Subject conjugation

wəλ-a!

take-IMP.2SG

‘Take me!’

The object conjugation agrees with the object in number, in addition to the subject in person and number (see Chapter 3). In such a case, an object expressed in the inflection can be any person, and the recognition of the object mostly depends on the context and the interlocutors of the discourse. In 6.69(a) concerning allosentences, however, the object of an object conjugation clause should be the third-person without context and the recognition depends on a grammatical, not a pragmatic constraint.

The deictic distinction between the first and second persons versus the third person also implies that some pragmatic background may regulate the choice of the object conjugation. The first and second persons are definite participants of discourse, whereas the third person is discourse-based and anaphoric; it also tends to be realized lexically. The difference between first and second persons versus third person correlates to the findings on Surgut Khanty discourse in this study, in which only lexical overt realizations were found. The third-person and lexical realizations do not index the speaker and the hearer (e.g. Silverstein 1976).

Crosslinguistic studies also attest to this phenomenon, as topical first- and second-person pronouns tend to be primary topics and therefore appear as subjects. When the third-person is topical, it needs to be overtly coded

because of its unexpectedness in the discourse. The marking indicates the unexpectedness compared with the typical object in, for example, topicality, animacy and definiteness. A typical object receives properties such as focal, inanimate and indefinite (Iemmolo 2014: 51-52, 175-180).

Figure 23 Comparison between subject and object conjugations.

Conjugation type	Subject		Object	
	A	O	A	O
Referential form	Affixal	Lexical	Affixal	Affixal/Lexical
Animacy	Animate	Both	Animate	Both
Information status	Given	Given/New	Given	Given
Topicality	Topic	Topic/Focus	Topic	Topic
Tracking	High	not high	High	High

The difference between these two conjugations is not clear-cut. However, the object with a verb in the object conjugation has features closer to a subject (which is connected to a verb in either of the two conjugations) than one with a verb in subject conjugation in its referential form and having pragmatic features (Figure 23). Nikoleva (1999) supports this in that a Surgut Khanty O with a verb in the object conjugation has more properties of being a core argument than one in the subject conjugation.

The fact that the first- and second-person pronominal objects cannot trigger the object conjugation also implies a link to topicality. This depends on the typological tendency that an attenuated expression such as a pronominal or affixal realization is typically more topical than a lexical expression. In other words, theoretically, the realization of first and second personal pronouns as O with a verb in the subject conjugation is less topical than an affixal realization as O with a verb in the object conjugation.

Word order is one typical syntactic resource to express topicality. In SOV languages, including Khanty, topic is typically in the initial position of a clause and focus is immediately in the preverbal position. There are only 41 transitive clauses with personal pronominal objects in all of my data. This small number of personal pronominal objects depends on the following factors: 1) The object conjugation denies personal pronominal object; 2) there is a much lower number of transitive clauses in my data than intransitive; 3) instead of an active transitive clause, the passive is a relatively common morphosyntactic choice. (The relation between passive and transitivity in section 6.5)

Table 15. *Word order variations with personal pronominal O in transitive clauses.*

	A	O	ADV	V	15
	A		O	V	9
		O	ADV	V	8
		ADV	O	V	3
		ADV	ADV	V	2
ADV	A	O	ADV	V	1
			O	V	1
	ADV	O	ADV	V	1
	A	ADV	O	V	1
Total:					41

The focal position in Table 15 is occupied by adverbs and objects only. Adverbs are much more common in this position (25/41) than objects (16/41). This result shows that adverbial realizations are more focal than objects. Note that “focal” here does not mean a newly focused referent and information. Instead it refers to a more focal and less topical referent than (primary) topic: the “focal” objects here are realized as personal pronouns, most of them represent the first and second persons, which are highly topical referents.

In ditransitive clauses, only 13 have personal pronominal objects. The following word orders are found in the whole data (Table 16):

Table 16. *Word order variations with personal pronominal O in ditransitive clauses.*

A	O(R)	ADV(T)	V	6
A	O(R)	ADV(T)	V	2
	O(T)	ADV(R)	V	2
ADV	ADV(R)	O(P/T)	V	1
A	O(T)	ADV(R)	V	1
ADV(T)	A	O(R)	V	1
Total				13

*R=Recipient, T=Theme

In ditransitive clauses with personal pronominal O, theme is most often in the focal position (9/13), whereas only two clauses show the object in the position. This is a logical and expected feature in terms of my previous analysis (see section 6.2.1.1). My data shows inanimate referents more often as theme and animate referents as objects. Animate referents are typically in core syntactic and topical positions than inanimate referents. These personal

pronominal objects are clearly focused or stressed cases as ‘(specifically) to me/you, not another’. In these 9 clauses which have a focal theme, topical subjects are realized pronominally. Such subjects are the first-person and take the second-person pronoun object.

The topical position is trickier. As Filchenko (2010: 381) points out, topics are mostly realized as subjects, and more topical referents tend to be only realized affixally in both crosslinguistic studies and my Khanty data. In such cases, the topicalized referent/argument cannot be in the initial position of a clause. In my data, A in most cases is in the topical position (25/41), then O (9/41) and finally adverb (7/41) in transitive clauses with a personal pronominal O. Statistically, subject is in the topical position as expected, regardless of Filchenko’s claim.

The occurrences of personal pronoun objects in Surgut Khanty discourse can be divided into two groups. First, most of the personal pronoun objects occurred in the dialogue spoken within the discourse. It may be natural that the personal pronoun objects are not found in the descriptive texts (e.g. data C), which has no dialogue:

(6.70) Personal pronominal O in speech.

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | panə | əj | latnə | jastə-λ: |
| | and | one | time | say-PRS.3SG |
| | ‘And one day, it says,’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| 2. | ja, | nūŋ | <u>mant</u> | änm-ən. |
| | and | 2SG | 1SG.ACC | raise-PST.2SG |
| | “And you raised me.” | | | |
| | | | | |
| 3. | ma | <u>nūŋ-at</u> | nõq | aλəm-λ-əm. |
| | 1SG | 2SG-ACC | up | raise-PRS-1SG |
| | ‘I will lift you up.’ | | | |
| | (D:12) | | | |

When it comes to the appearance of objects, a personal pronoun is more common in the dialogue spoken within the discourse than in text. This phenomenon can be compared to the nature of spoken and written languages: even though the whole discourse is spoken, the dialogue in discourse in it is more “spoken” than in text. The realization of O with a personal pronoun is more common in the dialogue spoken within the discourse. This contradicts my informant’s comment in our interview. She “corrected” the texts and added an overt realization of subject and object with personal pronouns since the clauses with these realizations representing the person are more correct as standard, written language.

The second group is represented by the following excerpt which has competing referents and needs a clear realization of the object to ensure coherent communication (6.71):

(6.71) Overt realization of personal pronoun as O.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. | <u>it</u> | jəmat | jəm | логәс-γән | wos- <u>mən</u> |
| | now | very | good | friend-DU | be-1DU |
| | mon(t)em-nat. | | | | |
| | 1SG-INSCOM | | | | |
| | 'Now we are very good friends.' | | | | |
| 2. | <u>λüw</u> | <u>mant</u> | toηəmt-əλ, | | |
| | 3SG | 1SG.ACC | understand-PRS.3SG | | |
| | 'He understands me.' | | | | |
| 3. | <u>ma</u> | <u>λüw-at</u> | toηəmtə-λ-əm. | | |
| | 1SG | 3SG-ACC | understand-PRS-1SG | | |
| | 'I understand him.' | | | | |
| | (E3) | | | | |

Example 6.71 shows the speaker talking about her childhood. She started to talk about her brother. If the above personal pronouns had been expressed with the object conjugation instead of an overt realization (lines 2, and 3), it would have been difficult to follow the prepositions by conjugation in the number only as these clauses are similar. The second-person pronoun is the topical referent in the excerpt. The speaker's strategy with the competing topical referents in the discourse (excerpt) is directly related to morphosyntactic choice.

In the following example, the subject and the object fluctuate in a short excerpt. Such discourse demands a clear realization of arguments:

(6.72) Discourse with fluctuating S and O.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | a | pa | латнə... | pa | lemešew-a, |
| | well | next | time | next | Lemeshev-LAT |
| | pri- <u>em</u> : | | | | |
| | ask-PST.SG<1SG | | | | |
| | 'Well, the next time I asked Lemeshev.' | | | | |
| 2. | <u>mant</u> | wizow-at | | wart-a. | |
| | 1SG-ACC | invitation-INSFIN | | make-IMP.SG2 | |
| | 'Make an invitation for me.' | | | | |

3. quntə ma Leningrad institut tərməltəλ-em²⁵,
 when 1SG Leningrad institute finish-
 PST.SG<1SG
- uyət puγəl eškolaγ-a mant wuy-ət,
 Uyət village school-LAT 1SG.ACC invite-PST.3PL
- oλəŋ.
 first
 ‘When I graduated from the Institute of Leningrad,
 they first invited me to school in the village of Ughet.
4. məγ t’u λatnə nələ oλ
 1PL that time four year
- toppə ðnəltəγλ-uw institut- nə,
 only study-PST.1PL institute-LOC
 ‘At that time, we had only studied at the institute for four years.’
5. panə nələ oλ mən-əm kimmə ma
 and four year go-PTCP.PST PTCL 1SG
- nəprawlenijay-at mə-jojəm
 consignment-INSFIN give-PASS.PST.1SG
 ‘And after four years, I was given a work order’.
6. panə ma əj pəγi rayəm
 and 1SG one back kin
- eškolaγ-em-a jowt-əm
 school-POSS.SG<1SG-LAT come-PST.1SG
 And I came back to my local school.
 (F1)

In (6.72), the referent *ma* ‘I’ appears as subject (lines 1 and 6), object (lines 2 and 3) and subject of the passive (line 4 as we). The grammatical role of the same referent fluctuates almost line by line. It is not surprising that most of the appearances are personal pronouns. Such discourse demands a clear realization of the arguments.

²⁵ Consulted with my informant. This is not a PTCP, but the object conjugation.

6.2.4.7 Summary

The object conjugation functions as a (secondary) topic marker in discourse. The topicality of objects that trigger the object conjugation is high, and it is not surprising that almost half of them are realized affixally without an overt NP or pronoun realization. The other half also has an overt lexical realization when the discourse has competing topical referents. Like the referential form of the subject (especially the subject of a transitive verb), the object referent which triggers the object conjugation, is topical and recurs as a leitmotif in the discourse. The referent, which has become a leitmotif, is easily recognised and is realized affixally without an overt lexical realization; if there is no competing topical referent.

I propose that the origin of the Surgut Khanty object conjugation is linked to topicality. I presume that speakers have developed this system which can express topicality due to the necessity and effectiveness for more fluent communication. To recognise the referent, the listener would need some marker for it. In fact, the object conjugation is coded with clearer vowels such as *-e* and *-a*, whereas subject conjugation is coded with a reduced vowel, *-ə*. The object conjugation is thus more clearly marked phonetically than the subject conjugation.

Personal pronouns have been considered (at least partly) to be the origin of the conjugation suffixes, but the object conjugation paradigm is not as regular as that of the subject conjugation. Its regularity is only found in the suffixes of the number of the object (dual *-γə λ* and plural *-λ*). Personal suffixes also do not clearly correspond to personal pronouns. In other words, the number of the object seems to be more important than its person in Surgut Khanty discourse and culture.

6.2.5 LOCATIVE SUBJECT

In addition to nominative subjects, locative subjects are also found in Surgut Khanty discourse. A structure with a locative subject has been called ergative or has been related to the discussion of ergativity. In fact, there is no ergative–absolute division in Khanty. In the present study, I will call this a locative subject structure instead of ergative (see more in Chapters 3 and 4).

Locative subjects are quite rare, with only nine examples found in my data. The previous study also mentions that the locative subject (=“Ergativkonstruktion” in Kulonen 1991) is only a locational rare phenomenon in Surgut Khanty (Kulonen 1991: 11). Regardless of its rareness, I will discuss the appearance of the locative subject in Surgut Khanty since it is difficult to identify subjects on the basis of purely structural criteria alone, such as case marking or indexation (Croft 2003: 14-15, Haspelmath 2010). Moreover, despite the fact that a locative subject is rare in all of my data – not only the chosen data for quantitative analysis – a pragmatic analysis of the use of locative subjects demonstrates that they are motivated by certain pragmatic conditions in the preceding discourse (Sosa 2008). These comparable

alternations are nominative subject, in the subject conjugation, passive voice and the object conjugation.

According to one of my informants, the choices of locative subject seem to be mistakes. Her comments are, for example, as follows (6.73):

(6.73) Locative subjects and my informant's comments.

a) The subject should be in nominative case:

ma-nə	tōwə	äsλ-em.
1SG-LOC	to.there	leave-PST.SG<1SG

'I left (it) (there).'

(A56)

>>

ma	tōwə	äsλ-em
1SG	to.there	leave-PST.SG<1SG

'I left (it) (there).'

b) instead of the locative subject the word in question should be *panə* 'and':

ma-nə	waləγ	qōwit	ut-nam
1SG-LOC	bar.of.reindeer.sled	after	shore-APPR

quγ-λ-əm.
run-PRS.1SG
'I run after the bar of the sled to the shore.' (A62)

>>

panə	waləγ	qōwit	ut-nam
and	bar.of.reindeer.sled	after	shore-APPR

quγ-λ-əm.
run-PRS-1SG
'and (I) run after the bar of the sled to the shore.'

c) the locative subject should be the agent of passive:

lüw-nə	jāγ	tōl	īlə	kitəλ.
3SG-LOC	people	there	down	send.PST.3SG

'He sent the people there.'

(A92)

>>

λiüw-nə	ja γ	töλ	ilə	kitλ-at.
3SG-LOC	people	there	down	send-
PST.PASS.3SG				
‘The people were sent by him.’				

From the comments by the informant (6.73), one may guess that the locative subject is an old phenomenon. However, in the older resources even the locative subject is rare. In her study, where Kulonen used even older language data than in the data used in the present study, the locative subject is quite rare (Kulonen 1991). Even in Paasonen’s collection (Vértés 2001), which is not used in Kulonen’s study, the locative subject was not found.

In the present section, I will analyse referent tracking in both intransitive and transitive clauses which have locative subjects.

6.2.5.1 Intransitive clauses with a locative subject

6.2.5.1.1 Referential form and information status of a locative subject in an intransitive clause

According to Kulonen’s (1989: 297) data it has been claimed that locative subject structures are only used with an agent-patient relationship. Two locative subjects with an intransitive verb, however, are found in the data of the present study (6.74). Regardless of their rareness, the attestation of a locative subject in intransitive clauses provides a good explanation for the argument that there is no (real) ergative structure (as opposed to absolutive) in Surgut Khanty.

(6.74) Locative subject with an intransitive verb

a) <u>ma-nə</u>	nürəγət-əm	tom	jänk	pälək-a.
1SG-LOC	run-PST.1SG	that	small lake	side-LAT
‘I ran to the other side of the small lake.’				
(A 60)				

b) <u>ma-nə</u>	waləγ	qöwit	ut-nam
1SG-LOC	bar.of.the.reindeer.sled	after	shore-APPR

quγ-λ-əm.
run-PRS-1SG
‘I ran to the shore after the bar of the reindeer sled.’
(A 62)

All locative subjects in my data, are realized as personal pronouns and represent the main character or the storyteller (narrator). Naturally, they are primarily topical for the whole discourse. All locative subjects represent animate human referents and given information.

6.2.5.1.2 Referent tracking and topic continuity of the locative subject of an intransitive verb

With a quick glance at locative subjects of intransitive verbs in discourse, we can see the possible formal motivation of the passive (see 6.75, lines 14-16) as my informant commented (6.73c).

Taking a closer look at the discourse flow, however, it seems remarkable, from a pragmatic influence/motivation point of view, that both locative subjects appear where the topics change. There are several topics in Example (6.75) appearing successively. The discourse can have several topics, and topicalized referents can disappear if they are not needed, but they can also return as a topic again, if needed. The topicalized referent in the preceding discourse can come back as a reactivated topic. Topical and topicalized referents often represent given information, but all given information is not topicalized. (Givón 1992.) The following example (6.75) shows how topical referents appear successively, and where the locative subject appears in the discourse:

(6.75) Motivations of locative subject of an intransitive verb

Lines 1-5: The referent 'I' is continually the topic. The referent is also omitted.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1. | tem | qätəλ | <u>ma</u> | war | lāt'-t'a |
| | this | day | 1SG | fishing.net | check-INF |
| | jǎŋq-ə <u>m</u> . | | | | |
| | go-PST.1SG | | | | |
| | 'Today I went to check a fishing net.' | | | | |
| 2. | war | lāt'-t'a | jǎŋq-m-am | namən | |
| | fishing.net | check-INF | go-STEM.PTCP.PST-SG<1SG | on.shore | |
| | aj | jǎŋqəli-n(ə) | <u>wasəy</u> | nǎlyət-γə | |
| | small | lake-LOC | duck | wounded-TRA | |
| | wār-ə <u>m</u> . | | | | |
| | do-PST1SG | | | | |
| | 'When I went to check the fishing net, I wounded a duck on a small lake.' | | | | |

interesting that both the agent and subject of the passive are not focuses in the discourse despite the general tendency of information structuring. In line 15, the referent ‘I’ is elliptical in agent role.

14. ma-n(ə) t’ǎqa ensifāletkay-əm ɪlə
 1SG-LOC well shirt-POSS.SG<1SG still
- wəj-i,
 down.take-PASS.PST.3SG
 ‘Well, I took off my shirt.’
15. pan jur-a nǒq ɫǒmtəpt-i
 and tree-LAT up put.on-PST.PASS.3SG
- mustəmin.
 well
 ‘and (it was) placed well on a tree.’

16: The referent *ma* ‘I’ is realized as the locative subject in *manə*. Here, topicality returned to the narrator again.

16. pan ma-nə nürəγət-əm tǒm jāŋk
 and 1SG-LOC run-PST.1SG that small.lake
- pälək-a.
 side-LAT
 ‘I ran to the other side of the small lake.’

17-18: Here, ‘the duck’ is moved to topic. It is the same referent as in line 13, in ellipsis.

17. tǒγ qǒłnam mən-λ.
 to.there where go-PRS.3SG
 ‘Where it can go to?’
18. tǒm jāŋk pälək-nam küč mən-əλ.
 that water shore-APPR just go-PRS.3SG
- qǎntək qo tǒt λ’ǎλ’-əλ.
 Khanty man there stand-PRS-3SG
 ‘If (it) goes to the other side of the small lake, a man is standing there.’
 (A60)

In the discourse preceding example (6.75), the referent of the narrator, *ma* ‘I’, is also realized in the locative as the agent of the passive with a focal function in clause 14 (and line 15), and clauses 14 and 15 take a new referent as a competing topic. After this, the exceptional locative subject follows (in

line 16). After the locative subject clause, the topic is changed to another, ‘duck’ (in line 17). The narrator returns as the topic later.

The agent of the passive could be imagined as the formal motivation or analogy to the choice of locative (see also 6.73). In Khanty, the agent of a passive clause is grammatically marked as locative, and the passive with an agent is quite common in Surgut Khanty (Toguchi 2004; see also Chapter 3). In comparison to the agent of a passive clause with an intransitive verb, the locative subject of an intransitive clause differs in topicality. The subject in the passive voice of an intransitive verb can be both topical and focal, the intransitive clause is passivized for the demotion of the agentiveness (section 6.2.3.2.2), whereas the locative subject of an intransitive verb is always primarily topical.

In another text in which the example (6.74b) also appears, the referent of the narrator ‘I’ appears as topic and subject in the previous discourse, and then the exceptional locative subject appears. After this clause, the referent continues in the locative as the agent of the passive clause. The focus of this clause are reindeer as subject of the passive clause. Then the referent returns as topic in the following discourse.

Here my informant’s comments support this result. According to her, either these locatives would be *panə* (‘and’, which is not a locative form but is reminiscent of it) or just *ma*, the first-person singular in the nominative. In terms of topic continuity as well, these exceptional locatives appear where *panə* with no anaphoric pronouns or the nominative pronoun as the subject would work for the information flow in the texts.

6.2.5.2 Transitive clauses with locative subject

My Surgut Khanty data show seven locative subjects of transitive verbs (6.76):

(6.76) Locative subject of a transitive clause

a)	pan	tom	əj	poγ-əli-n
	and	this	one	boy-DEM.LOC

wu-λ-təγ.

know-PRS-SG>3SG

‘And this little boy knows it’

(E4)

b) panə t'äqa t'u wojəŋ nãwi
and well that fat meat

lüw-nə janʔk t'ette-γə qōlat t'i
3SG-LOC skewer there-TRA very that

käritə-təγ.

skew-PST.SG<3SG

'And he skewered the fatty bits on the skewer.'

(D:21)

c) t'äqa t'u käw lüwa-nə təγ küč
well that stone 3SG-LOC there just

nəramtə-təγ.

grab-PST.SG>3SG

'He grabbed the stone.'

(D: 22)

d) t'äqa lüw-nə ajəлта jarnas-əλ
well 3SG-LOC carefully shirt-POSS.SG>3SG

λəγpi-nam

inside-APPR

pitəλə-təγ.

stick-PST.SG>3SG

'He carefully stuck the stone under his shirt.'

(D: 22)

e) ma-nə tōwə äs-λ-em.
1SG-LOC to.there leave-PRS-SG>1SG

'I left (it) (there).'

(A:56)

f) lüw-nə jay tōλ ilə kit-əλ.
3SG-LOC people there down send-PRS.3SG

'He sent people down there.'

(A92)

g)	<u>λüw-nə</u> 3SG-LOC	kür-əλ leg-POSS.SG<3SG	tōwə to.there
----	--------------------------	---------------------------	------------------

owərqəmtə-təγ.
strike-PST.SG>3SG
'She struck her leg.'
(A:64)

The predominate referential forms of locative subjects are personal pronouns: five of them are the third-person singular, one is the first-person singular and the last is a lexical utterance. They are all thus animate. The predominate referential form of an object with a locative subject is affixal: three are affixal (object conjugation), three are LEX+V (object conjugation plus an overt lexical utterance) and one is a lexical utterance (with the subject conjugation). In terms of the referential forms of subject and object, we can presume that they are topical in discourse. Locative subjects represent the primary topic, and the object of the locative subject can also represent topic.

6.2.5.2.1 Referent tracking and topic continuity with the locative subject of a transitive verb

In this section, I will analyse the locative subject of a transitive clause in terms of referent tracking. I will mainly analyse the referent tracking of the object as the function of the locative subject is clear. Locative subjects are primary topical referents and almost always (with one exception) uttered pronominally. In short, the present study shows that some locative subjects with transitive verbs show the same phenomenon as those with intransitive verbs, and both of them show a kind of competing motivation between subject and object.

As it is a general tendency in different languages, the subject tends to be grammaticalized as topic and continue as the topic in discourse, while the object does not. The object tends to be grammaticalized as focus or new information, and it tends not to continue for as long as the subject. My Surgut Khanty data show almost the same tendency for the subject. The function of the object in my data depends on the conjugation of the verb. The object with a verb in the subject conjugation often represents new information and a focal referent, whereas one with a verb in the object conjugation represents given information and a topical referent.

In my data, the objects with the locative subject continue in discourse and do not bring new information into the discourse. They are canonical extended topics from the previous discourse. This means that in terms of discourse flow, an object of locative subject clauses shows the same feature as a subject or an object with a verb in the object conjugation, in general. In

fact, most locative subjects in transitive clauses trigger the object conjugation (Example 6.77, also see chapter 6.2.4).

Regardless of their similarity, there are also differences between clauses with the locative subject and those with the object conjugation (Figure 24).

Figure 24 Differences between locative subject clauses and object conjugation clauses.

	Locative Subject clause	Object conjugation clause
A	Pronominal	Affix
	Primary topic	Primary topic
O	Lex+V>affixal>lexical	Affixal, Lex+V, also clause
	Topic	Topic
Text genre	Folklore tales	Folklore tales

As shown in Figure 24, clauses with a locative subject or object conjugation are quite similar in regards to their functions. The differences are found formally, in their referential forms. The arguments of a locative subject clause are realized in more prominent forms than those of an object conjugation clause. The results can be observed from two different perspectives. At first, the basic tendency in the rules of information structuring and flowing is that the more an attenuated form is chosen, the more topical a referent can be. In this sense, we can say that the arguments of a clause with the object conjugation represent topical referents more often. In other words, a locative subject clause has more overt pronominal or lexical utterances. According to Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011: 146), an overt utterance is used when the discourse has a rival topical referent.

In addition to the existence of rival topical referents, the topicality of the object also affects an overt lexical utterance with a verb in the object conjugation in Surgut Khanty discourse. An overt lexical utterance appears when the object is a new but definite referent, for example, a part of the topical referent or something possessed by it. In both cases, an overt utterance can emphasise the existence of the argument. There were only two overt lexical utterances in the object conjugation clauses with a locative subject (Example 6.75 (b) and (g)). Both are new referents, but not new information since they are a part of the topical referent. There is only one case of subject conjugation (6.75 (f)) with a general referent (*jay* ‘people’) which does not trigger the object conjugation in Surgut Khanty discourse (see section 6.2.4).

In the following, I will analyse the discourse flow around locative subject clauses. Four show a competing topical referent in the local discourse (including a part of the competing topical referent). These are the most frequently found examples. The following example also has two competing (episodic) topics in the discourse sample. The tale has three locative subjects.

All of them represent the same referent, the primary topic *qǎλə γ* ‘nephew’ which is realized either affixally or pronominally. The primary topic of the whole discourse is ‘the nephew’, which is realized affixally. In the following discourse sample, in addition to the primary topic, the referent *pupi* ‘bear’ also functions as a topical referent:

(6.77) Locative subject

- 1: *pupi* ‘bear’ is topicalized as the subject of the passive and realized lexically.

1. tǎqa	tʰu	pupi	qǒr-i
well	this	bear	skin-ABL

wǎr-i
make-PRT.PASS.3SG
‘The bear was skinned.’

- 2: The primary topic, ‘the nephew’, is topical again, realized affixally.

2. panə	tʰu	lapət	pəλhəp,	qut
and	this	seven	handled.cauldron	six

pəλhəp	ənəl	sǎr	tǒγə
handled.cauldron	big	forward	to.there

naməm	lǎjəλ-γəλ,
front	see-DU<3SG

‘And he saw the seven-handled cauldron, six-handled cauldron in front.’

- 3: The referent *pupi* ‘bear’ is topical again, realized lexically as the subject of a passive clause.

3. inam	tǒγ	mǎλ-i	pupi.
full	to.there	cook-PST.PASS.3SG	bear

‘The bear was fully cooked.’

- 4: The primary topic, ‘the nephew’, is the topic again, realized pronominally as the subject. The competing referent ‘bear’ is realized as *wojəŋ nǎwi* ‘fatty meat’ in the object role. In terms of word order, the object, ‘the fatty meat’ takes a more topical position than the subject *qǎλəγ*.

4. <i>pupi</i> bear	<i>ńăwi</i> meat	<i>kewərt-əm</i> boil-PST.PTCL		<i>wăr-əm</i> make-PST.PTCL	
<i>pırnə</i> after	<i>panə</i> and	<i>t'ăqa</i> well	<u><i>t'u</i></u> this	<u><i>wojəŋ</i></u> fatty	<i>ńăwi</i> meat
<u><i>łüw-nə</i></u> 3SG-LOC	<i>janʔk</i> skewer	<i>t'etteyə</i> this-TRA	<i>qəlat</i> how	<i>t'i</i> this	

kăritə-təy.

skewer-PST.SG<3SG

'After cooking the bear meat, he skewered fatty bits of it on the skewer.'

- 5: The clause is passivized, the subject of the passive, which is the topic, is *pupi ńăwi* 'bear meat'. The agent, the nephew, is not mentioned.

5. <i>măł-ta</i> cook-INF	<i>müw</i> what	<i>wəł-j</i> be-PST.PASS.3SG		
------------------------------	--------------------	---------------------------------	--	--

'It was cooked.'

- 6: The primary topic, 'the nephew', is topic again as the subject. The competing topic, 'the bear', appears as the object *janʔk* 'skewer'. It is interesting that the word order expresses a different topical hierarchy again. The object *janʔk* 'skewer' is in the topical position.

6. <i>ənəl</i> bigger	<i>janʔk</i> skewer	<u><i>łüw</i></u> he	<i>wăr.</i> make-PST.3SG	
--------------------------	------------------------	-------------------------	-----------------------------	--

'He formed a bigger skewer.'

7. <i>t'ette</i> this.way	<i>qəlat</i> how	<u><i>wojəŋ</i></u> fatty	<u><i>ńăw-ət</i></u> meat-PL	<i>inam</i> full
------------------------------	---------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------

töyə
to.there

puł
piece

puł-łal.
skewer-PST.PL<3SG

'This is how he skewered fatty meats on (the skewer).'

(D:21)

In Example 6.77, two topical referents "compete" for topical status in the discourse sample. Even though the referent *pupi* 'bear' is focal in grammatical role, it takes the topical position as regards word order and conjugation. Both of them appear as subject and topic. Upon closer observation, they compete for the topical position as follows (Figure 25):

Figure 25 Topical flow, grammatical role and referential form around the locative subject of a transitive verb.

	<i>pupi</i> ‘bear’			<i>qá̃l̃əγ</i> ‘nephew’ the main character		
	referential form	grammatical role	topicality	referential form	grammatical role	topicality
line 1	Lexical	S of passive	Topical	---	---	---
line 2	---	---	---	Affixal	A	Topical
line 3	Lexical	S of passive	Topical	---	---	---
line 4	Lex+V	O	<i>Focal*</i> , **	Pronominal	Locative <u>A</u>	<i>Topical</i>
line 5	Affixal	S of passive	Topical	---	---	---
line 6	Lexical	O	<i>Focal*</i>	Pronominal	A	<i>Topical</i>

(*=Topical in terms of word order, **=Secondary topical with the object conjugation)

The topicality in this sample flows so that it is shifted to another referent with a locative subject structure, both the word order and the object conjugation support the function of the locative subject which shifts the topics in the discourse.

The previous discourse Example (6.77) continues in Example (6.78). Before this discourse sample, the nephew said to his aunt that he needed a large stone from the place to sleep on, next to the wall:

(6.78) The locative subject and competing topics in discourse

Previous discourse: The nephew was the primary topic.

- 1: The competing local topical referents *kāw* ‘stone’ and ‘the nephew’ appear in an interesting way. In terms of grammatical role, the stone is the object and focal, but as regards the word order, as the exceptional OSV, it takes the topical position. In addition, the object conjugation supports its secondary topical status. Moreover, the primary topical referent, the nephew, appears as a locative subject.

1. *ʔāqa* *ʔu* *kāw* *lūwa-nə* *təγ* *küč*
 well this stone 3SG-LOC to.there just

n̄ərəmtə-təγ,
 take-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘He took the stone,’

2–5: The referent ‘stone’ is topical. In line 3, the primary topical referent, ‘the nephew’ appears as the object, affixally. This affixal object which triggers the object conjugation supports its secondary topical status in the local discourse.

2. λajəm, kōčəγ λōwə-tə ənəλ
 axe knife sharpen-PTCP.PRS big

käw-lin̄ki wäl-λ.
 stone-DEM be-PRS.3SG

‘It is a large stone for sharpening axes and knives.’

3. tem ənəλ käw-lin̄ki t’äqa
 this big stone-DEM well

qōn-əλ-a qätλ(t)-əγλ-əλ-təγ.
 stomach-POSS.SG<3SG-LAT hold-FREQ-PRS-SG<3SG

‘He holds the large stone to his stomach.’

4. temi inam qōn-əλ λōwət.
 this full stomach-POSS.SG>3SG measuring

‘It was just as big as his stomach.’

5. eššo-pə qōn-əλ kiit’a qōγ.
 still-PTCL stomach-POSS.SG>3SG than long

‘Even bigger than his stomach, perhaps.’

[eššo-pə is based on a Russian word ‘еиѳ’.]

6: The primary topical referent, ‘the nephew’, is topical again as the subject.

6. puyλ-əλ-a wəjəγ-λə-təγ.
 chest-POSS.SG<3SG-LAT stick-PRS-SG<3SG

‘He tries to hold it to his chest.’

7: The competing local topical referent, ‘the stone’, is in the topical position again as the subject.

8. temi t’äqa inam puyəλ-əλ
 this well full chest-POSS.SG<3SG

λōwət.
 measuring

‘It is exactly as big as his chest.’

8–10: The aunt speaks. The primary topical referent in her speech, ‘the nephew’, appears as the subject, and topically. The competing topical

referent in line 10, ‘the stone’, is realized affixally with an overt lexical utterance. The affixal mention supports its local topical status.

8. imi ḥāwmiḷ-əλ:
 woman say-PRS-3SG
 ‘(His) aunt says.’
9. nūḡ qōti jəγ-əλ-əḡ?
 you what come-PRS-2SG(how is)
 ‘What are you doing?’
10. tʻi kāw qōti wārjə-λ-e?
 this stone what do-PRS-SG<2SG
 ‘What are you doing with the stone?’

11–12: They are the nephew’s speech.

11. iminam jastə-λ:
 woman-APPR say-PRS.3SG
 ‘He said to the woman.’
12. nūḡ λāḡq-λəγ wāl-a!
 2SG want-PTCP.NEG be-IMP.2SG
 ‘Be quiet!’

13: After lines 11 and 12, whose topics were ‘the stone’, the primary topical referent, ‘the nephew’, comes back as the topic again. It is realized as a locative subject. The competing topical referent, ‘the stone’, is realized affixally and has secondary topic status.

13. tʻāqa λūwnə ajəλta jārnas-əλ
 well 3SG-LOC carefully shirt-POSS.SG<3SG
- λəγpi-nam pītər-λə-təγ.
 inside-APPR roll-PRS-SG<3SG
 ‘He carefully rolls the stone under his shirt.’

14: The referent kāw ‘the stone’ has topical status again as the subject.

14. tʻu poḡəλ kāw, temi
 that side stone this
- qōn-əλ λōwət.
 stomach-POSS.SG<3SG measuring

‘The stone is as big as his stomach.’
(D: 22-23)

In addition to the primary topical referent, ‘the nephew’, in the discourse sample, another episodic/local topical referent, *käw* ‘the stone’, appears repeatedly. In the preceding discourse, the primary topical referent, ‘the nephew’, appears continuously as topic, and in the first line of the sample another referent, ‘a stone’, comes into the discourse as a competing local topic (6.79).

Figure 26 Topical flow, grammatical role and referential form around the locative subject of transitive verb (2).

	<i>käw</i> ‘stone’			<i>qäləγ</i> ‘nephew’ the main character		
	referential form	grammatical role	topicality	referential form	grammatical role	topicality
line 1	Lexical	O	Focal*	Pronominal	LocativeA	Topical
line 2	Lexical	S	Topical	---	---	---
line 3	Lexical	A	Topical	POSS	Attribute	---
line 4	Affixal	S	Topical	POSS	Attribute	---
line 5	Affixal	S	Topical	POSS	Attribute	---
line 6	Affixal	O	Sec.Topical**	Affixal	A	Topical
line 7	Affixal	S	Topical	POSS	Attribute	---
line 8-12	DIALOGUE					
line 13	Affixal	O	Sec. Topical**	Pronominal	LocativeA	Topical
line 14	Lexical	S	Topical	POSS	Attribute	---

(*=Topical in terms of word order, **=Secondary topical with the object conjugation)

The same kind of competition can be seen in the following example (6.79). This discourse sample is taken from the narratives of *The Pear Story*. Two topics are also competing in this sample. The locative subject functions as the topic shift between these two competing topics:

(6.79) Locative subject of a transitive verb

Line 1: əj iki ‘man’ appears as new information. It is still a focal referent, but it is realized as a subject which is typically topical and continues as topic.

1.	əjmətə	məγ-ən	repəŋ	məγ-ən,	ɪl
	some	land-LOC	hilly	land-LOC,	down
	məγ-ən,		əj	iki	grušaγ-ət
	land-LOC=countryside		one	man	pear-PL
	əkət-əλ.				

collect-PRS.3SG

‘Somewhere in the countryside, a man is picking pears.’

2–3 : əj paɣəli ‘boy’ appears as new information. As it is with the man, this referent is focal, but realized as the subject.

2. tʰi pɪrən, əj paɣ-əli weλosipət-nat
this after one boy-DIM bicycle-COMINS

juw əjməta pələk-i
come-PST.3SG some side-ABL

‘Afterwards, a boy came by bicycle from somewhere.’

3. pan tʰi karzina-ɣ-ət kuʔəŋ-i, ɪlə
and this basket-PL close-abl down

uməλ,

stop-PST.3SG

‘He stopped near the basket.’

4–5 : The referent ‘the man’ returns as topic, at first it is realized lexically and then affixally.

4. panə tom iki nomən wəλ,
and this man forward be.PST.3SG

koŋtip-ən juɣ-ən.
ladder-LOC wood-LOC

‘And the man was in front of the ladder which was against the tree.’

5. ɡ[u]ruʂaɣaɣ-ət nomən ək-ət.
pear-PL forward collect-PST.3SG

‘He picked pears.’

6–8: The referent ‘the boy’ is topic again. At first it is realized as a locative subject. In this structure, the referent ‘the man’ is realized as an object with a verb in the object conjugation. The man is topicalized with the object conjugation, but it is still not the primary topic. In line 7, the referent ‘the boy’ retains topical status as the subject of the passive and competing topical referent ‘the man’ demoted to the agent of the passive. In line 8, ‘the boy’ is realized as the subject of the active voice.

6. pan tom əj paɣ-əli-i wu-λ-təy
and this one boy-DEM-LOC see-PRS-SG>3SG

‘And the boy sees him (=the man).’

7. tom iki-ən əntə wu-λ-i
 this man-LOC NEG see-PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘The man doesn’t see him.’
8. weλosipət-əλ ɪlə pon-təy.
 bicycle-POSS.SG>3SG down put-PST.SG>3SG
 ‘He put his bicycle down.’
 (E4)

In (6.79), the discourse begins with a clause in which the man who picks pears is the topic. In what follows, a competing primary topic, ‘the boy’, appears. In the discourse sample (6.79), the referent, ‘the man’, functions as the episodic topic and is more topical than the referent of primary topic ‘the boy’ in lines 4 and 5. After the referent, ‘the man’, as a topical utterance, the referent ə j paγə λi ‘a boy (=the boy)’ takes locative marking in line 6 and subsequent lines. The primary topic in this line shifts from the referent ‘the man’ to a second referent ‘the boy’, which becomes the primary topic again among the competing topical referents.

In the next example, the object with a locative subject represents a new referent but not new information because of the possessive suffix. Here, the possessor is the primary topic and the same referent as represented by the locative subject. Again, a topic shift transpires and the primary topic is in the primary topical position once more (line 6).

(6.80) Locative subject of a transitive clause

Lines 1–3: The main character λāŋkərəli ‘mouse’ is the primary topic and the subject in lines 1 through 3. The primary topic λāŋkərəli ‘mouse’ appears, first lexically as new information, then affixally as given information. The referent is a canonical topic and continues as either topic or a part of it in the following discourse.

1. əj mətə latnə λāŋkərəli wōλ.
 one some when mouse be.PST.3SG
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a mouse.’
2. t’i wāλ-taλ t’i
 this be-PRS.PTCP/orINF-3SG this
- qāλ-taλnə naŋkəŋ jāwəŋ – čēcəŋ
 die-PRS.PTCP/orINF-3SG-LOC red.pine-ADJ river- čēcəŋ
- jāwəŋ pōŋəλ-nə wōλ.
 river side-LOC be.PST.3SG

8. tʰǎqa kūr-a nōq, wəj-e!
 well leg-POSS.SG<2SG up bring-
 IMP.SG<2SG
 ‘Put your leg up!’
 (A64)

In (6.80) as well as (6.79), the discourse has several local topics. Differing from (6.79), these topical referents in (6.80) are transient and don’t recur nor return again as topic. In (6.80) as well, the locative subject appears at the point where the topic shifts to the primary topic from a local topic.

In the following example (6.81), we can see similar phenomena with the discourse flow and referent tracking around the locative subject clause of an intransitive verb. The primary topic in the whole discourse is ‘the youngest boy’, realized affixally. Here he runs home:

(6.81) Locative subject of transitive clause

Line 1: The background to the story.

1. pɪqem äpəλ - λūj äpəλ.
 rotten smell gall smell
 ‘(there is) rotten smell, smell of gall.’

2–4: qo λajəm-nat, qo pila-nat, qo λont pāŋk-nat, kewi-nat ‘a man with a hammer, a man with a saw, a man with a file and with an axe’ appears as new information, then continues as topic.

2. pa qo λajəm-nat, pa qo
 another man hammer-COMINS another man
- pila-nat, pa qo λont
 saw-COMINS another man goose
- pāŋk-nat, kewi-nat.
 teeth=grater-COMINS ax-COMINS
 ‘(there is) a man with a hammer, a man with a saw, a man with a grater and with an ax.’

3. tu wǎq kūrap λapas qânt
 that iron foot house.on.stilts foot
- äwətγil-ət,
 cut-PST.3PL
 ‘(They) cut down the house on an iron a leg.’

4. tʰu ne nōq wəjji-λ-ət.
 that woman up try.to.pull-PRS-3PL
 ‘(They) try to pull that woman up.’

5–6: The primary topic, ‘the youngest boy’, has topical status again and is realized as a locative subject. The topical status continues again.

5. λūw-ne jay tōλ ÿə kit-əλ.
 3SG-LOC people from.there down send-PRS.3SG
 ‘He [=the youngest boy] sends the people off from there.’

6. panə niŋ-əλ nōq t̄i
 and woman-POSS.SG<3SG up this

wəj-təy.
 pull-PST.SG<3SG
 ‘And (he) pulled up his woman.’

(7-: the youngest boy continues as topic affixally.)
 (A92)

Also in (6.81), the referent appearing as a locative subject is a canonical topic in most of the entire discourse, even though it is not the topic in the preceding unit of topic continuity. (The referential distance from the previous utterance is four clauses.) It remains as the extended context in the preceding discourse, then after the locative subject clause, it is reactivated as topic, being realized mostly as an affix in the following discourse. In the locative subject clause, the object in the nominative is a full NP, but this is a definite and accessible referent on the basis of its possessive suffix and the previous discourse. After the locative subject clause, the referent of the object no longer appears, thus this is the last mention of it in the entire discourse. On the other hand, the topicality of the youngest boy starts again with the locative subject sentence with the following sentence. In this case as well, the locative subject appears in the position where the topic changes, in the same way as the locative subjects of intransitive verbs.

These results support some of the findings from a previous study on Vakh Khanty. Locative subjects in Vakh Khanty are definable or accessible (= given information) and show high agentivity, which is typical for human or animate referents. The object of a locative subject clause is also typically identifiable. A locative subject appears when both it and the object (in the nominative) show a comparably high degree of pragmatic activation; the topical discourse referent in the preceding active-direct discourse reappears in the locative subject clause after temporarily being in the background and continues as topic in ellipsis (zero anaphora) or verbal inflection (Filtchenko 2006: 69–77).

Another interesting point with Example (6.81) is the choice of conjugation. This is the only example with the subject conjugation for a transitive verb. Intransitive verb cases, of course, trigger the subject conjugation, even with a locative subject. This result may imply the relation between conjugation and the function of a locative subject clause. However, because of the low number of locative clauses in my data, a further study will be required to support this. Example 6.82 is somewhat different:

6. jəm juw wär-tə qo
 good wood make-PTCP.PRS man

wös-əm

be-PRS.1SG

‘I am a man who works well with wood.’

7. t'e wär-əm tōwə əntə
 this thing-POSS.SG>1SG to.there NEG
- äsλ-em quntə, tōŋqə jəm
 leave-PST.SG>1SG if very good

äwəλ-ət, rit-ət t'u wäritəγ-λ-əm
 sleigh-PL boat-PL that make.continuously-PRS-1SG

‘If I wouldn't have left this thing, I would build very good sleighs and boats.’

8. t'u wär-əm tōwə äsλ-əm
 that thing-POSS.SG>1SG to.there leave-PST.1SG
- ‘I left this thing.’

9. əntə wəs ma wu-λ-em
 NEG well 1SG know-PRS-SG>1SG

önəλtəγλ-tə pətan,
 study-PTCL.PRS because

ma-nə tōwə äsλ-em
 1SG-LOC to.there leave-PST.SG<1SG

‘I don't know, perhaps because of the study, I left it.’

10. sar-pi-nə škola ət'ə tōwə
 before-COMP-LOC school still to.there
- qij-ta wärətəγλ-əm
 leave-INF do-PST.1SG
- ‘Previously I wanted to leave school, too.’

11. at'e-m-nə mustəmin nōq
 father-POSS.SG>1SG-LOC well up

λ'ewətəλ-tojəm
 scold-PST.PASS.1SG

‘I was scolded by my father.’

12.	pan	tʰut	pɪrɲə	ðnəltəγəλ-ta	tʰi
	and	there	after	study-INF	this

mən-əm

go-PST.1SG

And after this, I went to study.

(A56)

The topic continuity in (6.82) differs from the other example (6.77–81). The referent of the locative subject, the narrator ‘I’, is a canonical topic from the previous discourse and continues as either topic or a part of the topic in the following discourse, as well. In contrast, for examples (6.77–81), the referents of the locative subject have competing topical referents and the referents of the locative subjects don’t appear throughout the discourse.

In the previous discourse, the referent of the locative subject in (6.82) appears in the nominative case as the subject, but the form shifts to affixal. However at this point, the locative subject is uttered as a personal pronoun (in the locative, line 9) even though other utterances of the same referent, ‘the narrator’, are affixal in the same unit of topic continuity. The object represented by the object conjugation suffix is also identifiable from the previous discourse and the extended context of text²⁶, but it does not continue after this sentence. After the locative subject is realized in the clause, its referent retains its primary topical status as subject.

6.2.5.3 Summary

Most of the previous studies on the locative subject (ergative) in Khanty have only focused on the subject itself which is in an exceptional morphosyntactic form (Chapter 4). The present study shows that this is not enough: another argument, the O role is also connected to the choice of locative subject. The analysis on locative subject showed that it appears where there is a topic shift or in a discourse that has several competing topical referents in the local discourse. Vasyugan Khanty (Fil[t]chenko 2006) shows quite a similar phenomenon which is found in both intransitive and transitive clauses.

Both locative subjects and their objects in transitive clauses are topical: the locative subject emphasises subjectness and thus the relationship between the two. The function of an object of a locative subject clause is not crosslinguistically typical in discourse since it is not the most typical syntactic role to get marked as topic and given information. This fact is

²⁶See Aikhenvaldet al. (2001) for more on non-canonical marking of subjects and objects. John Benjamins, (especially Onishi, ‘non-canonical oblique case marking of core argument reflects decreased transitivity status of the whole clause’)

supported by arguments from Honti (1971) and Gulya (1970). Honti identified passive and locative subject clauses as an emphasis of the patient role, whereas Gulya considered that the function of a locative subject clause is to emphasise the subject. Based on the distribution and the frequency of passive and locative subject clauses, Kulonen concluded that the functions of passive and locative subject clauses are partly the same, and that locative subject clauses also show the importance of the patient role (1989: 301–302). The difference between the studies by Honti and Kulonen and the present study is the attestation of a locative subject with an intransitive verb. An intransitive clause has no patient role, and the main function of the locative subject seems to be providing a means to shift the topic to another referent.

Honti (1971: 436) takes both the origin of the locative subject clause (*ergative* according to his study) in Eastern Khanty and the influence of Paleo-Siberian languages into consideration. Regardless of the rareness in the data of the present study, I have found that Vakh (Vasyugan) Khanty shows similar tendencies to have the appearance of locative subjects (Filtchenko 2006). It is obvious that the Surgut Khanty locative subject is in the same grammatical category as found in Vakh (Vasyugan Khanty). The next question is whether the use of the Surgut Khanty locative subject is expanding though grammaticalization or diminishing.

The conflicting comments on locative subjects between my informants may also illustrate the process. One considers locative subjects to be mistakes while the other does not. The two informants come from different districts within the Surgut Khanty area. The former comes from the upstream area of Tromagan and the latter from area of the Yugan. The Yugan flows in an area close to Vasyugan where the locative subject is quite a common morphosyntactic choice.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

This final chapter will recapitulate the major issues discussed in the present study. The goal of this study was to provide an adequate analysis on the morphosyntactic system in Surgut Khanty through pragmatic theories and methods. As I outlined its morphosyntax with my own findings from the data in Chapter 5, it can be stated that Surgut Khanty has rich and unique morphosyntactic variation.

7.1 SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS

In the first stage of the present study, I assumed that pragmatic features motivate a speaker's morphosyntactic choices in discourse. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the hypothesis underlining the present study is the speaker's intention to convey contents that he or she wishes to communicate, and different linguistic alternations exist because they are also functionally different from each other. The goal of this study is introduced through the following research questions in Chapter 1:

1. What is the **Preferred Argument Structure** in Surgut Khanty narrative discourse? In other words, on what principles does the Surgut Khanty speaker choose a linguistic form from among its rich morphosyntactic forms?
2. How do the alignments functionally differ from each other? As a hypothesis, the different linguistic alternations exist because they are functionally different from one another.

In Chapter 6, I analysed the data in the framework of information structure since previous research on the Ob-Ugric languages has demonstrated this as a strong tool to resolve morphosyntactic questions (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999ab, 2001, Filchenko 2010, Virtanen 2015).

In section 6.1, I analysed the appearance patterns of referential forms in Surgut Khanty discourse. The basic analysis provides the distribution and the interference between the forms of noun phrases, grammatical roles and information status. This analysis supports many features which have been found in previous crosslinguistic studies on discourse analysis: that referents which are realized affixally and pronominally represent given information, and lexical referents represent both new and given information. A and S roles tend to represent given information, they act as (primary) topic and are realized affixally. Even though many previous studies state that the O role tends to introduce new information lexically (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Chafe 1976, 1994), it also introduces given information affixally or pronominally,

depending on the subject/object conjugation of verbs in Surgut Khanty discourse. A more thorough discussion of conjugation is given later.

In section 6.2, I have analysed alignments. The first analysis compares alternations in ditransitive alignment. One of the remarkable findings in the analysis of the present study is the fact that dative shift alternation can trigger subject conjugation as well in Surgut Khanty whereas in Northern Khanty can trigger only object conjugation.

The alternations of this alignment function differently. The object of the dative shift alternation functions in the recipient role, it represents an animate referent affixally and pronominally, whereas the object of the dative alternation functions in the theme role, and represents an inanimate referent lexically. On a theoretical level, we can assume that in the dative shift alternation, the recipient object is more topical than the theme of the oblique, whereas the theme object is more topical than the recipient oblique. In Surgut Khanty discourse, however, I have not been able to find clear tendencies that differ between the alternations in topicality. The topical recipient object in the dative shift alternation is less topical than the subject in local discourse, it is, however, an important topic in local discourse. The ditransitive alignment differs from the position of topical referent.

The second analysis compares the cases of the object, nominative/accusative and oblique objects. Oblique object in Khanty has not been studied before. Regardless of small number of oblique objects, the analysis shows that the nominative/accusative objects represent more concrete, definite and trackable referents than the oblique objects. More data will be needed for future research in order to provide a more detailed analysis of the functions of oblique objects.

The third analysis concerns the use of the verbal voices. The passive is a syntactic tool in Surgut Khanty to 1) demote the agentive to focal agent and promote the patient to topical subject of the passive clause, 2) change transitivity, 3) avoid two lexical core arguments (PAS) and 4) control the continuity of topicality in discourse. The topicalized subject in the passive represents given information, whereas it can also introduce new information in the active.

The fourth alignment is the use of the two conjugations. The choice of conjugation diverts the function of the object in discourse. The subject conjugation represents both new and given information in terms of the object, whereas the object conjugation represents given information only. The object of the verb in the subject conjugation is less trackable and topical than in the object conjugation.

The fifth alignment concerns subject case. The locative subject in Surgut Khanty discourse is productive, although rare. It is a kind of a returning topic in discourse. It is used especially when there are other competing topics in local discourse. However, even though the present study shows that the appearance of the locative subject is productive, more data will be needed for future research in order to provide a more detailed analysis of its functions.

The present study shows some specific features for Surgut Khanty grammar. First, the object conjugation is not obligatory in the dative shift structure whereas the object conjugation is obligatory in the dative shift in Northern Khanty. Second, the study of the oblique object is a novelty in the research of Khanty. Third, the first and second person pronouns do not trigger the object conjugation whereas any person and any referential form can trigger the object conjugation in Northern Khanty and Mansi. Fourth, the locative subject functions productively regardless of its rareness. The locative subject is also found in Northern Khanty. However, use of locative subjects can be considered incidental in Northern Khanty because of their non-productivity. In another Eastern Khanty variant, Vakh Khanty, the locative subject is a quite common morphosyntactic choice in discourse and a previous study on Vakh Khanty shows almost the same results as what have been found for Surgut Khanty.

7.2 CONFIGURATION OF THE ANALYSES

The data analysed in this study show that there are mainly four factors that motivate the morphosyntactic choices in Surgut Khanty discourse: topicality, local discourse, text genre and the speaker's perspective and strategy.

7.2.1 TOPICALITY

The present study supports evidence for the fact that one of the main criteria which determine morphosyntactic choices is topicality in context. This result supports the hypothesis that pragmatic features motivate morphosyntactic choices in Surgut Khanty discourse. In the present study, I analysed topicality in transitivity in the different sentence types. The present study shows that the hierarchy of noun phrase and referential forms in Surgut Khanty discourse is the same as found in many previous studies (e.g Givón 1983ab, Cooreman 1987, Chafe 1994):

Figure 27 The hierarchy of noun phrase and referential forms

affix>pronoun>full NP

The above hierarchy illustrates that the less prominent a form is, the more topical it is. The more frequently a referent appears in discourse, the more easily the listener recognizes it. As a result, the referent becomes less verbally uttered as a pronoun or affix without an overt lexical utterance. Also, the more frequently it occurs in discourse, the more easily the referent gets close to the position of the discourse topic.

In addition to referential form, grammatical roles applying different morphosyntactic means differ in the degree of topicality. Generally speaking, the subject is more topical than the object, whereas the object which triggers the object conjugation is more topical and trackable than if it triggers the subject conjugation.

In comparing subjects, topicality in both the active and passive voice is high and very trackable. In principle, the subject of the transitive passive represents the primary topical referent and given information, whereas the subject of the intransitive passive represents the focal referent and new information, which continues in the following discourse. The subject of a transitive verb in the active voice mainly represents the primary topic and continues in the discourse. From the perspective of the whole discourse and information flow, the main function of the passive subject seems to keep the topicality in the discourse when a 'new' agentive appears as a competing referent.

In the analysis of object, regardless of its high topicality in referential form, a personal pronoun triggers only the subject conjugation. Both personal pronoun objects with subject conjugation and objects with any object conjugation are topical. Another point in the difference between the conjugations is the appearance of the person. In object conjugation, the verb only encodes number, not person, whereas a personal pronoun in the subject conjugation represents, of course, both person and number.

It is still difficult to distinguish the degree of topicality of objects based only on referential form. An object with a verb in the object conjugation occurs affixally and almost equally with an overt lexical realization, whereas a personal pronoun object with subject conjugations always occurs, of course, pronominally. As far as pragmatics are concerned, the difference is clearer. Most pronoun objects with the subject conjugation represent a (mostly primary) topical referent because of, for example, the first- and the second-person pronouns. On the other hand, objects with the object conjugation are mainly secondary topical referents since the primary topic position is usually occupied by the subject role in the clause. In fact, the Surgut Khanty speaker only chooses a personal pronoun object with the subject conjugation in limited situations. Most personal pronoun objects appear in discourse segments which have several competing topical referents. In such discourses, a clear appearance of object as a personal pronoun helps convey the information more fluently. This also suggests that morphosyntax is not the only factor which decides the function. Each level of language as morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics interactions each other.

Even though topicality seems to control many morphosyntactic domains, Surgut Khanty is not a topic-prominent language, but shows characteristics of both subject predicate (SP) and topic-prominent (TP) languages according to Li and Thompson. In their article, Li and Thompson list the characteristics of topic-prominent languages as follows (Li and Thompson 1976: 466-471):

- a) surface coding
- b) has no passive construction
- c) has no dummy subject
- d) double subject
- e) controlling co-reference
- f) V-final language
- g) constraints on topic constituent
- h) basicness of topic–comment sentences: Most striking difference. TP has basic repertoire of basic sentence types as topic comment.

My data show that Surgut Khanty has the characteristics of a TP language according to a) c) and f). In terms of surface coding (a), Surgut Khanty is a border case: Surgut Khanty discourse codes topicality as the initial position in word order, whereas a TP language has the surface coding of T (e.g. initial position, morphological marker). TP languages, however, have no coding for subject. In terms of passivization (b), the Ob-Ugric languages show the characteristics of an SP language since the passive in TP languages is quite rare. In terms of dummy subject (c), SP languages have a dummy subject such as *it* and *there* in English. Here, Khanty shows the characteristics of a TP language since it is not necessary to express emptiness/impersonality with a dummy subject, only an affix. As in Mandarin (ibid. 468), construction types “here very hot” and “exist a cat in the garden” are also found in Khanty. Surgut Khanty has typical properties of a TP language because of its V-final word order (f). In other characteristics, such as d), e), g) and h), Surgut Khanty is a typical SP language. Li and Thompson define topic as discourse notion and the subject is a sentence-internal notion. In other words, the topicality depends on the discourse and is linked to the discourse strategy, whereas it is not necessary to link the subject to the discourse. (See Chapter 3 on the grammar of Khanty.)

7.2.2 LOCAL DISCOURSE

The analysis in the present study proves that discourse in Khanty determines morphosyntactic choice. The analysis on the passive and object conjugation especially reveal that local discourse controls the situation more than the whole discourse. In other words, topicality should not only be defined on the clause level nor the whole discourse, but also in local discourse. This contradicts a previous study on the information structure of Northern Khanty. Nikolaeva based the analysis of her examples on clause, not discourse. Moreover, the data she used mainly consisted of Khanty translations, not naturally produced discourse. (e.g. Nikolaeva 1999ab, 2001) In addition, the result of the analysis in this study supports Chafe’s theory in which he defines the domain of information status in a local view, depending on consciousness not on knowledge or the whole discourse. According to

Chafe, the activation status of information changes continuously (Chafe 1994).

7.2.3 REFERENT/TOPIC TRACKING, INFORMATION FLOW

Narrative discourse has several referents. Among these referents, some are more important than others from the point of view of discourse flow, and they tend to become topicalized in the discourse. Such topical referents become leitmotifs which recur many times in discourse. In other words, leitmotifs recur continuously, and similarly, the topicality of the referent also continues in discourse.

Topic continuity in discourse is visible in Surgut Khanty narrative discourse. The markers of topic continuity are found on different levels. In the referential forms, affixes mark topic continuity in both conjugations. Moreover, (personal) pronouns are typically used to mark continuity. At the syntactic level, subjects, especially those of transitive verbs and the passive, mark continuity as well.

7.2.4 THE SPEAKER'S STRATEGY

In conclusion, the results of my analysis indicate that the speaker chooses, even often automatically, a morphosyntactic form from among several alternations on the basis of a strategy in which he or she has the idea about which referent should be important in a specified situation and the information flow, and what kind of mood, as well as the aspect he or she wishes to imply in it. The chosen morphosyntactic form in the flowing discourse is not a mere matter of chance but is considered, though almost automatically, to be based on the speaker's intention to convey information to the listener (e.g. Grice 1975, Du Bois 1987). In addition to intention on the clause level, the speaker constructs the discourse structure in an almost unintended way. In the construction of a whole and/or local discourse referent/topic continuity governs the situation. Continuity in the narrative concretely connects each clause to each other and results in that the listener understands the narrative from the beginning to end. The unifying principal is topicality (e.g. Givón 1983ab, Cooreman 1987).

As I have argued above, topicality works as the main domain in morphosyntactic choice made by a Surgut Khanty speaker. Here the most important scale of topicality is local discourse. When the speaker constructs a discourse structure, he or she portions the episode into units of which each becomes a local discourse through the whole discourse. In other words, each local discourse has its own local topicality, and the portioning of local discourse in the whole discourse is made by the speaker and depends on his or her strategy.

Figure 28 The process of producing Surgut Khanty discourse.

Topic > Topic/referent Continuity > Discourse = Speaker's strategy

7.2.5 TEXT GENRE

In the present study, the text genre is also linked to grammatical choice in Surgut Khanty discourse. The object conjugation is chosen in folklore tales more than other genres. Personal pronoun objects with the subject conjugation are chosen in dialogue in narrative discourse more than in the body of the text and they are not found in descriptive texts. In descriptive texts, the passive is chosen much more than in other genres. Intransitive verbs are also chosen if they are in the active voice in descriptive texts. This stems from the nature of the text in which agentiveness and transitivity as initiation, intent and control of the agentive are not given focus. However, the link between grammatical choice and text genre requires further study with more data.

7.3 EXAMPLE

In order to configure my findings, I will demonstrate a discourse segment where several alignments appear, in this section. I will show how morphosyntactic choices reflect the speakers' strategies and relate to the pragmatics in discourse with examples.

In the following discourse segment, the verb *nälčə ɣ-ta* 'to tickle' is inflected in both active and passive voices. Furthermore, both the subject and object conjugations are chosen in the active voice. As stated above, the object conjugation is a more common choice in folklore tales than in other genres.

In my data concerning the passive, the subject basically functions as the topic and the agent as focus. The following is an interesting example of how the agent and the subject work together in the topic-focus relation, depending on the speaker's strategy. The relation continues in the whole discourse, but the morphosyntactic choice seems to depend on the local discourse. Even though the agent of a passive sentence is focalised, it does not always represent a new referent nor new information, but also a referent already noted in the preceding discourse and given information. In (7.1), the main character, a boy, tickles an old, blind couple who are not aware of him. They did not know that the boy was in their house and they both believed they had tickled each other:

(7.1) The difference in functions among morphosyntactic choices.

1.

t'äqa	kemnam	mən-tayə	t'i
well	outside-APPR	go-INF	this

jəγ,
come.PST.3SG
'When he started outside.'

2.

iki	aγən	háłčəyt-i.
man	chin	tickle-PST.PASS.3SG

'The man's chin got tickled.'

3.

wəle,	imi,	nüŋ	ma	iγn-əm
but	old.woman	2SG	1SG	chin-POSS.SG<1SG

háłčəyt-e?
tickle-PST.SG<2SG
'But was it you who tickled my chin?'

4.

imi	háwmił-əl:
old.woman	say-PRS.3SG

'The old woman says.'

5.

quntə	ma	nüŋ	iγn-ən
when	I	you	chin-POSS.SG<2SG

háłčəyt-əm?
tickle-PST.1SG
'When did I tickle your chin?'

6.

t'u	wār	aj	wāl-m-ał-γə
that	thing	small	be-PTCP.PST-3SG-TRA

pīt-əm	pɪrnə	liiw-nə	imi	aγən
fall-PTCP.PST	after	he-LOC	old.woman	chin

háłčəyt-i
tickle-PST.PASS.3SG
'A little later, he [the boy] tickled the old woman.' [*lit.* The old woman was tickled by him.]
(D: 17)

Conclusion

7. ja t'u ǎmǎs-t-in-nǎ ǔntǎlnǎ
and that sit-PTCP.PST-3SG-LOC by.himself

nǔmǎqs-ǎl:
think-PRS.3SG
'And he thinks to himself.'

8. iki aɣǎn nǎlǎǎytǎ-ǎ-ǎm
man chin tickle-PRS-1SG
'I will tickle the man's chin.'

9. iki aɣǎn nǎlǎǎytǎ-tǎɣ.
man chin tickle-PST.SG<3SG
'He tickled the man's chin.'

10. iki panam t'i jǎɣ.
man badly that come-PST.3SG
'The man became angry.'

11. nǔŋ mǔw aŋkenoš-ɣǎ ma iɣn-ǎm
2SG what devil-TRA 1SG chin-
POSS.SG<1SG

nǎlǎǎyt-ǎ-e?
tickle-PRS-SG<2SG
'Why are you tickling my chin?'

12. mǎlqǎtǎl nǔŋ jast-ǎn,
yesterday 2SG say-PST.2SG
'You said yesterday,'

13. ma iɣn-ǎm nǎlǎǎyt-ǎl-ǎn.
1SG chin-POSS.SG<1SG tickle-PRS-2SG
'You tickle my chin.'

14. nǔŋ mǔw aŋkenoš-ɣǎ ma iɣn-ǎm
2SG what devil-TRA 1SG chin-
POSS.SG<1SG

nǎlǎǎyt-e?
tickle-PST.SG<2SG
'Why did you tickle my chin, devil?'

15. əsək-kə par jəγ-m-in-nam nün müw
 old-TRA PTCL come-PTCP.PST-1DU-APPR you what

tõγəl mant nün nälçiyt-e,
 feather 1SG.ACC 2SG tickle-PST-SG<2SG
 ‘Why are you tickling me in your old age?’

16. ma iyn-am müwat nälçiyt-e.
 1SG chin-POSS.SG<1SG why tickle-PRT-
 SG<2SG
 ‘Why did you tickle me?’

17. λ’ewi-ta t’i pitγən.
 argue-INF PTCL begin-PST.3DU
 ‘They began to argue.’

18. løyəm-γə-čək jəγ-m-in pırnə
 silent-TRA-COMP come-PTCP.PST-3DU after

 imi qâłəγ-nə imi aγən
 old.woman nephew-LOC old.woman chin

nälçiyt-i
 tickle-PST.PASS.3SG
 ‘After sitting a while, the old woman’s nephew tickled the old woman’s
 [different woman] chin.’

19. imi panam t’i jəγ:
 woman badly PTCL come-PST.3SG
 ‘The old woman got angry.’

20. nün müw aŋkenoš-γə ma iyn-əm
 you what devil-TRA 1SG chin-
 POSS.SG<1SG

nälçəyt-e?
 tickle-PST.SG<2SG
 ‘Why did you tickle my chin, devil?’

21. iki panam t’i jəγ:
 man badly PTCL come.PST.3SG
 ‘The man got angry.’

22.	quntə	ma	nün	iyŋ-ən
	when	1SG	2SG	chin-POSS.SG<2SG

nälčəyt-əm?

tickle-PST.1SG

‘When did I tickle your chin?’

(D: 19)²⁷

In (7.1), the inflection of *nälčə yt-ta* is clearly chosen, according to information structure and aspect. The subject conjugation is chosen only when the action is not complete (lines 5, 8, 13 and 22), and the object conjugation is chosen only when the action is completed by the agentive (in fact, they believe it, even though the real agentive is a different person) (lines 3, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16 and 20). The object which triggers the object conjugation is topical, but also often definite, as the topical referent recurs and becomes definite to the listener. The definiteness and aspect of action seem to go hand in hand here. The indefinite object is also the patient/theme of an action that has yet to be completed.

In the above, the listener knows that the main character of the tale (the boy) is tickling their chins, but the old couple does not notice him. The true agentive, the boy tickling them, is excluded from their conversation and pulled outside of the discourse (lines 2-5 and 10-16). The discourse segment has three competing agentives for its topic. The boy tickles the old pair knowing that he is not being noticed. As a result, the speaker chooses an agentless passive which functions impersonally (line 2). The active clauses are uttered, naturally, with an agent (a visible agentive) since it is important in the clause as a topic (lines 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20 and 22). The speaker chooses the passive again and mentions the agent (lines 6 and 18). Here, the mention of the agent allows the listener to share the knowledge, the understanding and the empathy with the main character. Even though the agent of the clause is the primary topic in terms of the whole discourse, it is not topical in the segment, and it is locally rather focal. The agent is “new information” for the old couple. It is interesting to see that the primary topic of the whole discourse is less topical in the local sense.

In regard to noun phrase types of referential forms, the main character as the subject is often uttered affixally because of its topicality and familiarity by recurring in the discourse (lines 1, 7, 8 and 9). Personal pronouns seem to be uttered often in the dialogue, including thoughts, more than what is happening in the background (lines 3, 5, 11, 12 and 14). Line 15 is the only

²⁷ In the original publication (Csepregi 2011), the verb ‘to tickle’ was realized as *nälčə yt-ta*. This transcription is, however, a mistake and the correct form of the verb is *nälčə yt-ta*. She corrected the form in her publication later (Csepregi 2015). In this study, I applied the correct form to the example (7.1).

example in the whole data of a personal pronoun object triggering the object conjugation.

7.4 FURTHER STUDIES

Throughout the analysis of the information structure in Surgut Khanty narrative discourse, several new questions also come up. These questions mainly concern transitivity and aspect.

7.4.1 TRANSITIVITY

Another question is why intransitive clauses are overwhelmingly found in my Surgut Khanty data. My quantitative data contains 1,422 intransitive clauses and 406 transitive clauses, in other words 77.8% are intransitive clauses and 22.2% are transitive clauses. Moreover, the passive is quite a common choice in Khanty. Passivization is a way to make a transitive clause intransitive. As a result, pure transitivity is not a common choice in Khanty discourse.

With the example of Inuktitut, Allen and Schröder (2003: 325) hypothesize on the ratio of transitive to intransitive clauses. The difference between the frequency of transitive and intransitive in Inuktitut might reflect on the frequent use of a detransitivizing process and the hierarchy of animacy in the distribution of agents and patients. Since the A role in Inuktitut is mainly occupied by an animate first or second person, it acts as an inanimate third person in the detransitivizing process.

Transitivity is a complex domain. It can be defined in different terms (e.g. Kittilä 2002). I applied the term *transitivity* to this study based on syntax for simplicity. The borderline of transitivity in Surgut Khanty discourse appears in the passive, the possessive verb, and the oblique object. The Ob-Ugric passive is unique as it allows the passivization of intransitive verbs and the possessive verb *täj-ta* 'to have'. Furthermore, the promotion of the recipient to the subject of the passive is a common choice. Generally, the reason why the passivization of the possessive verb is quite rare is because of the unaffectedness of the object in such clauses. The possession has no agent. Most instances of the passivized possessive verb 'to have' change the meaning of the verb itself in Surgut Khanty. Transitivity in Khanty is not similar to the model of, for example, the Indo-European languages. The oblique object appearing in the instructive-final case is strongly connected to the verb and seems to function in the same way as the object.

The above questions imply that only syntactic definition is not sufficient in analysing Surgut Khanty discourse. Surgut Khanty case marking does not define transitivity since both A and O are marked by the nominative (except in the case of personal pronouns in the accusative) and morphologic features only do not code the verbal valence. For the cognition of the valence of the

verb, the number of participants and the semantics of the event is sufficient in Surgut Khanty.

According to Thompson (1997), the semantic role and discourse function of the participants are more important factors than cases in which there is a distinction between core and oblique. Thompson has two hypotheses. First, information flow motivates this distinction. A (subject of transitive clause) S (subject of intransitive clause) O (object) as core arguments are given and trackable, while an oblique is new and given, and non-trackable. The second one is that the semantic structure of the verb reflects this difference in information flow since it includes certain argument roles as a part of its meaning. For example, the oblique in Finnish is usually non-trackable, but it is trackable when it is more important than the core argument. In such cases, the trackable oblique is marked with the demonstrative pronoun *se* 'it' (Laury 1992).

In Thompson's framework (1997), the Surgut Khanty oblique object is more oblique than object since its information flow is reminiscent of the oblique more than the object and it only appears with certain types of verbs. The object with a verb in the object conjugation is more core than with a verb in the subject conjugation because the object which triggers the object conjugation represents a more trackable and more continuous referent. The more important a referent is, the more trackable and continuous it is in discourse since it recurs in it. In this case, trackability/continuity is also marked by the Surgut Khanty object conjugation in addition to topicality.

Table 17. *The comparison of typical characteristics between objects in subject and object conjugations.*

Grammatical role	A	O (Sub.conjugation)	O (Obj.conjugation)
Information status	given	new/given	given
Referent tracking	trackable	trackable/non-trackable	trackable
Topicality	topic	focus/topic	topic, not primary
Referential form	affix	lexical, pronoun	affix, overt NP (not a pronoun)
Semantic role	agentive	patient	patient

Table 18. *The comparison of the characteristics between object alignments.*

Grammatical role	A	OBL. (rare)	O
Semantic role	agent	patient, theme	patient
Referent tracking	trackable	untrackable	trackable/ non-trackable
Referential form	affix	lexical, pronoun	lexical, pronoun
Animacy	animate	inanimate	both
Definiteness	indefinite	definite	
Intentions of the native speaker		natural/Khanty	Russian influence?

Table 19. *The comparison of characteristics between the active and the passive voice of dative shift alternation.*

Active:				
Grammatical Role	S	DO	OBL	V
Topicality	topic	secondary Topic	focus	Act
Morphology	Nom	Nom/Acc	InsFin	
Animacy	animate	animate	inanimate	
Passive:				
Grammatical Role	Agent	S	OBL	V
Topicality	focus/secondary topic	topic	focus	Pass
Morphology	Loc	Nom	InsFin	
Animacy	animate	animate	inanimate	

7.4.2 ASPECT

Surgut Khanty has no grammaticalized morphosyntactic form for aspect. However, the analysis and interviews with my informants on ditransitive alignment and possibly on voice alignment (active and passive) and on conjugation alignment (subject and object), depending on referentiality, topicality and importance, show some characteristics that are connected to aspect.

Table 20. Comparison in connection to aspect.

Agent control=Action done	No Agent control =Action incomplete
Dative alternation (O=inanimate, theme)	Dative shift alternation (O=animate, Recipient)
Object Conjugation (O=more definite=done) (A=affix)(O=topical,trackable)	Subject Conjugation (O=more indefinite=not done) (A=affix, pronoun, NP) (O=non-topical,less trackable)
Active (S=Agent)	Passive (S=Patient)

In the functional-typological framework (Givón 1990:567, Hopper and Thompson 1980), the active and the passive differ from each other in transitivity and agentivity. The active voice focuses on the intent, control, initiation and responsibility of the agentive; as a result, an event described in the active voice is most likely construed as fast moving, bounded and completed. On the other hand, the passive voice does not focus on such transitive properties. Instead an event in the passive voice focuses on a stative-resultative aspect. This difference in aspective features is reminiscent of that of the aspect/mode in terms of ditransitive alignment (see Chapter 6.2.1).

Another remarkable finding in terms of passitivity is that the dative shift alternation appears in the passive more than the active. This fact may be associated with aspect/modality. According to Givón, the action of an active clause is carried out more completely than that of the passive clause. In addition to the passive, the action of the dative alternation, under certain situations, is also carried out more completely than that of the dative shift alternation related to referentiality (see Chapter 6). In this respect, it is not surprising that the dative shift alternation is more frequently used in a passivized construction than it is in the active voice. This connection may strengthen the feature of the aspect/modality of the Surgut Khanty dative shift alternation. I could not find a correlation between passive and ditransitivity in my data.

In conclusion, morphosyntactic choice is not only based on topicality, but also aspect/mood, the hierarchy of importance from the perspective of a certain interlocutor in discourse. This can also be explained from another perspective: topicality is linked to aspect/mode and the importance of the referent. Through discourse analysis and information structure, there are other various features of morphosyntax to be found.

7.4.3 TEXT GENRE

The data of the present study was limited to spoken narrative discourse. Even in such a limited genre, the difference in the distribution of morphosyntactic forms can be seen: the object conjugation is most frequently used in folklore texts; the passive is chosen mostly in descriptive texts; the combination of personal pronoun + subject conjugation appears most in narrative discourse. Research on and a comparison with other text genres, for example written language or conversation, will be left for future study. Research on different genres of text may make the function of morphosyntactic forms clearer. Moreover, a comparison between written (mostly narratives) and spoken (narrative and conversation) languages may provide insight on the intercourse between these genres and the development of a literary language. Literary Khanty, in all its forms, is still a developing area, and it will be interesting to see the development of literary Khanty.

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