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THE PLACE OF "SOUTHWESTERN" KHANTY AMONG THE KHANTY DIALECTS: THE TESTIMONY OF PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

László Fejes
HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics, HU
fejes.laszlo@gmail.com

Abstract. Southwestern Khanty is a dialect documented only in the 2008 PhD dissertation by Olga Vaysman. A previous study based on lexical data established that Southwestern Khanty is very close to Obdorsk Khanty. The current study explores the dialect's phonological and morphological features. Although some of these features are typical only of Obdorsk Khanty among the formerly known dialects, some features of Southwestern Khanty are unique among the Khanty dialects. These peculiarities of Southwestern Khanty are numerous and unsystematic, which makes it unlikely that the dialect developed from Obdorsk Khanty or a dialect near Obdorsk Khanty. Taking into account the obscurity of the metadata, it is questionable whether Vaysman's data on Southwestern Khanty really reflect the linguistic facts of an existing Khanty dialect.

Keywords: Khanty, dialectology, isoglosses, phonology, morphology

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1. Introduction

Olga Vaysman in her PhD thesis (Vaysman 2008: 104–126), among other phenomena of various languages, described vowel harmony (VH) in a dialect of Khanty which she referred to as Southwestern Khanty (henceforth SWKh). Despite the fact that Khanty dialectology is relatively developed and, from the middle of the 19th century, extensive fieldwork has been conducted in the Khanty territory, this dialect has never been documented or at least mentioned in the earlier literature. As I pointed out in my former paper (Fejes 2022), the metadata on the dialect and the fieldwork are quite obscure. Although Vaysman (2008: 102) states that the fieldwork was carried out in the summer and fall of 2006,

explicit information on the fieldworker(s) is missing. This fact rather suggests that the interviews were made by herself, despite that it is not stated explicitly. The place of the fieldwork is not mentioned either. Although Vaysman (2008: 104) states that the dialect is spoken „near Krasnojarsk (Russia)", this region is far to the southeast of the previously known Khanty territory. She also suggests that the community is historically mixed, that is, the dialect can also be a mixture of dialects. Based on the analysis of the lexical data provided by Vaysman, I also demonstrated that SWKh is closest to the north(west)ernmost dialect of Khanty, Obdorsk Khanty, and influence of other dialects cannot be observed.

This paper intends to verify the information on SWKh phonology and morphology provided by Vaysman through a systematic comparison of forms given by her to other available data sources of Khanty (especially with the lexical data of Steinitz 1966–1993 and the cross-dialectal description of Khanty morphology in Honti 1984: 35–87), and thus to define the position of SWKh among other Khanty dialects (with a special focus on Obdorsk Khanty as it is described in Nikolaeva 1999). Vaysman's data consist of word forms and some comments on the form and allomorphic alternations. I identify some key features of phonology based on the unsuffixed forms and the peculiarities of morphology based on the suffixed forms. As Vaysman (2008) does not provide sample sentences or text, morphological analysis is restricted to morphophonology, that is, to the form of the morphemes (including their alternations). As the aim of the present study is to define the place of SWKh among the Khanty dialects, the analysis is focused on the comparison of these characteristics with the corresponding features of the other dialects. In Section 2, phonological, in Section 3, morphological data are discussed. In Section 4, the results are evaluated and a conclusion is provided. I will demonstrate that some features of the dialect are typical of Obdorsk Khanty, while some other features are atypical of any of the Khanty dialects. Additionally, the specific characteristics of SWKh can hardly be a result of historical developments from a dialect close to Obdorsk Khanty. Ultimately, I am obliged to conclude that the data on SWKh are unreliable, and should be ignored in further linguistic research – at least until the exact metadata are available and the linguistic data are checked by other fieldworkers.

In this paper, all linguistic data are italicised, as it is usual in Finno-Ugric Transcription (FUT, Setälä 1901). For a short introduction to FUT, compared to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), see Fejes (2022: 125–126). The forms given by Vaysman are both italicised and bolded. Vaysman uses a transcription of her own, some characters of which resemble FUT, some others IPA. Additionally, some features of her transcriptions differ from those of either: e.g. vowel length is marked by doubling the vowel characters. Moreover, the exact phonetic value of some of her signs (e.g. ***ƨ***, ***ʎ*** o ***c***) remain unclear. On some peculiarities of Vaysman's transcription, see Fejes (2022: 127–130). The SWKh data, both form and meaning, are followed by the data of the corresponding dialectal forms in the most comprehensive Khanty dialectal dictionary *Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache* (Steinitz 1966–1993): first the page number, then the dialectal data with the abbreviations of dialect names as they are used in the source are listed. Meaning is presented when it considerably differs from the meaning provided by Vaysman (2008), or when the word given by Vaysman is derived and just its base word occurs in Steinitz (1966–1993). English glosses here were added by the author. In some cases, the Obdorsk Khanty data given by Nikolaeva (1999) are also referred to. Nikolaeva uses a hybrid transcription as well: it is basically identical with FUT, but vowel length is marked by a colon, resembling the IPA length sign consisting of two tiny triangles in an hourglass-shaped arrangement.

2. Testimony of the phonology

Some phonological isoglosses were discussed in Fejes (2022) during the analysis of the lexicon (see Figure 1). It was concluded that from the point of view of the *l/ʌ/t* isoglosses, the dialect belongs to the *l* type, that is, SWKh must belong either to the north(west)ernmost (Obdorsk, Synya, Shuryshkary, Beryozovo) or to the easternmost (Vakh–Vasyugan) dialects (Fejes 2022: 129–130). Another important isogloss was *k/χ* isogloss between eastern and western dialects, which shows that SWKh must belong to the western dialects (Fejes 2022: 134–135, although see also 142). A third isogloss is the *s/š* isogloss between the Obdorsk dialect and other northern dialects: some of the SWKh words,

similarly to Obdorsk words, contain *s*, while all other northern dialects have *š* (southern and eastern dialect forms, if they exist, contain *č* in these cases; cf. Fejes 2022: 139).

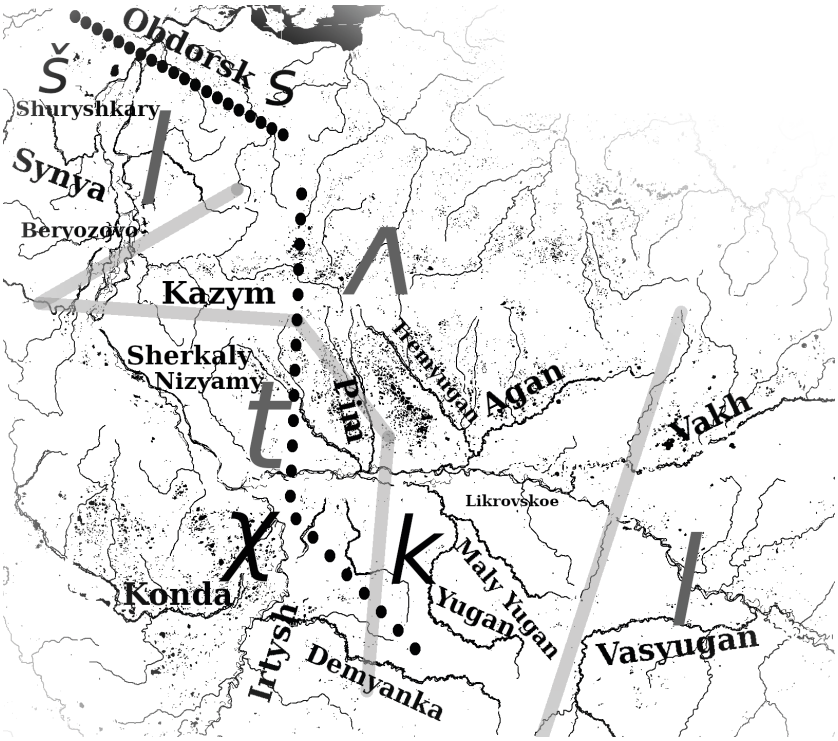

Figure 1. Isoglosses: *l/ʌ/t:* continuous grey line; *k/χ:* loosely dotted line; *s/š:* densely dotted line.

In the following subsections, different phonological peculiarities of the SWKh words are discussed: in Section 2.1, words with initial-syllable *ö* and *öö*; in Section 2.2, words with other unexpected vowels; in Section 2.3, words with unexpected consonants. After that the vowels of the non-initial syllables are looked at: in Section 2.4, the rounded ones; in Section 2.5, the full vowels instead of the expected schwa and vice versa; in Section 2.6, the stem final ones. Section 2.7 concludes the findings.

2.1. Words with *ö(ö)*

If we accept that SWKh is a northern dialect, we could suppose that stems containing *öö* (IPA [øː]), and, maybe, *ö*, come from the Kazym dialect, where a similar (although central, IPA [ɵː], marked as *ǫ* in Khanty dialectology) vowel exists. (Otherwise [ø(ː)] is attested only in the easternmost Vakh–Vasyugan dialects, together with the high rounded front vowel [y(ː)], which is not reported in SWKh.) However, there is only one stem containing *öö*, which has a corresponding central labial in Kazym Khanty: ***ɲöörəm*** 'swampy place' 1078 V *ńɔrəm*, Trj. *ńorəm*, DN Š *ńurəm*, Kaz. *ńǫrəm.*

As a consequence, it is unavoidable to set out from the assumption that SWKh was derived from a dialect close to Obdorsk Khanty, and the front rounded vowels are innovations. In such a case, we expect that these innovations can be explained by the phonetic environment of the modified vowels. It seems that, at least in some of the cases, it is possible. In a group of stems, the rounded front vowels follow a palatal consonant, which explains the fronting of an originally back rounded vowel:

- ***cöräs*** 'trader' 1539 V Trj. *ťŏras*, DN *ťăras* (also Middle Ob *śŏras* 'kereskedő; trader, merchant', Honti (1984: 175, 204, 234));
- ***jöxän*** 'river' 321 V *jɔγən*, DN *-jŏχən*, Š Kaz. Sy. O *jŏχan;*
- ***ɲöxä*** 'meat' 1030 V *ńǫγi̯*, Trj. *ńăɣ̯i̯*, DN Š *ńŏχə*, Kaz. Sy. *ńŏχi*, O *ńŏχa*.

In some other cases, the front vowels do not follow a palatal consonant, but precede them. These cases are a bit more problematic. In the case of ***söörŋi*** 'gold' 1373 V *sărńɜ*, Trj. *sårńi̯*, DN *sorńə*, Š *sɔrńə*, Š Kaz. *sɔrńi*, Sy. *sɔrŋi*, we have to suppose that fronting happened through /r/, and may be accompanied with the allophonic palatalization of it. In the case of ***töj-*** 'have' 1400 V Trj. *tăja-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. *tăj-*, O *tăǰ-*, we also have to suppose labialization and raising (maybe not independent of each other). In the case of ***xöjeeʌ*** 'son-in-law' 475 V *kaləγ*, Trj. *kåʌəγ*, DN *χetə*, Š *χĭtə*, Kaz. *χĭʌi,* Sy. *χĭli*, O *χili* (among other things, 'Schwiegersohn; son-in-law' in the Vakh–Vasyugan dialects) and ***söj-*** 'spit' 1298 V Trj. *sŏǰəγ-*, SalT *səj-*, even the identification of the two stems must be questioned on the basis of the assumption that we are studying a northern dialect.

There are also cases when an unrounded vowel is followed by a labial consonant, which could cause rounding. However, there is only one case in which the original vowel is front: ***röp*** ‘mountain’ 1278 Trj. *răp*, DN *rep*, Kaz. *rɛp*, Sy. O *rep*. In other cases, the supposed original vowel is low, unrounded and back:

- ***nöməs*** ‘mind’ 1001 V Trj. DN *năməs*, Š Kaz. Sy. *nŏməs*, O *năməs;*
- ***öömp*** ‘dog’ 101 V *ämp*, Trj. *ȧmp*, DN Kaz. *amp*, Sy. *a(m)p*, O *ȧmp*;
- ***röömö*** ‘darkness’ 1272 V *rimək*, Trj. *rimki*, O *răməχ* ‘сумерки, Dämmerung; dusk, twilight’.

There are also two cases, when the labial consonant precedes the vowel, and could cause rounding. However, the vowel was originally back, and there is no evident explanation for the fronting of the vowels:

- ***pööt-*** ‘freeze’ 1233 V *pat-*, Trj. *pȧt-*, DN *pot-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pɔt-*, O *pat-*;
- ***pöx*** ‘boy’ 1110 V, Trj. *păγ*, DN *păχ*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pŏχ*, O *păχ*.

However, there are cases when the consonant environment does not seem to explain anything:

- ***öxsäm*** ‘scarf’ 38 DN *ŏχčam*, Š Kaz. Sy. *ŏχšam*, O *ŏχsȧm*;
- ***pöskän*** ‘gun’ 1098 V *pečkän*, Trj. *pečγȧn*, DN *păškan*, Š *puškan*, Kaz. Sy. *pŏškan*, O *păškȧn*;
- ***xölä-*** ‘hear’ 465 V *kɔl-*, Trj. *koʌ-*, DN Š *χut-*, Kaz. *χǫʌ-*, Sy. *χul-*, O *χol-*;
- ***xööseeŋk*** ‘fish soup’427 V *kul-kačəm-jəŋk*, Trj. *kåčəm-jəŋk*, DN *χočəm-jəŋk*, Kaz. Sy. *χɔšəm-jĭŋk*, O *χasəm*.

In some cases, the stem containing a front rounded vowel is not identified with any other dialectal form: ***xöʌ-*** ‘disappear’, ***xööxeeʌ*** ‘female (animal)’, ***xörpáaləx*** ‘(physically) disabled person’ (Fejes 2022: 141–142). Six of the twenty words containing *ö* or *öö*, i.e. almost every third of them, begin with *x*, and half of these are unidentified.

In any case, it is problematic whether there was a real change or the consonant environment is responsible for the misperception of the field worker. The most serious argument against the latter is that in most of the cases the frontness of the vowel is also reflected in one or more non-initial syllables (if not in the stem, then in suffixed forms). If it is a real change, the question is whether it is a phonological or phonetic change. The latter can be excluded if we take into account that in some of the cases the environment does not explain the change, and the change has

not happened everywhere where it could. E.g., there is no fronting after *j* in ***joxeel*** ‘bow’ 339 V *jo̯ɣəl*, Trj. *jăɣ̯əʌ*, DN *joχət*, Š *juχət*, Kaz. *jo̯χəʌ*, O *joχəl* or ***jowa-*** ‘wrap (skins)’ (unidentified, see Fejes 2022: 141) and before *j* in ***mojpar*** ‘young bear’ St896 Š, Kaz., Sy. *mɔjpər* ‘медведь, Bär; bear’.

There is no rounding after *p* in the following cases:

- ***part-*** ‘order’ 1218 V *pärt-*, Trj. DN *pȧrt-*, Š Kaz. *part-*, O *pȧrt-*;
- ***palat*** ‘height’1144 V *pəlät*, Trj. *pəlit*, DN *pətittə*, Š *pătat*, Kaz. *păʌat*, Sy. *pălat*, O *pălȧt*;
- ***paajət-*** ‘drop’ 1132 V *päɣət-*, Trj. *pȧɣət-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pawət-*, O *pȧjət-*;
- ***pax-*** ‘burst’ 1108 Trj. *påɣ-*, Š Kaz. *pɔχ-*, O *paχ-* etc.

Nonetheless, even if we suppose a phonematic change, it is difficult to explain why it happened in some words and why it did not in others. If we supposed that it is an ongoing change, we would expect vacillation at least in some words.

To sum up, the existence of the vowels *ö* and *öö* in a dialect so close to Obdorsk Khanty is quite improbable, although, of course, cannot be excluded. The data suggest that, if they exist, they are the results of different and inconsistent sound changes. It seems to be grounded to suspect that the data are not completely accurate.

2.2. Other unexpected vowels in initial syllables

There are cases when the SWKh word, based on its form and meaning, can undoubtedly be identified with a word in Steinitz (1966–1993), but its initial-syllable vowel considerably differs from the vowels attested in other dialects. The difference can occur in any of the features (usually more than one) and length as well.

- ***čeeŋc*** ‘joint’ 281 V *čäŋ̣č*, Trj. *čȧŋ̣č* DN čȧnč, Š *ša(n)š*, Kaz. *šaŋ̣š*, Sy. *ša(ŋ)š*, O *sȧ(n)s* ‘колено, Knee; knee’;
- ***lipət-*** ‘feed’ 715 V *läwət-*, Trj. *ʌȧpət-*, DN *tȧpət-*, Š *tapət-*, Kaz. *ʌapət-*, Sy. *lapət-*, O *lȧpət-*;
- ***peʌ̈äŋ*** ‘cloud’ 1151 V *pələŋ*, Trj. *pəʌəŋ*, DN *pətəŋ*, Š *pătəŋ*, Kaz. *păʌəŋ*, Sy. *păləŋ*, O *păləŋ*;
- ***wiiş̈k-*** ‘throw’ 1645 Kaz. Sy. *wŏśkə-*, O *wăśkə-*;
- ***xoc-*** ‘remain’ 576 V Trj. *kȷ̈ť-*, DN *χeť-*, Š *χǐš-*, Kaz. *χă(ť)š-*, Sy. *χăś-*, O *χiś-*.

As the examples show, the differences are varied and cannot be explained systematically. In the case of ***lipət-*** 'feed', a possible explanation is that the word is related to ***lip-*** 'eat' 713 V *li-*, Trj. *ʌi-*, DN *tė-*, Š *te-*, Kaz. *ʌe-*, *ʌɛ-*, Sy. *le-*, O *li-* (c.f. Vaysman 2008: 116, fn. 6). The related forms caused mistakes analogically: the fact of vowel alternation was missed in the derived form (***lipət-*** instead of *lapət-* as in *li-*), while the consonant in it was also analyzed to the base form analogically (***lip-*** instead of *li-* as in *lapət-*). The possibility that it is not a mistake but the result of linguistic change, of course, cannot be ruled out, however, it is highly improbable.

2.3. Unexpected stem internal consonants

There are cases when the SWKh word is undoubtedly identified with a word in Steinitz (1966–1993), but contains a consonant differing from any consonant corresponding to it in other dialects. In most cases, there is *x* in the SWKh word, instead of another consonant – however, the consonant is different in each case.

- ***exət-*** 'cut' 50 V *ӧγət*, Trj. *ăɣ̣ət-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ewət-*;
- ***laax-*** 'wait' 725 O *lȧj-*;
- ***piixeeʌ*** 'patch (on a boat)' 1111 DN *pȧkəl* 'Holzstück, mit dem man z. B. e. Loch in e. Brett ausfüllt; a piece of wood, with which one can fill in e.g. a hole in e.g. a board', Kr. *pȧkət* 'Holzflicken (im Boot, an e. morschen Stelle); wooden patch (in a boat, in a rotten place)'.

These cases are hardly explainable. The mishearing of a voiced velar fricative as an unvoiced one is possible, but if we suppose that SWKh is a northern dialect, this explanation is not applicable for ***exət-*** 'cut'. The mishearing of a voiced palatal semivowel or a voiceless velar plosive as an unvoiced velar fricative is highly improbable.

There are two cases, when an expected consonant is simply missing. In the case of ***jeewee*** 'sister' 37 Š *jĭγ-ewə*, the deletion of an intervocalic voiced velar fricative and the contraction of the two syllables is not surprising, such a development is easily conceivable. However, the dropping of the word final palatal semivowel is highly improbable in ***saa*** 'tea' 243 V *čäj*, Trj. *śȧj*, DN *ćȧj*, Š *śaj*, Kaz. Sy. *šaj*, O *śaj*, *sȧj*: there are no CV noun stems in Khanty (not even another one among Vaysman's examples).

Fejes (2022: 128–129) wrongly states that ***čeeŋc*** 'joint' is the only word in Vaysman's material in which *č* occurs and supposes it is a typo. However, there is one more word, ***luuče*** 'incident' containing *č*. Nonetheless, the probability of a typo is highly probable. However, ***toŋheto*** 'little piece' is the only word in which *h* occurs. Since glottal fricatives are not attested in any variants of Khanty, the most probable explanation is that it is a typo.

2.4. Labial vowels in non-initial syllables

It generally holds for all variants of Khanty that rounded vowels cannot occur in non-initial syllables (c.f. Honti 1984: 23–25). As for Obdorsk Khanty, Nikolaeva (1999: 5–6) states that *o* can occur in non-initial syllables only when they are present in initial syllables of non-initial constituents of compounds or prefixed words. Although she states that *u* can occur in non-initial syllables, her data suggest that it happens only when it stands before *w*; since, so it appears, *ə* does not occur in the same position, it is reasonable to suggest that they are the allophones of the same segment. Nikolaeva also states that *u̯* can occur word-finally as an alternant of *uw*. SWKh. ***siijü*** 'reindeer calf' 1300 Sy. *sŭjŭw*, O *sujəw* (Nikolaeva 1999: 6: *sujuw* ~ *sijuw* 'reindeer calf') must be such a case.

Nonetheless, SWKh has a number of words with non-initial rounded vowels. Some of these are compounds. In the case of ***tutjux*** 'firewood' 333 V *tŏ̆γə'-juγ*, Š *tŭt-juχ* Kaz. Sy. *tŭt-jŭχ*, the first constituent is also documented by Vaysman as an independent word: *tut* 'fire' 1420 V *tŏ̆γət*, Trj. *təɣ̯ət*, DN *tüt*, Š Kaz. Sy. *tŭt*, O *tut*, and the second one is 'wood' 333 V Trj. *juγ*, DN Š *juχ* Kaz. Sy. *jŭχ*, O *juχ* (not mentioned by Vaysman as an independent word). The same second constituent can be observed in ***xootjux*** 'log' (566 V *kat-juγ*, Kaz. *χɔt-juχ*), in which the first constituent is *xoot* 'house' (565 V kat, Trj. kåt, DN χot, Š Kaz. Sy. χɔt, O χat). In the case of ***wontut*** 'pine forest' 1600 V *wǫnt*, Trj. *wŏnt*, DN, Š *unt*, Kaz. *wǫnt*, Sy. *u(n)t* 'урман, Wald; forest' a possible etymology can be that the word is a compounded from different dialectal forms of one and the same etymon (cf. Fejes 2022: 146).

As for ***toorum*** 'god' 1472 V *tǫ̊rəm*, Trj. *tŏrəm*, DN Š *turəm*, Kaz. *tǫrəm*, Sy. *turəm*, O *torəm,* the rounding is, by all probability, the result of the labial *m* – similar cases are reported from different variants of

Khanty (Steinitz 1939: 184; Schmidt 2008: 21; Radanovics 1961: 6–7; Csepregi 1998: 13–14, etc.) and Mansi (Kálmán 1989: 32–33). However, for the words ***röömö*** 'darkness' 1272 V *rimək*, Trj. *rimki*, O *rămə̑χ* 'сумерки, Dämmerung; dusk, twilight' and ***wuuloomu*** 'grandmother' – c.f. Nikolaeva (1999: 15) *wul-o:mi* 'grandmother' – the progressive assimilating effect of *m* could be an explanation, although it does not seem to be consistent – c.f. *nöməs* 'mind' –, which is not reported from any other variants.

Regarding ***kuteeşü*** 'a drunk' 707 Trj. *kŏťťə-*, DN *kŏťťə-*, Š *kŭśtə-*, Kaz. *kŭććə-* O *kuććə-* 'betrunken werden, sich betrunken; get drunk', only the stem can be identified. For ***uurŋo*** 'reason'159 Kaz. *wǫrəŋ*, Sy. *urəŋṅ*, O *orəŋnȧ* 'because of' no phonological reason can be supposed. All the other words containing non-initial-syllable rounded vowels could not be identified: ***kaano*** 'space', ***koleeʌ̈ü*** 'fiance', ***toŋheto*** 'little piece'. A development so atypical of Khanty and without no obvious reasons and circumstances questions the accuracy of the data again.

2.5. Full vowels and schwa in non-initial syllables

In most of the cases, when the corresponding two-syllable words from other dialects contain schwa in the non-initial syllables, the SWKh word also contains a schwa in the same position (14 cases).

- ***exət-*** 'cut' 50 V *ӧγət*, Trj. *ăɣ̫ət-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ewət-*;
- ***jeertəp*** 'fence' 410 Kaz. *jɛrtəp*, O *jertəp*, *jertep*;
- ***laajəm*** 'axe' 723 V *läjəm*, Trj. *ʌȧjəm*, DN *tȧjəm*, Š *tajəm*, Kaz. *ʌajəm*, Sy. *lajəm*, O *lȧjəm*;
- ***lipət-*** 'feed' 715 V *läwət-*, Trj. *ʌȧpət-*, DN *tȧpət-*, Š *tapət-*, Kaz. *ʌapət-*, Sy. *lapət-*, O *lȧpət-*;
- ***loŋkər*** 'mouse' 782 V *lǫ̈ŋkər*, Trj. *ʌă̋ŋ̈kər*, DN Š *teŋkər*, Kaz. *ʌɛŋkər*, O *leŋkər*, *loŋkər*;
- ***ɲeeləm*** 'tongue' 1049 V *ńäləm*, Trj. *ńȧʌəm*, DN *ńȧtəm*, Š *ńatəm*, Kaz. *ńaʌəm*, Sy. *ńaləm*, O *ńȧləm*;
- ***ɲoxəs*** 'sable' 1039 V *ńŏγəs*, Trj. *ńŏɣ̫əs*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ńŏχəs*;
- ***nöməs*** 'mind' 1001 V Trj. DN *nămə̑s*, Š Kaz. Sy. *nŏməs*, O *nămə̑s*;
- ***ɲöörəm*** 'swampy place' 1078 V *ńɔ̈rəm*, Trj. *ńorəm*, DN Š *ńurəm*, Kaz. *ńǫrəm*;

- ***ɲuuxəl-*** 'follow' 1034 V *ńuɣəl-*, Trj. *ńuɣəʌ-*, *ńoɣəʌ-*, DN *ńoχət-*, Š *ńuχət-*, Kaz. *ńǫχəʌ-*, O *ńoχəl-*;
- ***paajət-*** 'drop' 1032 V *päɣət-*, Trj. *pȧɣət-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pawət-*, O *pȧjət-*;
- ***puwləpsï*** 'tumor' 1122 VT *pŏɣəlwəs*, Trj. *pŏɣ̯ʌəpsə*, Ni. *pŭwtəpsə*, Kaz. *pŭwʌəpsi*, O *puwləpsi*;
- ***toxəl*** 'wing' 1412 V *tŏɣəl*, Trj. *tŏɣ̯əʌ*, DN Š *tŏχət*, Kaz. *tŏχəʌ*, Sy. O *tŏχəl*;
- ***uuxəl*** 'sledge' 39 Vart. *ŏɣəl*, Trj. *ăɣ̯əʌ*, DN *oχət*, Š *uχət*, Kaz. *ǫχəʌ*, Sy. O *uχəl*.

However, in a third of such cases (in 7 words), *a/ä* or *ee* occurs instead of the schwa.

- ***jooxeel*** 'bow' 339 V *jǫɣəl*, Trj. *jăɣ̯əʌ*, DN *joχət*, Š *juχət*, Kaz. *jǫχəʌ*, O *joχəl*;
- ***jöxän*** 'river' 321 V *jəɣən*, DN *-jŏχən*, Š Kaz. Sy. O *jŏχan*;
- ***mojpar*** 'young bear' 896 Š, Kaz., Sy. *məjpər* 'медведь, Bär; bear';
- ***nareem*** 'bridge' 30 Trj. DN Š *nărəm*, Kaz. *nŏrəm*, O *nărəm* 'полка, подмостки, Regal, Brettergestell; shelf, trestle, platform';
- ***peʌ̈äŋ*** 'cloud' 1151 V *pələŋ*, Trj. *pəʌəŋ*, DN *pətəŋ*, Š *pătəŋ*, Kaz. *păləŋ*, Sy. *păləŋ*, O *păləŋ*;
- ***piixeeʌ*** 'patch (on a boat)' 1121 DN *pȧkəl* 'Holzstück, mit dem man z. B. e. Loch in e. Brett ausfüllt; a piece of wood, with which one can fill in e.g. a hole in e.g. a board', Kr. *pȧkət* 'Holzflicken (im Boot, an e. morschen Stelle); wooden patch (in a boat, in a rotten place)';
- ***uleem*** 'sleep' ('dream') 67 V *uləm*, Trj. *uʌəm*, Š *utəm*, Kaz. *wǫʌəm*, O *uləm*.

Mishearing could be a simple, but improbable explanation. First of all, the length difference between ***ə*** and ***ee*** must be substantial. Similarly, ***ə*** and ***a/ä*** can be easily distinguished when a vowel-initial suffix is attached to such a stem: while ***ə*** is deleted, ***a/ä*** lengthens (Vaysman 2008: 105) and ***ä*** loses its allophonic frontness (Vaysman 2008: 112). The only word above with which the test does not work is ***mojpar*** 'young bear', since here the deletion of the vowel would result in a three-consonant cluster, which is prohibited (c.f. Nikolaeva 1999: 6–10).

We also have to remark that the behaviour of the schwa in Vaysman (2008) is inconsistent. While on page 106, she states that the locative case form of the word 'mind' is ***nöms-ənä (nöməs + -nä)***, on page 110,

she states it is ***nöməs-nä***. Similarly, although on page 115 she argues that the lengthened non-initial syllable *a* is never fronted, she has a form ***jeernääs-əŋän*** 'two dresses' on page 105. Such contradictions also question the reliability of the data.

There are just two cases, where all other dialects are reported to contain a full vowel in their non-initial syllable, but a schwa is reported to occur in SWKh: ***neepək*** 'book' 1007 V Trj. *nipik*, DN *nepȧk*, Š *nepek*, Kaz. *nɛpek*, Sy. O *nepek* and ***apsəjee*** 'bear' 150 Š *apśije* 'Bezeichnung des Bären; title of the bear'.

2.6. Stem-final vowels

Nikolaeva (1999: 5–6) reports that in non-initial syllables, *a* and *a:* are in a complementary distribution in Obdorsk Khanty: the latter occurs in non-final open syllables. A similar phenomenon is reported by Vaysman (2008: 105) for SWKh. Nikolaeva (1999: 6) also states that only *a* and *i* occur word finally, and the latter alternates with *e:* word internally. A similar alternation is also reported by Vaysman (2008: 106), but she also states that ***ee*** may appear word finally as well. Interestingly, almost all of her examples ending in ***ee*** are kinship terms: ***aaŋkee*** 'mother', ***oopee*** 'older sister', ***jeewee*** 'sister'. The only exception is ***apsəjee*** 'bear', however, it is also derived from a kinship term, ***apʂï*** 'younger brother'. Supposedly, primarily ***apsəjee*** also means 'younger brother' in a hypocoristic way, and only secondarily means 'bear'. Additionally, it is known that relational terms tend to occur with possessional suffixes, i.e. they are just rarely unsuffixed (Nichols 1988: 580–581). The question is whether here we witness an analogical extension of the suffixed stem form to the unsuffixed form, or the field worker could not elicit the base form and therefore, she supposed word final *ee*.

Additionally, we also find some words ending in ***e***: ***aakse*** 'post office', ***luuče*** 'incident', ***weelpe*** 'criminal'. Unfortunately, all the attempts for the identification of these with words from Steinitz (1966–1993) failed.

There are also cases when the SWKh word ends in a vowel, although in all the other dialects the stem ends in a consonant. In addition to ***uxï*** 'head' 30 V *ɔγ*, Trj. *oɣ, oγ*, DN Š *uχ*, Kaz. Sy. O *ŏχ* (discussed in Fejes

2022: 140), there are three other examples: ***aarne*** ‘rent’ 172 V *ärən*, Trj. DN *ȧrənt*, Ni. *ar‘nə*, Kaz. *arin*, O *ar‘ən* ‘долг, Schuld; dept, credit’, ***xónï*** ‘stomach’ 509 V Trj. *kŏn* DN Š Kaz. Sy. *χŏn*; and ***xölä-*** ‘hear’ 102 V *kəl-*, Trj. *koʌ-*, DN Š *χut-*, Kaz. *χǫʌ-*, Sy. *χul-*, O *χol-*. The opposite case occurs with ***aaş*** ‘father’ 226 Trj. *ȧťi*, Š *aśə* Kaz. Sy. *aśi* and *wiiʒk-* ‘throw’ 1645 Kaz. Sy. *wŏśkə-*, O *wăśkə-*. There are also two verbs in which the stem-final vowel differs from the vowel occurring in other dialects: ***aara-*** ‘break’ 161 V *arʒ-*, Trj. *årʒ-*, DN *orəj-*, Kaz. *ɔri-*, O *ari-*; ***poosa-*** ‘drip’ 1228 V *pasəγ-*, Trj. *påsəγ-*, DN *posə-*, Š *pɔsij-*, Kaz. Sy. *pɔsi-*, O *pasi-*.

2.7. Summary of the explorations in phonology

Phonological peculiarities of SWKh do not suggest the influence of a particular dialect on SWKh. The divergences from Obdorsk Khanty data, and many times from any Khanty dialect are unsystematic and can hardly be explained either by phonological changes or mishearings by the fieldworker. Some contradictory data suggest that the data are unreliable, or, in the best case, apparent vacillation at least in some forms was ignored in the description.

3. The testimony of morphology

Vaysman (2008) does not provide any systematic description of the morphology of SWKh. Nonetheless, based on the suffixed forms provided in the dissertation, one can identify several morphemes. Their forms, the regularities of their allomorphy, their phonotactic and morphotactic behaviour and semantics can be observed in the data and are usually described by Vaysman. These data can be informative from a dialectological point of view: they can help to determine the position of the dialect among the other ones. In the following, the suffixes are discussed systematically, arranged according to their functions: the number suffixes in Section 3.1, the case suffixes in Section 3.2, the possessive suffixes in Section 3.3, the infinitive suffix in Section 3.4 and the derivational suffixes in Section 3.5. The results are summarized in Subsection 3.6.

3.1. The number suffixes

In SWKh data, two marked numbers occur: the dual (Vaysman 2008: 114) and the plural (Vaysman 2008: 111–112).

In SWKh, the form of the dual marker is usually ***-əŋan/-əŋän*** (depending on vowel harmony), but it is ***-əŋül-/-əŋil-*** before possessive markers. According to Honti (1984: 36–37), the *n : l (ʌ, t)* alternation is typical of all the Khanty dialects, but vowel alternation occurs only in Obdorsk Khanty – however, according to him, the basic form is *-ŋən*, and the form before possessive suffixes is *-ŋil* (and the vowel is *ə* in both forms in all the other dialects). Nikolaeva (1999: 12, 14) also states the basic form is *-ŋən*, and the form before possessive suffixes is *-ŋil* in Obdorsk Khanty. Despite the differences, the alternation suggests that SWKh is closest to Obdorsk Khanty among the dialects.

Vaysman does not give any form of the plural marker, but her data suggest that it is ***-t*** after vowels and ***-ət*** after consonants. Such a plural marker is typical of all the Khanty dialects. However, it occurs also before the possessive suffix ***-ix*** – "1st person singular possessor, plural possessed" (Vaysman 2008: 112), but if this suffix also indicates the plurality of the possessed, the function of the segment ***-(ə)t-*** remains unclear. The strange thing is that plural markers before possessive suffixes contain *t* only in dialects where *t* used to correspond to *l* or *ʌ* of other dialects (c.f. Honti 1984: 13–16, 36–37) – however, SWKh stems always contain *l* in such positions (or, possibly, in some cases, *ʌ*, cf. Fejes 2022: 129–130). Also it cannot be ruled out that in SWKh, the general plural marker intruded into the possessive subparadigm, it is highly improbable and would be unique among the Khanty dialects.

3.2. The case suffixes

In SWKh, four cases can be distinguished: the locative (Vaysman 2008: 106–107, 110–111), the lative (Vaysman 2008: 111, 123–124), the translative (Vaysman 2008: 108), and the abessive (Vaysman 2008: 113, 114).

In SWKh, the form of the locative case suffix is, depending on vowel harmony, ***-na/-nä*** after vowels and ***-əna/-änä*** after consonants. According to Honti (1984: 60), the form of the suffix is *-nə* in the eastern and southern dialects (with an allomorph *-nə̂* due to vowel harmony in the

easternmost Vakh–Vasyugan and Tremyugan dialects – however, for the Tremyugan dialect, it was true at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, but not later; cf. Honti (1977: 272); Csepregi (1998: 13–14)), *-na* in the southernmost northern dialects (Nizyamy, Sherkaly) and in the northernmost Obdorsk dialects, but *-n/-ən* between them, in the Kazym and Berezovo dialects. According to Nikolaeva (1999: 13), the form of the locative case suffix in Obdorsk Khanty is always *-na*, the epenthetic schwa never occurs before it. Onyina (2009: 25) reports that the locative suffix is *-n* in Synya Khanty, and the epenthetic schwa may occur before it (*хom-əн* ‘house-LOC’), although it is not always necessary (*хom-əm-н* ‘house-PL-LOC’, also *хom-н* ‘house-LOC’ on page 29). If SWKh is a transitional or mixed dialect between Obdorsk Khanty and a neighbouring dialect, the most probable explanation can be an interference between the forms of the two dialects. However, it seems to be improbable that the *ə* is obligatory after any consonant, as the usual function of this vowel is preventing the emergence of undesirable coda clusters.

In SWKh, the form of the lative case, depending on vowel harmony, is ***-a/-ä***. According to Honti (1984: 60), the form of the suffix is *-a* in all the dialects (with an allomorph *-ä* due to vowel harmony in most of the eastern dialects) – except for the Obdorsk dialect, where the use of it is restricted. The form of the restriction is not explained, maybe it has changed into a derivative suffix, maybe it occurs only in idiomatic expressions. Nikolaeva (1999) does not mention the suffix at all. Honti (1984: 62) gives an Obdorsk example *kewa jiwmal* ‘turned into stone’ (*kew-a jiw-m-al* ‘stone-TRA become-PST.PRT-3SG’), and he states that while the suffix specifies local circumstances (‘moving somewhere’) in the eastern dialects, it is used in an abstract function (‘turning into something’) in the western dialects, taking over the function of the lost translative case. Vaysman does not specify its function in SWKh, but she also speaks about a translative case (see below), and she does not mention any restrictions in the use of the suffix, although in her examples, the lative suffix is never combined with number or possessive markers. The existence of the lative case is a good argument against identifying SWKh with the Obdorsk dialect; however, it can be a result of an interaction with the neighbouring dialects.

As for the SWKh translative case suffix, its form is, depending on vowel harmony, ***-ti/-ti*** after vowels and ***-əti/-əti*** after consonants.

(A suffix with a similar form also occurs on page 107; however, the suffixed forms are simply defined as “derived”, there is no information about the function of the suffix.) According to Honti (1984: 60), the form of the suffix is *-γə* in the eastern dialects, with an allomorph *-γ* in the Vakh–Vasyugan dialects, and *-γə̂* due to vowel harmony in the easternmost Vakh-Vasyugan and Tremyugan dialects (on vowel harmony in Tremyugan, see above). This suffix is completely missing in the southern and northern dialects with one exception: Obdorsk Khanty, where its form is *-ji*. According to Nikolaeva (1999: 13), the suffix-initial consonant becomes fully assimilated to the stem-final consonant. Honti does not state this explicitly, but he gives an example which demonstrates the same phenomenon: *sissi jis* ‘it turned into autumn’ (‘autumn-LAT become-PST.3SG’) (Honti 1984: 64; *sis* ‘autumn’). Hypothetically, the SWKh suffix can be related to the postposition *e:lti* ‘to’ (Nikolaeva 1999:40; Synya *элтыя* ‘onto’ – Onyina 2009: 49; c.f. Steinitz 1966–993: 71–72), however, it is rather just a desperate attempt to explain this unique feature of SWKh.

The SWKh abessive case is also problematic. According to Vaysman (2008: 113, 114), its form is always ***-əʌĭx/-əʌĭx***, depending on vowel harmony. Supposedly, the schwa is not present after vowels, but there is not a single example with vowel-final stems. According to Honti (1984: 60), the form of the suffix is *-ləγ/-lə̂γ* in the Vakh–Vasyugan and *-ʌəγ* in the Surgut dialects, and with an allomorph *-ʌə̂γ* due to vowel harmony the Tremyugan dialect (on vowel harmony in Tremyugan, see above). However, it does not function as a case suffix in the Salym dialect and the western dialects: it cannot be combined with number and possessive markers, but can be attached to pure stems. As a consequence, it is rather a derivational, and not a case suffix. Its form is also different due to the loss of the suffix-final consonant: *-tə* in the Salym, Nizyamy and Sherkaly dialects, *-ʌĭ* in the Kazym dialect, *-lĭ* in the Berezovo dialect, and *-li* in the Obdorsk dialect. Nikolaeva (1999: 21) refers to it as the caritive suffix, which derives adjectives from nouns. However, Vaysman (2008: 114) presents forms in which the suffix is combined both with number and possessive markers. This means that the SWKh suffix is close to its eastern equivalents both in form and in morphotactics.

Additionally, due to Vaysman’s glosses (2008: 123–124), an abessive suffix is present in the forms (35), although it cannot be identified;

and the text above states that a lative suffix is found in the examples. Nonetheless, the text below mentions the abessive suffix *-a* again, although elsewhere it is stated to be the form of the lative.

To sum up: two of the case suffixes suggest that SWKh is a northern dialect, one of them adverts to a southern dialect, while one does not resemble any case suffix in any dialect.

3.3. The possessive suffixes

There are four documented possessive suffixes in SWKh: ***-lən*** (2PL, Vaysman 2008: 104), ***-ïx/-ix*** (1SG, Vaysman 2008: 111–112), ***-al/-äl*** (3SG after dual marker, Vaysman 2008: 114), and ***-m/-əm/-eem/-jem*** (1SG, Vaysman 2008: 120–122).

There is not a single example with ***-lən*** '2PL', it is just mentioned as a morpheme with a non-alternating schwa, it does not occur anywhere. According to Honti (1984: 38–46), there is no dialect in which the 2PL (or any other) possessive suffix has such a form, although it occurs as a 2PL verbal personal suffix (in the objective conjugation, referring to one object). However, according to Nikolaeva (1999: 14), in the Obdorsk dialect, the form of 2PL possessive marker is *-lən* (and it is homonymous with the 2DU and 3DU possessive markers).

The possessive suffix ***-ïx/-ix*** '1SG' is somewhat confusing. First of all, Vaysman herself mentions two kinds of 1SG possessive suffixes, besides ***-ïx/-ix***, also ***-m/-əm/-eem/-jem***, without any reference to the synonymy. She states that ***-ïx/-ix*** is used when the possessed is in plural, but in her examples it always follows an explicit plural marker. However, it is not reported about any other Khanty dialect that the form of a possessive marker could radically alternate due to the number of the possessed (except for some vowel-alternations). According to Honti (1984: 38–46), all the 1SG suffixes, both in the verbal and the nominal ones, always end in *m* (similarly Nikolaeva 1999: 14, 24). Supposing that the suffix is confused with another possessive suffix, the only candidate is 1PL, which has a form (at least when the possessed is in singular) *-ŏγ/-ŏ̆γ* (depending on vowel harmony) in the Vakh, *-əw* in the Vasyugan, Yugan and Obdorsk dialects, *-əɣ* in the Tremyugan and Tromagan dialects, and *-ew* in the western dialects (except for the Obdorsk dialect). However, according to Nikolaeva (1999: 14), the form of the suffix is *-e:w* in the Obdorsk dialect as well. As it was already

mentioned in Section 2.3, there is a SWKh stem in which *x* corresponds to eastern *γ (ɣ)*, western *w*: ***exət-*** ‘cut’ 11 V *ӧγət*, Trj. *ăɣət-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ewət-*. Based on this fact, the possessive suffix ***-ïx/-ix*** must be identified as the 1PL suffix, although it is not much of a help in the identification of the dialect, and it can hardly be explained with any kind of development or mishearing either.

The possessive suffix ***-m/-əm/-eem/-jem*** ‘1SG’ is confusing for another reason. At first, at the middle of page 120, Vaysman states: “The suffix has two allomorphs, /m/ and /eem/”. After that, she gives 13 examples with the allomorph ***-eem***, but not a single one with ***-m***. However, at the bottom of the same page, she writes: “the variant of the suffix concatenated with such a stem is *-əm*:” (in this case, untypically of the whole work, the linguistic data is italicized). On the next page, she gives 15 examples with the allomorph ***-əm*** and just after that 13 examples with the allomorph ***-m***. After these, she writes: “Note that another allomorph, *-jeem* [...]”, but in the 10 examples on the next page we find the allomorph ***-jem***. According to Vaysman (2008: 120–122), the choice of the allomorphs depends on, on the one hand, whether the stem is vowel-final (***-m, -jem***) or consonant-final (***-əm, -eem***); on the other hand, whether the stem ends in a bimoraic foot (***-m, -eem***) or not (***-əm, -jem***). On the contrary, according to Honti (1984: 44–45), in all the northern dialects the form of the 1SG possessive suffix is *-em* after consonant-final stems (with the exception of the Obdorsk dialect, where the form is, similarly to the allomorph appearing after number markers in all northern dialects, *-am*) and *-m* after vowel final stems, with the exception of stems ending in *a*, after which an allomorph *-əm* is used, which is attached to the stem with an intrusive *j* (which can be also interpreted as a *-jəm* allomorph).[1] According to Nikolaeva (1999: 14), in Obdorsk Khanty, the form of the suffix is *-eːm* after consonant-final stems, *-m* after vowel-final stems, and *-əm* after stems ending in *aːj* before various suffixes (but in *a* when they are unsuffixed). It is clear that in the northern dialects, the allomorphs with an *ə* but with no *j*, and

1 Honti uses the term *hiátustöltő* (word-by-word ‘hiatus-filler’, ‘hiatus-filling’), which suggests that the semi-vowel *j* is present to eliminate the hiatus between *a* and the schwa. However, other sources, including Nikolaeva (1999: 12–14) suggest that the intrusive *j* occurs before consonant-initial suffixes as well – that is, its function cannot be the elimination of the hiatus. In this case, it is also questionable whether the semivowel *j*, which occurs on the boundary of the stem and various suffixes, can be analysed as part of the suffix.

beginning with *j* but with a non-schwa vowel are not attested by other researchers than Vaysman. In other dialects, where the allomorph *-əm* occurs, there are also allomorphs with other vowels, not mentioned by Vaysman: cf. Honti (1984: 39–42), Tereshkin (1966: 38–39), Csepregi (1998: 22) etc.

3.4. The infinitive suffix

According to Vaysman (2008: 116), "in the dialect of Khanty we are investigating, the infinitive suffix appears as /ta/ if the base is completely parsed into a (moraic) binary foot and ends in a consonant, but as /taxi/ if there is material in the stem that is not parsed into binary feet". However, in most of the examples, the suffix is schwa-initial: ***-əta/-ətä/-ətaxï/-ətäxi***, and there are only three examples with the allomorph ***-taxï***. This situation follows from the fact that almost all the verbs are consonant-final, and all the vowel-final verb stems end in *a*. Even when the vowel in the initial syllable is front, *a* in non-initial, non-final open syllables is lengthened; therefore, it does not undergo harmony and forms a moraic binary foot (Vaysman 2008: 105, 108, 116; cf. Nikolaeva 1999: 10). Since the front allomorphs are used after front stem-final vowels and the short variants after non-binary feet, only one schwa-less allomorph is attested.

Vaysman (2008: 115–116) contrasts the conditioned and complementary distributed allomorphy with the case of the eastern dialects, "where the suffix appears optionally as /ta/ or /taɣə/ according to Honti (1993),[2] (the first part of the suffix, /ta/, is the same as present tense participial suffix, and the second part, /ɣə/, has the same form as Translative case suffix) [...]". As it has been demonstrated in the case of ***exət-*** 'cut' 11 V *ӧɣət*, Trj. *ăɣ̮ət-* etc. (in Subsection 2.3), eastern *ɣ* can correspond to *x* in SWKh, so there is a possibility to identify eastern /ɣə/ with SWKh ***-xi/-xï***. However, according to Honti (1984: 60) and Nikolaeva (1999: 13), translative is used in Obdorsk Khanty in the form *-ji* (at least when it follows a vowel). It has also been demonstrated (in Subsection 2.3.2) that SWKh *x* can correspond to Obdorsk Khanty *j*: ***laax-*** 'wait' 125 O *läj-*.

2 Unfortunately, Honti (1993) is missing from Vaysman's references, but it must be identical with Xonti (1993, see p. 312).

According to Nikolaeva (1999: 33), the infinitive suffix in Obdorsk Khanty is *-ti(ji)*, in which the segment *-ji* can be identified with the translative suffix. Although the short form is ***-ta/-tä*** in SWKh and, according to Nikolaeva, *-ti* in Obdorsk Khanty, it can also be *-ta* in Obdorsk Khanty according to Honti (1984: 55).

However, the allomorphs of the infinitive suffix are considerably different in SWKh and Obdorsk Khanty. Although Nikolaeva does not discuss the distribution of the allomorphs in detail, her example (Nikolaeva 1999: 33) *we:r-ti(ji)* 'to make, to do' suggests that the suffix is attached to consonant-final verb stems (or at least to some of them) without a schwa, while it is obligatory according to all the examples given by Vaysman (2008: 116), although it is explicitly not stated. In addition, as Nikolaeva's example shows, the short and long forms of the suffix are interchangeable (if not all the forms, at least in the example), while they are in complementary distribution in SWKh. Among the examples of Vaysman, ***weel-ətä*** 'to kill' is the closest one to that of Nikolaeva.

We have to add that according to Honti (1984: 55), the long form of the infinitive suffix is formed with the lative suffix *-ja* in the Northern dialects. He gives examples from the Kazym and Synya dialects. However, in these dialects, the form of the short infinitive is only *-ti* (while it is *-ta* in the Sherkaly, Nizyam and Southern dialects). According to Onyina (2009: 43), the infinitive suffix is *-ты* (*-ti*) in Synya Khanty – however, she does not mention the possibility of further suffixation. Similarly, Sengepov (1988: 97) states that the infinitive suffix is *-ты* (*-ti*) in Kazym Khanty, without mentioning any longer form. Schmidt (2008: 57) claims that the infinitive suffix is *-ta* in Sherkaly Khanty, and explicitly states that the infinitive is not suffixable in Khanty (!).[3] Suffix-initial schwa is not mentioned in any of these cases or in the descriptions of the eastern variants (e.g. Tereškin 1961: 92; Xonti 1993: 312; Csepregi 1998: 33), although in some cases the suffix is preceded by a consonant cluster. Therefore, the allomorphy of the infinitive suffix must be an independent development of SWKh.

3 Mária Sipos (p.c.) drew my attention to the fact that in Kazym (and also Synya) Khanty infinitive can be suffixed with the lative suffix: *велпӑслӑтыя* /welpəslətija/ 'hunt-INF-LAT', *вєртыя* /wɐrtija/ 'do-INF-LAT'.

3.5. The derivational suffixes

Three derivational suffixes can be distinguished in the material on SWKh: denominal adverbalizer ***-(j)iin/-(j)ïïn*** '-ly, like' (Vaysman 2008: 107–109); deverbal nominalizer ***-ut/-üt*** '-er' (Vaysman 2008: 112–114); denominal nominalizer : ***-ŋ/-əŋ/-pi/-pï/-əpi/-əpï*** 'the one possessing N' (Vaysman 2008: 117–120).

The most mysterious of these is the denominal adverbalizer ***-(j)iin/-(j)ïïn*** '-ly, like'. Honti (1984: 83–84) states that adverbalizers are mostly specific forms of case suffixes. Among these, the locative case somewhat resembles the form of the SWKh suffix: *-nə̂/-nə, -ən*. However, he gives only one example of such a derivation based on a nominal form, which is a deadjectival one: V Vj. *koγ* etc. 'long': V Vj. *koγə̂n* 'long ago', O *χŏwən* 'far' etc. Nikolaeva (1999: 22) gives two examples formed from nouns: *a:tlna* 'in the night', *susən* 'in autumn' – however, she explicitly states that such forms occur among temporal adverbs. In fact, it is very doubtful whether we can identify ***-(j)iin/-(j)ïïn*** '-ly, like' with this adverbializer developed from the locative case suffix. First of all, concerning the descendant of the locative case suffix, if it contains any vowel before *n*, it must be a schwa. The SWKh adverbializer contains a long vowel before *n*, in addition, this vowel can be preceded by an intrusive *j* when it follows a vowel-final stem. This formal difference itself is enough for questioning the relatedness of the two suffixes. In addition, the two suffixes show great semantic differences. Vaysman (2008: 107–109) gives examples like ***aaŋkee-jiin*** 'in a motherly fashion' or ***jooxeel-iin*** 'like a bow', which do not resemble any function of the locative case or the adverbializer developed from it. Just sporadic examples show some degree of resemblance. In the case of ***sam-iin*** 'warmly, sensitively' (from ***sam*** 'heart') or ***nöms-iin*** 'rationally, cerebrally' (from ***nöməs*** 'mind') we can suppose that the primary meaning of the suffixed form is 'with heart' and 'with mind', respectively. This is perfectly compatible with the fact that the locative case can have an instrumental function.

On the contrary, the case of the deverbal nominalizer ***-ut/-üt*** '-er' is quite straightforward in the sense that it can be easily related to the corresponding suffixes of other dialects. Vaysman (2008: 112, fn 4) herself mentions that "this suffix might be formerly a second part of compounds, cf. *ut* 'thing'" (*ut* is italicized in the original). Honti (1984: 68)

and Nikolaeva (1999: 22–23) also mention that this suffix developed from a word. Nonetheless, this case is also problematic. According to Honti, this case marker is usually added to the present participle form of the verb (both Honti and Nikolaeva give the examples identical with the corresponding forms of ***leetit*** 'food' 714 V *lit-o̯t*, Trj. *ʌit-ŏt*, DN *tet-ăt*, Š *tet-ŏt*, Kaz. *ʌet-ŏt*, Sy. *let-ŏt*, O *litit*). Nikolaeva also gives examples when the suffix (or as she analyses: the clitic) is added to the past participle.[4] However, in all the examples given by Vaysman (2008: 113–114), the suffix is attached to the pure stem, not to a participle form. The only exceptions are ***leetit*** 'food' and ***uunlttït*** 'teacher'. Vaysmans seems not to have recognized that these words also contain the same suffix. This shortcoming can be related to the fact that the form ***lip-*** 'eat' radically differs from an expected stem ****leet-***. As it was mentioned in Subsection 2.2, by all probability, ***lip-*** 'eat' is a result of some segmenting mistake. Both in ***leetit*** 'food' and ***uunlttït*** 'teacher', the suffix has completely lost its vowel, which is only typical of Obdorsk Khanty. In all the other forms mentioned by Vaysman, the suffix contains a high vowel, while all the remaining dialects have a mid or low vowel in the suffix. In addition, the typical function of the suffix is to form a name of a result, an object or an instrument of an action (cf. Schmidt 2006: 44, 54–56, 59). However, Nikolaeva (1999: 22–23) also gives examples in which the word denotes the agent of the action, which corresponds to the definition given by Vaysman (2008: 112, fn 4): "the thing/person that/who (always) Vs (repeatedly or habitually)". This seems to be typical of Obdorsk Khanty, while other dialects seem to use word meaning 'man', 'woman', 'child', '(some)one', 'people' in a similar function (Schmidt 2008: 56–59; Sipos 2006: 110–111). Consequently, the SWKh suffix is the closest to the corresponding Obdorsk Khanty in some respects while the farthermost in some other respects.

The denominal nominalizer ***-ŋ/-əŋ/-pi/-pï/-əpi/-əpï*** 'the one possessing N' represents a very strange case in a way different from all the preceding oddities. According to Vaysman (2008: 117–120), the allomorphs ***-ŋ*** and ***-əŋ*** are used when they can form a bimoraic foot together with the stem, e.g. ***(söör)(nee-ŋ)***[5] 'a rich person' from ***söörŋi***

4 Both Honti (1984: 68) and Nikolaeva (1999: 22) give examples when the suffix is added to adjectives. Since Vaysman does not mention such cases, they will be ignored here.

5 Parentheses indicate the boundaries of the bimoraic foot.

'gold', ***(saa-ŋ)*** 'grocery store' from ***saa*** 'tea', ***(jiŋk-əŋ)*** 'a spring' from ***jiŋk*** 'water' or ***(too)(rum-əŋ)*** 'shaman, priest' from ***toorum*** 'god'. In other cases, allomorphs ***-pi/-pï/-əpi/-əpï*** are used: ***(kolxo)(z-əpï)*** 'the one who has a farm' from ***kolxoz*** 'farm',[6] ***ɲaw(ree)(m-əpi)*** 'a pregnant woman' from ***ɲawreem*** 'child', ***(wuu)(loo)(mu-pï)*** 'the one who has a large family' from ***wuuloomu*** 'grandmother' or ***(sii)(jü-pi)*** 'reindeer who recently had calves' from ***siijü*** 'reindeer calf'. Suffix alternation in a similar (suppletive) way is very atypical of Khanty. However, the suffix *-ŋ/-əŋ* is widely known in a semantically similar way ('with …, having ...'), although as an adjectivizer (Honti 1984: 70; Nikolaeva 1999: 21; Schmidt 2006: 65, 2008: 60; Терешкин 1966: 56–57 etc.). The suffix *-pi* is mentioned by Nikolaeva (1999: 21): according to her, the difference between the use of the two suffixes is that while *-ŋ/-əŋ* is attached to bare nouns, *-pi* is attached to phrases (*aj se:m-pi* 'with small eye', *i jis-pi* 'with one relative'). A similar rule is given for *-əp* by Schmidt (2008: 61) in Sherkaly Khanty, although the *-pi* form seems to be typical of Obdorsk Khanty. A similar distribution of the related suffixes (*-ŋ/-əŋ/-iŋ* and *-p/-pa*) is reported from Mansi (e.g. Kálmán 1989: 41) as well.[7] It is quite unlikely that the morphosyntactic distribution of the two suffixes changed into a phonotactic-rhythmical one.

3.6. Summary of the explorations in morphology

As it was demonstrated, most of the suffixes documented in SWKh can be identified with some Khanty suffixes (the translative suffix can be mentioned as an exception, and the possessive suffix *-ïx/-ix* '1SG' can be rather identified with the '1PL' suffix of the other dialects). The abessive case suffix ***-əʌ̈ïx/-əʌ̈ix*** is specific, because its form is closer to that of the southern dialects than of the northern ones. In all the other cases, the form of the suffix can be identified with the northern (though

6 Although the meanings of the derivations are very odd in other cases as well, this example really seems to be a joke, since *kolxoz* is not simply 'farm' in Russian, but a 'collective farm' (коллективное хозяйство), which, of course, cannot be owned by one person. The possibility that the meaning of the word could change into 'private farm' in SWKh is very improbable due to social factors.

7 Kálmán also refers to the fact that two different structures are formed with two different morphemes in Hungarian as well (partially with the same suffixes). Cf. also Kálmán 1983.

not always with the Obdorsk) ones, although there are also considerable differences, especially in morphotactics. Some features resemble Obdorsk Khanty: such as the vowel alternation between plural markers due to a following possessive marker, the loss of the suffix-final vowel in the locative case suffix or the vowel or the '-er' derivative suffix, the presence of a suffix-final vowel in the 'with …, having ...' derivative suffix containing *p*, etc. In addition, there are also semantic and grammatical peculiarities (as noun formation with suffixes which coin adjectives in other dialects). These peculiarities show differences not just between SWKh and Obdorsk or Northern Khanty, but between SWKh and all the dialects of Khanty.

4. Conclusion

The main purpose of the research presented in Fejes (2022) and in this paper was to define the position of SWKh, documented exclusively by Vaysman (2008), among the Khanty dialects. On the one hand, the classification was successful: as lexical, phonological and morphological features unique to Obdorsk Khanty can be observed, while there is no considerable number of features typical of any other dialect, SWKh is undoubtedly closest to the Obdorsk dialect. Despite that some features are familiar from other dialects, no apparent influence of a specific other dialect is observable, so we cannot speak about a mixed dialect, as Vaysman (2008: 104) suggests. However, on the other hand, some observations made during the above analysis suggest that the dialect cannot be classified among the Khanty dialects at all. If we assume that SWKh developed from a variant very close to Obdorsk Khanty, the number, the depth and the unsystematicity of the supposed changes seems to be surprising, or rather incredible.

At first sight, it seems to be clear that the data come from a variant of Khanty for anyone who is familiar with some dialects of this language. Nonetheless, as one examines more and more details of SWKh phonology and morphology, they consider it less and less probable that it can be an actually existing variant of Khanty. While, on the one hand, the dialect seems to be very close to one particular dialect, on the other hand, it exhibits such peculiarities which are atypical of all the known variants. Moreover, while this particular dialect is one of the

northernmost ones, Vaysman (2008: 104) seems to suggest the opposite. She reports that she made her informants listen to some Eastern Khanty recordings, the understanding of which is, of course, a hopeless task for a speaker of a northern dialect.[8] In addition, she suggests that the typical features of the dialect differ from the specifics of both the northern and the eastern dialects. Indeed, both the label for the dialect, "southwestern", and the localization of it near Krasnoyarsk, although contradicting each other, suggest that the dialect can be anything but northern.

Based on these facts, we have to conclude that, in all probability, SWKh is not an actual dialect of Khanty. Of course, this impression could be easily weakened or eliminated if the circumstances of the data collection, the metadata of the fieldwork were made available and clear. In such a case, any specialist could go to the spot and check the validity of the data. If SWKh is really such a distinctive variant of Khanty as the data suggest, its further investigation is indispensable for the dialectological and historical research of Khanty. The fact that it is made impossible by keeping the exact location of the fieldwork in the dark, just reinforces the impression that even the author of the description does not believe in its validity. As a consequence, any further research based on the data or the analysis provided by Vaysman (especially references to the ostensible system of SWKh vowel harmony) is skating on thin ice, and should be avoided until the data are confirmed.

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8 Understanding between the two main groups of the eastern dialects is limited as well. Schön (2022: 100) reports that Surgut Khanty speakers (from Bolshoy Yugan) stated that they do not understand Vasyugan Khanty and switch to Russian when they meet Vasyugan Khanty speakers.

Abbreviations

DN – (Upper) Demyanka dialect, based on the data from informant Narygin, FUT – Finno-Ugric Transcription, IPA – International Phonetic Alphabet, Kaz. – Kazym dialect, based on Karjalainen (1948), Ni. – Nizyamy dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), O – Obdorsk dialect, based on Karjalainen (1948), SalT – Salym dialect, based on data given by Tereshkin, Sy. – Synya dialect, based on Steinitz (1935 – by all probability, fieldwork notes), SWKh – Southwestern Khanty, Š –Sherkaly dialect, based on Steinitz (1935), Trj. – Tremyugan dialect, based on Karjalainen (1948), V – Vakh dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), Vj. – Vasyugan dialect, based on Karjalainen (1948), VT – Vakh dialect, based on data given by Tereshkin

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Kokkuvõte. László Fejes: “Edelahandi” paiknemine handi murrete hulgas: tõendid fonoloogiast ja morfoloogiast. Edelahandi murre on dokumenteeritud ainult Olga Vaysmani 2008. aasta doktoritöös. Eelmine, leksikaalsetel andmetel põhinev uuring näitas, et edelahandi on lähedane Obdorski handile. Käesolev uuring analüüsib edelahandi fonoloogilisi ja morfoloogilisi tunnuseid. Kuigi mõned neist tunnustest on varem tuntud murrete hulgas tüüpiliseid ainult Obdorski handile, on mõned omadused handi murrete seas ainulaadsed. Need edelahantide eripärad on arvukad ja ebasüstemaatilised, mistõttu on ebatõenäoline, et edelahandi arenes välja Obdorski handi murdest või selle lähedasest murdest. Võttes arvesse metaandmete hämarust, on küsitav, kas Vaysmani andmed edelahandi kohta kajastavad tõesti olemasoleva handi murde keelelisi fakte.

Märksõnad: handi keel, dialektoloogia, isoglossid, fonoloogia, morfoloogia