

THE PLACE OF “SOUTHWESTERN” KHANTY AMONG THE KHANTY DIALECTS: TESTIMONY OF METADATA AND LEXICON

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Abstract. Southwestern Khanty is a dialect documented only in the 2008 PhD dissertation by Olga Vaysman. This paper attempts to place Southwestern Khanty among other Khanty dialects. Metadata available on Southwestern Khanty are presented and interpreted: based on these, it remains obscure where Southwestern Khanty is spoken. Additionally, data on the lexicon of Southwestern Khanty are compared with the data of the largest dialectal and etymological dictionary of Khanty. Comparison shows that Southwestern Khanty, despite its name, is closest to the northernmost dialect, Obdorsk Khanty.

Keywords: Khanty, dialectology, isoglosses, phonology, lexicon, transcription

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1. Introduction

Olga Vaysman in her PhD thesis (Vaysman 2008¹: 104–126), among other phenomena of various languages, describes vowel harmony (VH) in a dialect of Khanty, which “differs from dialects of Khanty that were previously described in some detail” (Vaysman 2008: 104). As she adds, “the dialect is not unlike Northwestern dialects in that it has a reduced vowel inventory compared to Eastern dialects, a reduced consonant inventory, and loss of some case markings (but not as drastic a loss as in northern dialects that are reported to have only three cases), but it shows vowel harmony that is present in Eastern dialects (though different in details), but is missing in Northwestern dialects” (Vaysman 2008: 104).

¹ On page 1, it is stated that „Submitted [...] February 2009”, but on page 3, it is stated that „Submitted on October 22, 2008”. As a consequence, some sources refer to it as Vaysman 2008, while others as Vaysman 2009.

Vaysman's dissertation has received attention in the literature on theoretical phonology, and her Khanty data are also referred to (e.g. van der Hulst 2018: 178–179, Ozburn 2019: 21). Still, despite that her study documents a previously undescribed variant of Khanty, it has not stirred the interest of specialists on Khanty. In addition, although the dialectal distribution of Khanty is relatively well documented, and a discovery of an unknown dialect must be considered sensational, it seems that Vaysman herself has never published anything else on the dialect.

Vaysman's statements on the geographical and dialectological position of the analyzed variant are not easily reconcilable with each other – this group of problems are discussed in Section 2. Section 3, compares the lexicon documented by Vaysman to the lexicon of previously documented dialects. Section 4 is a conclusion based on the results. Due to limitations of space, testimony of phonology and morphology will be discussed in a subsequent paper.

2. The position of the dialect

Vaysman's statements on the position of the dialect can be divided into three groups. Section 2.1 discusses dialect labeling. Section 2.2 addresses the geographical localisation of the dialect, while Section 2.3 considers statements concerning the speech community. Section 2.4 explores position types the given dialect can occupy.

2.1. Dialect labeling

Vaysman calls the dialect *Southwestern Khanty* (SWKh). This term does not occur anywhere else in the literature, and it sounds awkward from the perspective of the traditional division of Khanty dialects (see Figure 1). Two traditional classifications exist, a binary and a trinary one, but they are basically the same. According to one, the two main dialect groups are eastern and western. Eastern ones are spoken east of the confluence of the rivers Irtysh and Ob, all others are western, belonging to two subgroups: northern dialects down the River Ob and southern dialects up the River Irtysh. The trinary division differs from the binary one in that it does not consider northern and southern dialects as more closely related to each other than to the eastern dialects. In any case, the Khanty dialects form a dialect continuum along the

River Ob (cf. Honti 1984: 13–15, Sipos 2013, Csepregi 2014 etc.), and neighbouring dialects are usually quite close to each other, even when they are classified as belonging to different dialect groups.² In fact, the southernmost dialects classified here as northern ones (the Sherkaly and Nizyamy dialects and dialects close to – the south of – it: Atlym, Keushki) and the westernmost dialects classified as eastern here (Salym) are sometimes classified as southern or transitional dialects (e.g. Abondolo 1998: 358–359). The classification here follows Sipos (2008: 271) and Honti (1982: 118).

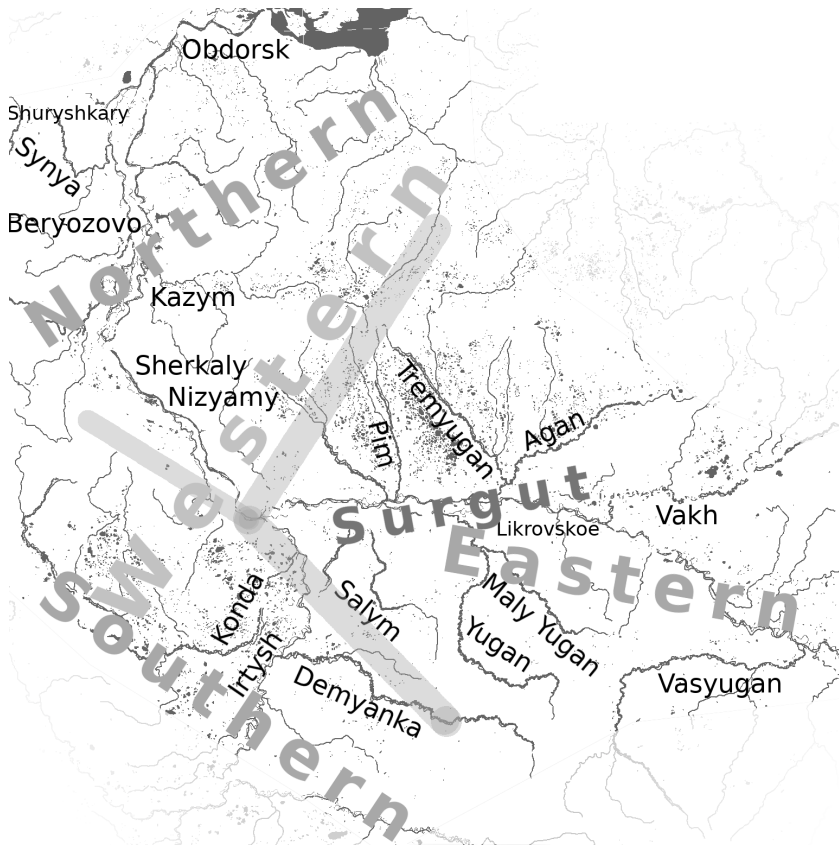


Figure 1. Classification of Khanty dialects.

2 The situation is even more complicated as different dialects were documented at different times, and the place and time of documentation is a subject of mere chance sometimes (see Csepregi 2014: especially 19–21).

As a consequence, labeling a Khanty dialect as *southwestern* is quite ambiguous. Most probably, it means simply a southern (i.e. the southern group of western) dialect. This explanation can be confirmed as Vaysman (2008: 104) uses the terms *northern* and *northwestern* as synonyms. She also states that SWKh has vowel, consonant and case inventories smaller than eastern ones, but bigger than northern ones: this is also true for southern dialects. She claims that SWKh has VH, but different from VH in eastern dialects, which is also true for southern dialects (cf. Vértes 1977). As Southern Khanty is considered to be extinct, finding Southern Khanty speakers at the beginning of the 21st century would be a sensation.

Another interpretation of the term *southwestern* could be that the given dialect is spoken to the West of Southern Khanty territory. Traditionally, this is the Southern Mansi territory; if Khanty is spoken there, it must be the result of migration. In this case, speakers could arrive from any other place, and the localisation of the speech community can say nothing about the position of their variant among the Khanty dialects.

Vaysman gets dialects mixed up. A work referred to as Paasonen (1965) and as a source on northern dialects is missing from the list of references. It can be identified as (Vértes 1965), and even in its title it mentions the Konda (southern) and the Yugan (eastern) dialects. Vaysman refers to Steinitz (Štejníc 1937) as Schteinitz [!] (1937) and Životikov (Životikov 1942) as sources on Southern Khanty. Steinitz (Štejníc 1937: 199) explicitly states that the standard he describes is based on the Kazym dialect, which is undoubtedly a northern dialect. Životikov describes the treated Middle Ob dialect as a transitional one, with northern morphology but southern phonology (Životikov 1942: 8–9). Additionally, Vaysman refers to Katz (1975 – also missing from the list of references), containing the analysis of both northern and eastern dialects, as a source on eastern dialects. Only descriptions by Honti (Xonti 1993) and Abondolo (1998), which are also mentioned as a source on Eastern Khanty but missing from the list of references, are really on Eastern Khanty, if they are identified correctly.

2.2. Geographical localisation

Vaysman (2008: 104) quite explicitly provides the place where SWKh is spoken: “The dialect I am describing here is spoken near Krasnojarsk (Russia).” This statement rather offers confusion than help.

The city of Krasnoyarsk, the center of Krasnoyarsk Krai, is the third largest city in Siberia with more than a million inhabitants. Its name probably sounds familiar even to many foreigners who are not competent in Russian geography. However, it is about 1000 kms from the nearest known Khanty settlements. Although it is conceivable that some groups of Khanty migrated such a distance, the city is rather to the east-southeast, and not the southwest of the Khanty territory. This contradiction is not reconciled in any way by Vaysman. In addition, *near* is a vague term, and it can mean either 10 or 200 kms (or, especially in Siberia, even more).

Another possibility must be considered as well. Karjalainen (1964: 65–99) gives a grammatical sketch of a settlement named Krasnojarsk (*Jurten von Krasnojarsk*, that is *Красноярские юрты* in contemporary Russian), situated on the River Konda in the Southern Khanty territory. Its location is perfectly compatible with the term *southwestern*, but there are several reasons why we can hardly identify Vaysman’s “Krasnojarsk” with that of Karjalainen. Firstly, Krasnoyarsk mentioned by Karjalainen is a tiny settlement, surely less known even among the habitants of Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug; thus, it cannot be simply referred to as “Krasnojarsk (Russia)”, speaking about Khanty, especially without a reference to Karjalainen. In addition, it was renamed *Altaysky selsovet* (*Алтайский сельсовет*) in 1959, and *Altayskaya territoriya* (*Алтайская территория*) in 1997 (Bakulin 2000). The settlement is mentioned as *Krasny Yar* (*Красный Яр*) by Moiseev (2019: 26, 36–42). It would be strange to refer to a settlement with a name which has been out of use for more than half a century.

2.3. Community

It must be clear that the geographical location of SWKh does not necessarily correlate with its linguistic position among other dialects; thus, it can be assumed that the researched Khanty group has resettled relatively lately. Furthermore, Vaysman (2008: 104) explicitly states:

“most of the Ostyaks in the community report that their ancestors came from other communities in the beginning of the 20th century, [...] but were not sure where their families lived before the move”. She also adds: “[t]wo of the speakers interviewed were third-generation migrants from the area around Surgut, where a clearly eastern dialect of Khanty is spoken”. She also made an intelligibility test: “they were able to pick out some words they comprehend from a recording (made in Khanty-Mansijsk in the spring and summer of 2005) of an eastern dialect, though they could not understand complete sentences from the recording, and pointed out that they pronounced the words they picked out differently than what they heard on the tape”. This does not help identify the dialect, as we do not know whether the recording “of an eastern dialect” was Surgut Khanty or Vakh–Vasyugan Khanty. Both are eastern dialects, but their mutual intelligibility is restricted (above all, due to a vowel shift), thus the presented facts do not exclude that the researched dialect is an eastern one. As a certain degree of mutual intelligibility is possible between any two Khanty dialects, the researched dialect might also be quite dissimilar to eastern ones.

Vaysman (2008: 104) also states that the “community appears to be somewhat mixed historically”, thus it can be supposed that the peculiarities of the dialect are results of a merger of dialects, possibly even distant ones.

2.4. Possible positions

Preliminarily, three kinds of basic scenarios can be considered for the development of SWKh.

Firstly, SWKh might be completely distinct from all known Khanty dialects, and any resemblance to any other dialect is just a result of random parallel developments. In this case, we must see that such developments are parallel with phenomena of various dialects; and we must find several, unique developments which are not typical of any of the known dialects.

Secondly, SWKh might be a mix of some known dialects. In this case, there must be several phenomena that are typical of one known dialect, while some others are typical of another known dialect. However, there can be some phenomena which are unknown from other dialects, and which are results of independent development.

Thirdly, SWKh might also be more or less identified with a known dialect, so most of its dialectal features should be identical with those of a dialect familiar to us. Even in this case, there can be some phenomena which are, being results of independent development, typical only for SWKh.

3. Testimony of the lexicon

Vaysman’s dissertation (Vaysman 2008) contains about 150 base stems, most of which are also presented in various inflected and derived forms. In this section, these stems are examined based on the most comprehensive Khanty dialectal dictionary *Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache* (Steinitz 1966–1993). Derived forms are less consistently represented in this dictionary, thus forms given by Vaysman as derived are ignored here.

Vaysman (2008) does not differentiate linguistic data from the rest of the text typographically. In this paper, all linguistic data are italicized, as it is usual in Finno-Ugric Transcription (FUT, Setälä 1901), but the forms given by Vaysman are bolded as well. As most of the data are presented in FUT, for readers unfamiliar with FUT, here a short comparison with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is presented. IPA transcriptions are given in square brackets. The comparison focuses on phenomena necessary to interpret Khanty data, and ignores differences from the regular FUT.

As for vowels, many basic characters stand for the same sounds as in IPA: *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, *i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *ə*. While *a* marks back [ɑ], front [a] or [æ] is marked with *ä*. Umlauts on the symbols for back vowels indicate corresponding front vowels: *ö* [ø], *ü* [y]. One dot over a letter otherwise marking a back vowel shows that it is centralized: *á* [ɤ]. However, for Kazym Khanty, traditionally *ø* is used instead of *ö* [ø]. A breve under a letter otherwise marking a front vowel shows that it is centralized: *ĭ* [i]. Roundedness is marked with a ring: *â* [ɔ̹], reducedness (see Section 3.1) with a breve: *ă*, *ǫ*, *ǔ* etc. A circumflex below the letter marks that it is pronounced as raised: *ø̂* [ø̂], *ö̂* [ø̂].

Many of the characters marking consonants are also used in the same function as in IPA: *p*, *t*, *k*, *w*, *s*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *j*; in some cases, there is only a subtle difference between the FUT and IPA symbols: *χ* [x], *γ* [ɣ], *η* [ŋ].

The letter *ɮ* corresponds to IPA [ɮ]. The caron is used with letters marking postalveolar consonants: *š* [ʃ], *č* [tʃ]. FUT usually does not distinguish palatalized and palatal consonants: *č*, *č'*, or *č'* may indicate both [tʃ] and [c], [ɮ] and [ʎ] or [ɲ] and [ɲ] (although *č'* can be hardly interpreted in any other way than [ɮ]). Sibilants are exceptional: *š* (both with a caron and an acute) is the standard symbol for voiceless alveolo-palatal fricative [ɕ] and *š* for the voiceless palatalized alveolar fricative [sʲ]. Nonetheless, for the sake of typographical simplicity (and because the two are hardly ever contrasted), many times *š* is used in both functions. It symbolizes the palatal sibilant in the Obdorsk, Synya, Kazym etc. dialects. However, as it became clear during our fieldwork with Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián and Zsófia Kováts in 2009, the remaining speakers (or rather rememberers) of the moribund Sherkaly dialect unanimously and independently of each other used the palatalized sibilant. They explicitly confirmed that even the last speakers pronounced it in a similar way, differently from the Kazym Khanty speakers – this difference is not indicated in Steinitz (1966–1993). A dot under a consonant letter indicates cacuminality: *ɲ* [ɲ], while a ring indicates labializedness: *k̆* [kʷ], *ɲ̆* [ɲʷ].

Below usually the forms of the best documented dialects in Steinitz (1966–1993) are presented. Vakh (V) and Tremyugan (Trj.) forms stand for the two main groups of eastern dialects (the Salym dialect is poorly documented), Demyanka (DN) forms stand for the southern dialect, and Sherkaly (Š), Kazym (Kaz.), Synya (Sy.) and Obdorsk (O) forms for northern dialects. The latter dialects show more significant differences than the dialects belonging to the two other groups, and all the four are well documented. Forms of other dialects are presented occasionally. A stem-final hyphen indicates that the (allo)morph is used with suffixes only. Phonemes given in parentheses occur optionally or before vowel-initial suffixes. The meaning given by Steinitz (1966–1993) is presented when it considerably differs from the meaning given 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 made by the author.

Since in SWKh, second-syllable *ä* is always an allophone of *a*, and since similar VH is not attested in any other Khanty dialect, we must suppose that this phenomenon has appeared recently. As a consequence, second-syllable *ä*s of SWKh can be identified with second-syllable *a*s

(or *ás*) of other dialects. However, it is more cautious if we take just *äs* and *ás* as proper equivalents. (The vowel *á* can be an equivalent for *a* as well, since a centralized vowel can be identified both as a back or a front one by the fieldworker.)

Before looking at the stems themselves, in Section 3.1, the phoneme system and transcription problems are discussed. In Section 3.2, stems in Vaysman (2008) are classified according to the dialects they seem to belong to and the position of the dialect will be determined based on the stems.

3.1. Phoneme system

Vaysman (2008: 105) presents the phoneme system of SWKh in a table (Table 1):

Table 1. The SWKh vowel system (Vaysman 2008: 105).

	Short			Long		
	front	central	back	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ii</i>		<i>uu</i>
mid	<i>e, ø</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>ee, øø</i>		<i>oo</i>
low			<i>a</i>			<i>aa</i>

Besides these phonemes, in non-initial syllables Vaysman distinguishes short and long [ä], [ü] and [i], which appear as the allophones of /a/, /u/ and /i/ due to front/back harmony.

Although in Khanty, usually full and reduced vowels are distinguished, the distinction between long and short vowels can be also accepted. Nonetheless, the vowel system presented above is quite unique among the Khanty dialects.

First of all, full vowels usually outnumber reduced ones: this is a good argument to analyze reduced vowels as the marked ones. As a consequence, short vs. long distinction can be excluded, since it would be strange to state that the short vowels are marked, while long vowels are unmarked. Although in most northern dialects, there is a balance between full and reduced vowels, the inventory is relatively small: just 4 full and 4 reduced vowels are distinguished. In addition, the quality of the vowels forming full vs. reduced pairs usually differs considerably,

especially in dialects in which the number of full and reduced vowels is balanced. (Vaysman reports height difference only between *o* and *oo*.)

The vowels /*ǫ̃*/ and /*ø̃*/ occur only in the Vakh–Vasyugan dialect, and there are similar, but centralized vowels in the Surgut dialect (and a centralized full /*ø̃*/ in the Kazym dialect). Still, the vowel systems of these dialects considerably differ from the one presented above. In addition, the existence of front mid rounded vowels without a similar high one is typologically unusual (Maddieson 2013).

Vaysman does not present the consonant system, and due to the peculiar transcription, it is difficult to sketch it up based on the data. The transcription applied by her is a strange mix of IPA and FUT, but it also contains elements strange to both (as the duplication of the letters to indicate vowel length). Despite that, there is no key to the signs in the dissertation, and there is no other work referred to with the purpose of giving an account of the symbols.

Although the sound values of most of the signs are straightforward, some of the symbols are ambiguous. For example the symbol <ɣ> should stand for a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative (IPA – [ç]) in *aaɣ* ‘father’, since we find this sound in the corresponding Khanty word (226³ Kaz., Sy. *ası*). But the same sign can also symbolize a palatalized voiceless alveolar fricative, as the Š *asə* ‘father’ or the Russian loanword *seemjä* ‘family’ (< Rus. *семья* /sʲemʲja/ [sʲiˈmʲja]) suggest. In addition, the spelling of the Russian loanword *mašeenü* ‘car’ (< Rus. *машина* /maˈɕina/ [mɐˈɕinə]) suggests that the symbol stands for a voiceless retroflex fricative. The sound value of the symbol <c> is ambiguous as well. The form *cörüs* suggests that it symbolizes a voiceless palatal plosive as in IPA, since the corresponding forms in the other Khanty dialects (1539 V, Trj. *röras*, DN *răras* etc.) begin with this sound. Still, the last sound in the words corresponding to *čeenč* ‘joint’, that is 281 V *čänč*, Trj. *čänč* DN *čanč*, Š *ša(n)š*,⁴ Kaz. *šanš*, Sy. *ša(n)š*, O *sá(n)s* etc. is a voiceless (alveo-palatal, postalveolar or possibly retroflex) affricate or a voiceless (alveo-palatal, postalveolar or possibly retroflex) sibilant, but not a plosive. Additionally, in all other dialect forms, the stem-initial

3 The number standing before the dialect data indicates the number of the column the given etymon is discussed in Steinitz (1966–1993).

4 The parentheses in these cases indicate that the nasal is present only when the stem is suffixed by a vowel-initial suffix.

and the stem-final consonants are identical, and as this is the only word in which *č* occurs, it is reasonable to suggest that the stem-initial consonant is a typo instead of *c*.

The most problematic symbol from the point of view of the dialectal classification is <ʎ>. In IPA, it stands for the palatal lateral approximant. However, it occurs in words like *аӡ*- ‘sleep’, identified with 66 V *āla*-, Trj. *āʎ*-, DN *āt*-, Š *ōt*-, Kaz. *ōʎ*-, Sy. *ōl*- etc., *ӡаӡ*- ‘enter’, corresponding to 773 V *lāṅa*-, Tr. *lāṅ*-, DN, Š *tāṅ*-, Kaz. *lōṅ*-, Sy. *lōṅ*-, O *lāṅ*- or *peḷāṅ* ‘cloud’, associated with 1551 V *pələṅ*, Trj. *pələṅ*, DN *pətəṅ*, Š *pātəṅ*, Kaz. *pāləṅ*, Sy. *pāləṅ*, O *pāləṅ*. There is only one word, *kuӡ* ‘devil’, where the corresponding dialectal forms contain a palatal consonant at least in some of the dialects: 624 Likr. Mj. *kōļ*, J *kōļ*, DN *kōļ*, Š *kūļ*, Kaz. *kūļ*, Sy. *kūļ*, O *kuļ*. As the examples above show, there is a dialectal phenomenon, according to which in some dialects we find a lateral fricative (FUT ʎ, IPA [ʎ]), in others a lateral approximant (*l*, [l]), and in the remaining dialects a plosive (*t*, [t]). The fricative is the consonant of Proto-Khanty origin, and it has changed into an approximant on the peripheries, while into a plosive in the center of the Khanty territory, in the southern dialect. The isoglosses (see Figure 2) do not correspond to the traditional division of the dialects: the plosive is constantly spreading, it is present in the southern dialects of the northern group (Nizyamy, Sherkaly – the former is extinct by all probability, the latter is moribund), and the westernmost dialects of the eastern dialects (Salym dialect – probably extinct); the Pim subdialect of the Surgut dialect (Csepregi 1998: 16); but it is spreading in the Tromagan (Tremyugan) and Yugan subdialects of the Surgut dialect (Csepregi 2009: 27, Schön 2017: 38) as well.

All the SWKh words showing the dialectal distribution *l/ʎ/t*, contain a lateral approximant. As a consequence, SWKh most probably belongs either to the northern group of the northern dialects or to the Vakh–Vasyugan dialects. There is also a possibility that SWKh has developed from the Kazym or the Surgut dialect, and the *ʎ > l* change happened independently of the similar changes of other dialects. But we can exclude that SWKh dialect has developed from a southern dialect or a northern/eastern dialect close to the southern ones, since the *t > l* change is hardly presumable.



Figure 2. The $l > t$ isogloss and the Khanty dialects.

These arguments can be valid only if $\langle \lambda \rangle$ indicates a lateral approximant, the palatality of which remains without explanation. Still we can reasonably suppose that this symbol stands for a lateral fricative. Firstly, it occurs in words where palatal or palatalized laterals are not expected. Secondly, its form resembles the symbol λ , used to indicate the lateral fricative in FUT. Although $\langle \lambda \rangle$ is considered to be a rotated $\langle y \rangle$, it undoubtedly resembles lowercase lambda $\langle \lambda \rangle$, while λ is a small capital lambda (or at least resembles it). If we take this possibility seriously, we must suppose either that SWKh is a mix of an l dialect and Kazym or Surgut Khanty, or that it is basically Kazym or Surgut Khanty, but with an ongoing $\lambda > l$ change.

3.2. Vaysman’s stems and corresponding dialectal forms

Here, an attempt is presented to identify stems given by Vaysman (2008) with stems known from other dialects. Stems are arranged due to their role in the positioning process of SWKh among other dialects. Section 3.2.1 discusses stems which are more or less equally distant or close to corresponding forms in various dialects. Section 3.2.2 deals with stems which are equally close to forms in dialects belonging to two of the three main dialect groups (i.e. eastern, southern and northern). Section 3.2.3 addresses stems which are clearly close to a form attested only in one main dialect group. In Section 3.2.4, stems forms close to one particular dialect form are presented. Unidentified stems are discussed in Section 3.2.5. Section 3.2.6 gives statistics about the proportion of words which point to different dialects or dialect groups, and it is shown how they can help in positioning SWKh.

3.2.1. Negligible stems

Some stems do not help determine the position of SWKh. Three are very recent loanwords, which cannot show a characteristic dialectal distribution, and even if they had been borrowed earlier, they could have been reborrowed since then: *maʃeenü* ‘car’, *kolxoz* ‘kolkhoz’ (621 just VT *kálxos*), *ʃeemjä* ‘family’. Many SWKh words have a form evidently distinct from equivalents in other dialects, although the etymon can be undoubtedly identified:

- *exät-* ‘cut’: 50 V *ǭγät*, Trj. *ǎ̄γät-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ewät-*
- *kuteeʃü* ‘a drunk’: 707 Trj. *kõttä-*, DN *kõttä-*, Š *küstä-*, Kaz. *küccä-*, O *kuccä-* ‘betrunken werden, sich betrunken; get drunk’
- *lipät-* ‘feed’: 715 V *läwät-*, Trj. *läpät-*, DN *täpät-*, Š *tapät-*, Kaz. *lapät-*, Sy. *lapät-*, O *läpät-*
- *nömäs* ‘mind’: 1001 V Trj. DN *nämäs*, Š Kaz. Sy. *nömäs*, O *nämäs*
- *ñööräm* ‘swampy place’: 1078 V *ñöräm*, Trj. *ñöräm*, DN Š *ñuräm*, Kaz. *ñöräm*
- *ñuuxäl-* ‘follow’: 1034 V *ñuγäl-*, Trj. *ñuγäl-*, *ñoγäl-*, DN *ñoχät-*, Š *ñuχät-*, Kaz. *ñoχäl-*, O *ñoχäl-*
- *öömp* ‘dog’: 101 V *ämp*, Trj. *ämp*, DN Kaz. *ämp*, Sy. *a(m)p*, O *ämp*

- **peläŋ** ‘cloud’: 1051 V *pələŋ*, Trj. *pələŋ*, DN *pətəŋ*, Š *pätəŋ*, Kaz. *päləŋ*, Sy. *päləŋ*, O *päləŋ*⁵
- **poŋc-** ‘ripen’: 1176 V *pāŋča-*, Trj. *pāŋč-*, DN *pānč-*, Š *pō(n)š-*, Kaz. *pō(n)š-*, Sy. *pās-*
- **pōöt-** ‘freeze’: 1233 V *pat-*, Trj. *pāt-*, DN *pot-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pət-*, O *pat-*
- **pōx** ‘boy’: 1110 V, Trj. *pāγ*, DN *pāχ*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pōχ*, O *pāχ*
- **rōömō** ‘darkness’: 1272 V *rimək*, Trj. *rimki*, O *rāməχ* ‘сумерки, Dämmerung; dusk, twilight’
- **rōp** ‘mountain’: 1278 Trj. *rāp*, DN *rep*, Kaz. *rep*, Sy. O *rep*
- **ruupeeta** ‘work’: 1280 VT *rāpota*, Ni. *ruputa*, Kaz. *ropata*
- **sari** ‘salmon’: 1370 V Trj. *sārək*, DN *sārəχ*, Š Kaz. *sōrəχ*, O *sārəχ* ‘сырок, Zährte, Coregonus vimba; peled’⁶
- **soš-** ‘walk’: 240 Trj. *soč-*, Ni. Š *šuš-*, Kaz. *šoš-*, O. *sos*-⁷
- **tōj-** ‘have’: 1400 V Trj. *tāja-*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. *tāj-*, O *tāj-*
- **uuntətūt** ‘teacher’: 126 V *oŋ’(ə)ltə-*, Trj. *ōn’l’tə-*, DN *unttə-*, Š *unt(lt)ə-*, Kaz. *wōŋ’l’tə-*, Sy. *utltə-*, O *on’ltə-* ‘обучать, учить, lehren; teach’
- **wišk-** ‘throw’: 1645 Kaz. Sy. *wōškə-*, O *wāškə-*
- **xoc-** ‘remain’: 576 V Trj. *kiť-*, DN *χet’-*, Š *χiš-*, Kaz. *χā(t)š-*, Sy. *χās-*, O *χis-*
- **xōjeeł** ‘son-in-law’: 475 V *kaləγ*, Trj. *kāləγ*, DN *χetə*, Š *χitə*, Kaz. *χli*, Sy. *χili*, O *χili* (among other meanings, ‘Swiegersohn; son-in-law’ in the Vakh–Vasyugan dialects)

Half of these forms contain *ö(ö)* in their initial syllables: in most of the cases, this is the only obstacle for identifying them with one (or more) forms. The problem of the initial syllable *ö(ö)* will be discussed in a subsequent study.

5 Even if we suppose that <ł> stands for a fricative, the height of the two vowels is similar in Surgut Khanty, and the initial syllable is more open in Kazym Khanty, while the second syllable vowel is more open in SWKh.

6 Identified by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklían. Actually, the form much more resembles 1367 Vj. Trj. *sāri*, DT *sārəχ*, Š *sōrə*, Kaz. *sōri*, O *sāri* ‘чайка, Möwe, Seeschwalbe; gull, tern’. It seems that the two terms were homonyms at least in some of the southern dialects. The Latin term in Steinitz (1966–1993) is probably mistaken, the correct form should be *Coregonus peled*.

7 I thank Mária Sipos for identifying the word.

Some forms given by Vaysman cannot be identified with a word of a particular dialect, because the difference between the forms is insignificant or does not exist at all.

- **nareem** ‘bridge’: 1020 Trj. DN Š *nārəm*, Kaz. *nōrəm*, O *nārəm* ‘полка, подмости, Regal, Brettergestell; shelf, trestle, platform’
- **ᵛan** ‘bread’: 1061 V *ᵛāñ*, Trj. DN *ᵛāñ*, Š Kaz. Sy. O *ᵛāñ*
- **part-** ‘order’: 1218 V *pärt-*, Trj. DN *pärt-*, Š Kaz. *part-*, O *pärt-*
- **tin** ‘price’: 1443 V Trj. Dn *tin*, Š Kaz. *tīn*, O *tin*
- **weer** ‘business’: 1613 V *wer*, Trj. *wār*, DN Š *wer*, Kaz. *wer*, O *wer*

In the case of **nareem** ‘bridge’, Vaysman gives a long second syllable vowel; thus, this word could be put into the previous group. The given meaning also differs from the meaning of words it is identified with, although this difference is not unbridgeable.

There is a noteworthy example, for which the forms of various dialects are quite similar to each other, but the SWKh form is different: **laaᵛk** ‘larch’: 1005 V *nāᵛk*, Trj. DN *nāᵛk*, Š Kaz. *naᵛk*, Sy. *na(ᵛ)k*, O *nāᵛk*. If there is no mistake, a dissimilation process must have happened in SWKh.

3.2.2. Stems excluding one group of dialects

Some SWKh words are identical with or just slightly differ from dialectal forms belonging to two different groups. Some of these can be identified with southern and northern (that is western) forms.

- **kew** ‘stone’: 600 V *kᵛᵛ*, Trj. *kāᵛ*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *kew*
- **mit** ‘salary’: 973 DN *mit*, Š, Kaz. Sy. *mīt*, O *mit*
- **neepək** ‘book’: 1007 V, Trj. *nipik*, DN *nepək*, Š *nepek*, Kaz. *nepek*, Sy. O *nepek*
- **ᵛawreem** ‘child’: 1038 Trj. *ᵛeyrem*, DN Š *ᵛāwrem*, Kaz. *ᵛawrem*, O *ᵛawrem* (according to Onyina (2009: 72), the very same form occurs in Synya Khanty as well)
- **ᵛoxəs** ‘sable’: 1039 V *ᵛōᵛəs*, Trj. *ᵛōᵛəs*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ᵛōᵛəs*
- **oom-** ‘sit’: 103 V *aməs-*, Trj. *āməs-*, DN *oməs-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *oməs-*, O *aməs-* (the stem is nowhere attested without *-əs-* according to Steinitz 1966–1993)

- **owəŋ** ‘stream’: 28 V *oγ*, Trj. *ǎγ*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. *ow*, O *ǎw* (according to Steinitz (1966–1993), the word with the derivational suffix *-əŋ* means ‘reißend, stark strömend’ (‘raging, flowing strongly’))
- **peŋk** ‘tooth’: 1188 V *pǝŋk*, Trj. *pǎŋk*, DN Š *peŋk*, Kaz. *peŋk*, Sy. *pe(ŋ)k*, O *peŋk*
- **poosa-** ‘drip’: 1228 V *pasəγ-*, Trj. *pǎsəγ-*, DN *posə-*, Š *pəsij-*, Kaz. Sy. *pəsi-*, O *pasi-*
- **xoni** ‘stomach’: 509 V Trj. *kǝn* DN Š Kaz. Sy. *χǝn*
- **xoot** ‘house’: 655 V *kat*, Trj. *kǎt*, DN *χot*, Š Kaz. Sy. *χot*, O *χat*

The last two cases reflect the *k/χ* isogloss between eastern and western dialects, which is caused by a *k > χ* change before back vowels.

Some other SWKh forms can be identified with eastern and northern forms:

- **aankee** ‘mother’: 136 V *əŋki*, Trj. *ǎŋki*, DN *əŋkə*, Š *ǎŋkə*, Kaz. *aŋki*, Sy. *ǎŋki*, *aŋki*, O *ǎŋki*
- **aara-** ‘break’: 161 V *ari-*, Trj. *ǎri-*, DN *orəj-*, Kaz. *əri-*, O *ari-*
- **iki** ‘old man’: 34 V Trj. *iki*, DN *ikə*, Š *ikə*, Kaz. Sy. *iki*, O *iki*
- **jeernäs** ‘dress’: 409 V *jernäs*, Trj. *jǎrnäs*, DN *jərnäs*, Š *jernas*, Kaz. *jernas*, Sy. *jernas*, O *jernäs*
- **lil** ‘soul’: 749 V *lil*, Trj. *liɫ*, DN *tit*, Š *tīt*, Kaz. *liɫ*, Sy. *lil*, O *lil*
- **lip-** ‘eat’: 713 V *li-*, Trj. *li-*, DN *tè-*, Š *te-*, Kaz. *le-*, *le-*, Sy. *le-*, O *li-* (there is no *-p-* in any of the dialects)
- **laŋ-** ‘enter’: 773 V *lǎŋa-*, Trj. *lǎŋ-*, DN Š *tǎŋ-*, Kaz. *lǎŋ-*, Sy. *lǎŋ-*, O *lǎŋ-*
- **jeeləm** ‘tongue’: 1049 V *nǎləm*, Trj. *nǎləm*, DN *nátəm*, Š *natəm*, Kaz. *nǎləm*, Sy. *nǎləm*, O *nǎləm* (a mid vowel in the initial syllable according to Vaysman (Vaysman 2008) – the same form is attested in Northern Mansi, but a low one in all dialects of Khanty according to Steinitz 1966–1993)
- **por-** ‘bite’: 1202 V Trj. *pǎr-*, DN *pǎr-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pǎr-*, O *pǎr-*
- **toorum** ‘god’: 1472 V *tǝrəm*, Trj. *tǎrəm*, DN Š *turəm*, Kaz. *tǝrəm*, Sy. *turəm*, O *torəm*
- **uleem** ‘sleep’: 67 V *uləm*, Trj. *uɫəm*, Š *utəm*, Kaz. *wɫɫəm*, O *uləm* (rather ‘dream’, ‘sleep’ is 67 V *aləm*, DN *otəm*, Š *ɔtəm*, Kaz. *ɔləm*, O *aləm*, as a result of a Proto-Khanty umlaut and divergence)
- **wel-** ‘kill’: 1580 V *wel-*, Trj. *wǎɫ-*, DN Š *wet-*, Kaz. *wel-*, Sy. O *wel-*

In half of the cases, the main reason for the extremity of the classification possibilities is that SWKh is an *l* dialect, and the form is similar to the form in the Vakh dialect on the one hand, and to the form in the Synya and/or Obdorsk dialect on the other hand.

There is no word in SWKh the form of which resembles the forms both in eastern and southern dialects, but none of the northern dialects.

3.2.3. *Stems pointing to one group of dialects*

There are cases when the SWKh form is clearly identical with or very close to the form in one dialect group, but distinct from forms of all others. While some forms can be identified with any of the three groups, the proportion of the words which can be associated with forms of different dialects differs considerably.

Based on Steinitz (1966–1993), only two words seem to belong to the southern dialects. In both cases, Steinitz (1966–1993) refers to just a southern form of a morphologically complex word, although its base word is attested also in other ones. The word *jantit* ‘toy’ is attested 382 DN *jānttət*, but the verb Surg. *jāntəγ-*, Irt. *jānt-*, Ni., Š. Kaz. *jōnt-*, O *jānt-* ‘играть, spielen; play’ is attested in almost all the dialects. The other word is *piixeeł* ‘patch (on a boat)’, 1111 DN *pākəl* ‘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. *pākət* ‘Holzflicken (im Boot, an e. morschen Stelle); wooden patches (in a boat, in a rotten place)’. This word is the diminutive of Kr. *pāk*, N. Kaz. *pak* ‘Flicken (in e. hölzernen Gegenstand, z. B. in e. Tisch, Boot); patch (a wooden object e.g. in a table, boat)’. The diminutive form is probably used in a wider territory than Steinitz (1966–1993) supposes. (Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián suggests that it is also possible that the word is related to Russian *накля* ‘tow’: for semantic reasons, this etymology is less probable.)

There are more stems which resemble eastern forms:

- *al-* ‘sleep’: 66 V *āla-*, Trj. *āl-*, DN *āt-*, Š *ōt-*, Kaz. *ōl-*, Sy. *ōl-* (the vowel is different in the northern and the consonant in the southern forms)
- *čeeŋc* ‘joint’: 281 V *čāŋč*, Trj. *čāŋč* DN *čānč*, Š *ša(n)š*, Kaz. *šaŋš*, Sy. *ša(n)š*, O *sā(n)s* ‘колeно, Knee; knee’ (only the V form is undoubtedly front; however, vowels are low in all the dialects but in SWKh)

- **cörüs** ‘trader’: 1539 V Trj. *t’ōras*, DN *t’āras* (but see *šōras* ‘kereskedő; trader, merchant’, Middle Ob dialect⁸ (Honti 1984: 175, 204, 234))
- **oopee** ‘older sister’: 146 Trj. *opj*, Š *ōpə*, Kaz. Sy. *ōpi*, O *āpi* (full vowel in the initial syllable is found only in Trj.)
- **rasi** ‘fringe’: 1281 Trj. *rāsij*, Š *rōsə*, Kaz. *rōsi* O *rāsi* (the backness of the second syllable supports Trj. against O – but *j* is phonemic in the Trj., but not in SWKh)
- **sěj-** ‘spit’: 1298 V Trj. *sějəγ-*, SaIT *səj-*
- **wontut** ‘pine forest’: 1600 V *wōnt*, Trj. *wōnt*, DN, Š *unt*, Kaz. *wōnt*, Sy. *u(n)t* ‘урман, Wald; forest’ (the identification of the segment following the stem is problematic, see Section 3.2.6)
- **wuuĵ-** ‘see’: 1550 V Trj. *wu-*, DN *wō-*, Š *u-*, Kaz. *wō-*.

In most of the cases, the resemblance is not convincing. On the contrary, there are many more SWKh words which resemble northern words. Moreover, there is a specific group of words, which only have corresponding words in the northern dialects.

- **apsajee** ‘bear’: 150 Š *apsije* ‘Bezeichnung des Bären; title of the bear’ (in fact, its an hypocoristic form of the word ‘younger brother’ below)
- **apšĭ** ‘younger brother’: 149 Š Kaz. *apši*, O *āpši*
- **jeertap** ‘fence’: 410 Kaz. *jertap*, O *jertap*, *jertep*
- **jeewee** ‘sister’: 37 Š *jĭγ-ewə*
- **kuurt** ‘village’: 687 Š *kurt*, Kaz. *kōrt*, Sy. *kur’*
- **kuuša** ‘master’: 709 Š *kušaj*, Kaz. *kōša*, Sy. *kuša*, O *kuša*
- **mojpar** ‘young bear’: 896 Š, Kaz., Sy. *mōjpār* ‘медведь, Bär; bear’
- **mutra** ‘miracle’: 975 Kaz. *mūtraj*, Sy. *mītra*
- **ooxtĭ** ‘snake’: 1570 Kaz. *wōxti-wōj*, O *ōxti-waj* (the second element means ‘(wild) animal’)⁹
- **uurġo** ‘reason’: 159 Kaz. *wōrəŋ*, Sy. *urəŋŋ*, O *orəŋnā* ‘because of’ (postposition)¹⁰

8 The Middle Ob “dialect” is rather a standard considered to be based on the Sherkaly dialect, sometimes also called as Sherkaly literary language. According to Sipos (2008), despite the use of *t* instead of *l* (or *ʌ*), the phonology and morphology of the printed text reflect typical northern features instead of those which are typical for the genuine Sherkaly dialect. Supposedly, the form *šōras* can come from a dialect spoken in Sherkaly or to the north of it.

9 In Steinitz (1966–1993), the word is not attested with a first-syllable full vowel in any dialect.

10 This word was identified by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklĭán and Mária Sipos.

- **pöskän** ‘gun’: 1098 V *pečkän*, Trj. *pečyan*, DN *pășkan*, Š *pușkan*, Kaz. Sy. *pöșkan*, O *pășkan*¹¹
- **sijju** ‘reindeer calf’: 1300 Sy. *sijjuw*, O *sujəw*
- **xoop** ‘boat’: 529 Š, Kaz., Sy. *χɔp*, O *χap*
- **xoram** ‘beauty’: 540 Kaz. *χōram*, O *χōrām*

The fact that eastern and southern forms of the word do not occur in Steinitz (1966–1993) does not automatically mean that they do not exist there. Still, it is striking that the number of such words is fairly high, equals with the number of words resembling eastern or southern forms. In addition, some words have cognates in eastern and/or southern dialects, but the SWKh form resembles the northern variant.

- **aarne** ‘rent’: 172 V *ärən*, Trj. DN *ärənt*, Ni. *ar’nə*, Kaz. *arin*, O *ar’ən* ‘долг, Schuld; dept, credit’;¹²
- **aaš** ‘father’: 226 Trj. *ä’i*, Š *ašə* Kaz. Sy. *asi*
- **jɨŋk** ‘water’: 387 V Trj. DN *jəŋk*, Š Kaz. *jŋk*, Sy. *jŋ(ŋ)k*, O *jɨŋk*
- **jöxän** ‘river’: 321 V *jɔɣən*, DN *-jōχən*, Š Kaz. Sy. O *jōχan*
- **kuł** ‘devil’: 624 Likr. Mj. *kōļ*, J *kōļ*, DN *kōļ*, Š *kül*, Kaz. *kül*, Sy. *kül*, O *kul*
- **laajəm** ‘axe’: 723 V *läjəm*, Trj. *läjəm*, DN *täjəm*, Š *tajəm*, Kaz. *laajəm*, Sy. *laajəm*, O *läjəm*
- **leetit** ‘food’: 714 V *lit-ət*, Trj. *lit-ət*, DN *tet-ät*, Š *tet-ət*, Kaz. *let-ət*, Sy. *let-ət*, O *litit* (also *li-ti-t* according to Nikolaeva 1999: 22)
- **loš** ‘snow’: 871 Trj. *läňt*, DN *t’oňt*, Š *tɔ(ň)ś*, Kaz. *ɔ(ň)ś*, Sy. *ɔ(ň)ś*, O *la(ň)ś* (not attested with a first-syllable reduced vowel in any of the dialects)
- **lunt** ‘wild goose’: 770 V *łont*, Trj. *łont*, DN Š *tunt*, Kaz. *łont*, Sy. *lu(n)t*, O *lont*
- **ox** ‘head’: 30 V *ɔɣ*, Trj. *oɣ*, *oɣ*, DN Š *uχ*, Kaz. Sy. O *oχ*
- **ooxsar** ‘fox’: 1573 Pim J *wăksar*, DN *wăχsar*, Š Kaz. *wōχsar*, Šy. *ōχsar*, O *ōχsar*, *ōχsár* (not attested with a first-syllable full vowel in any of the dialects)

11 It could seem that the word comes from Russian *пyuкa* ‘gun’. Still, Steinitz (1966–1993: 1098) states that its source is Komi /bitʃkan/ ‘crowbar, pinch bar’. Russian *пyuкa* ‘gun’ is borrowed as 1254 Trj. *puška*, Ni. *-püşka*. I am grateful to Márta Csepregi for drawing my attention to this fact.

12 The word was identified by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklái. Steinitz (1966–1993: 172) states that the word comes from Russian *apendə* ‘rent’, but its meaning had changed in all the Khanty dialects by the beginning of the 20th century. It is surprising that Vaysman could record it in its original meaning.

- **palat** ‘height’: 1144 V *pəlät*, Trj. *pəlit*, DN *pətittə*, Š *pätat*, Kaz. *pǎlat*, Sy. *pǎlat*, O *pǎlät*
- **ruupit-** ‘work’: 1280 V *ropilt-*, Trj. *ropiɫtə-*, DN *ropittə-*, Š *rupijit-*, Kaz. *ropit-*, O *ropit-*
- **sam** ‘heart’: 1340 V Trj. DN *səm*, Š Kaz. Sy. *sām*, O *sām*
- **söörni** ‘gold’: 1373 V *sǎrńz*, Trj. *sǎrńj*, DN *sorńə*, Š *sorńə*, Š Kaz. *sorńi*, Sy. *sorńi*
- **sus** ‘autumn’: 1324 V *söǰəs*, Trj. *səǰəs*, DN *səwəs*, Š Kaz. *sūs*, O *sus*
- **suuy** ‘corner’: 1348 V Trj. DN *sōŋ*, Š Kaz. *sūŋ*, Sy. *śūŋ*, O *suŋ* (not attested with a first-syllable reduced vowel in any dialect, except for O, in which there is no full-reduced opposition among high vowels)
- **taal-** ‘carry’: 1424 V *täl-*, Trj. *táɫ-*, DN *tát-*, Š *tat-*, Kaz. *taɫ-*, Sy. *tal-*, O *tál-*
- **taas** ‘herd’: 1481 V *täs*, Trj. *tás*, DN *táš*, Š Kaz. Sy. *taś*, O *tás*
- **tal** ‘year’: 1429 V *təɫəŋ*, Trj. *tǔɫəŋ*, DN *tətə*, Š *tätə*, Kaz. *tǎɫ*, Sy. *tǎɫ*, O *tǎɫ*
- **taxti** ‘skin’: 1422 V *tǎyti*, Trj. *tǎytz*, DN *tǎχət*, Š *tǎχtə*, Kaz. Sy. O *tǎχti*
- **toxəl** ‘wing’: 1412 V *tōǰəl*, Trj. *tōǰəɫ*, DN Š *tōχət*, Kaz. *tōχəɫ*, Sy. O *tōχəl*
- **tut** ‘fire’: 1420 V *tōǰət*, Trj. *təǰət*, DN *tüt*, Š Kaz. Sy. *tüt*, O *tut*
- **tutjux** ‘firewood’: 333 a compound consisting of the previous word and ‘wood’ V Trj. *juŋ*, DN Š *juχ* Kaz. Sy. *jǔχ*, O *juχ*: V *tōǰə* ‘-juŋ, Š *tüt*-*juχ* Kaz. Sy. *tüt*-*jǔχ*
- **uuxəl** ‘sledge’: 39 Vart. *ǰəɫ*, Trj. *ǰəɫ*, DN *oχət*, Š *uχət*, Kaz. *oχəɫ*, Sy. O *uχəl*
- **xatl** ‘sun’: 571 V *kətɫ*, Trj. *kǎtɫ*, DN *χǎt(t-)*, Sy. *χǎtɫ*, *χǎtt-*, Kaz. *χǎtɫ*, Sy. O *χǎtɫ*
- **xir** ‘sack’: 550 V Trj. *kirəŋ*, DN *χerə*, Š *χǐrə*, Kaz. Sy. *χǐr*, O *χir*
- **xootjux** ‘log’: 566 V *kat*-*juŋ*, Kaz. *χət*-*juχ*
- **xölä-** ‘hear’: 473 V *kəl-*, Trj. *koɫ-*, DN Š *χut-*, Kaz. *χoɫ-*, Sy. *χul-*, O *χol-*
- **xul** ‘fish’: 466 V *kul*, Trj. *kuɫ*, DN *χut*, Š *χüt*, Kaz. *χǔɫ*, Sy. *χǔɫ*, O *χul*
- **xuli** ‘dirt’: 474 V *kulj*, Trj. *kuɫj*, DN Š *χulə*, Kaz. *χoɫi*, Sy. O *χuli*

In many cases, the /l/ɫ/ isoglosses play a decisive role in determining the position of SWKh. In these cases, eastern dialects can be excluded due to the vowels, the preservation of an intervocalic glide or based on the *k/χ* isogloss. Other dialectal phenomena play a role occasionally.

3.2.4. Stems pointing to one specific dialect

When the SWKh form is identical with or closest to a form of a specific dialect, it is always the Obdorsk dialect, the northernmost dialect of Khanty. One peculiarity of this dialect is *s* in a position in which neighbouring dialects have *š*. Just based on these correspondences, eight words can be identified as closest to the Obdorsk forms:

- *kasī* ‘pain’: 591 V Trj. *káčэ*, DN *káčə*, Š *kášə*, Kaz., Sy. *kāši*, O *kāsi*
- *keesi* ‘knife’: 593 V *kõčəγ*, Trj. *kõčəγ*, DN *kečə*, Š *kešə*, Kaz. Sy. *keši*, O *kesi*
- *öxsäm* ‘scarf’: 38 DN *õxčam*, Š Kaz. Sy. *õxšam*, O *õxšam*
- *pusi* ‘tail’: 1094 V, Trj. *pučj*, DN *pičə*, Š *-püş*, Kaz. *püši*, O *pusi*
- *saa* ‘tea’: 243 V *čäj*, Trj. *šáj*, DN *čáj*, Š *šaj*, Kaz. Sy. *šaj*, O *šaj*, *sáj*
- *saawī* ‘guard, shepherds’:¹³ 259 V *čäyi-*, Trj. *čeyi-*, DN *čáwej-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *šawij-*, O *sáwi-* ‘aufbewahren, verwahren / хранить, keep (safe)’
- *soxa* ‘partridge’: 1315 Kaz. Sy. *šõxa*, O *sõxa*
- *xööseeŋk* ‘fish soup’: 427 V *kul-kačəm-jəŋk*, Trj. *káčəm-jəŋk*, DN *xočəm-jəŋk*, Kaz. Sy. *xošəm-jĩŋk*, O *xasəm*

Moreover, there are several other cases, in which the reasons for resemblance are various phenomena:

- *jooxeel* ‘bow’: 339 V *joxəl*, Trj. *jäγəλ*, DN *joxət*, Š *juxət*, Kaz. *joxəλ*, O *joxəl*
- *kalaj* ‘reindeer’: 621 Trj. *käləŋ*, O *käləŋ*
- *loŋkər* ‘mouse’: 782 V *lõŋkər*, Trj. *lãŋkər*, DN Š *teŋkər*, Kaz. *leŋkər*, O *leŋkər*, *loŋkər*
- *malat* ‘depth’: 920 V *mälät*, Trj. *məlit*, DN *mätät*, *mätet*, Š *mätat*, Kaz. *mälät*, O *mälät*
- *narī* ‘bench’: 1018 Š *nörə*, Kaz. Sy. *nōri*, O *nāri*
- *nõxä* ‘meat’: 1030 V *hoxj*, Trj. *hãj*, DN Š *hõxə*, Kaz. Sy. *hõxi*, O *hõxa*
- *paajət-* ‘drop’: 1132 V *päyət-*, Trj. *páyət-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *pawət-*, O *pájət-*
- *pax-* ‘burst’: 1108 Trj. *páy-*, Š Kaz. *pəx-*, O *paχ-*
- *puwləpsi* ‘tumor’: 1122 VT *põγəlwəs*, Trj. *põγəłpsə*, Ni. *püwtəpsə*, Kaz. *püwłəpsi*, O *puwləpsi*
- *rex* ‘berry’: 1265 Š Kaz. Sy. *rĩx*, O *reχ*
- *uw* ‘door’: 26 V *oxpi*, Trj. *oxpi*, DN *-aw*, Š Kaz. Sy. *əw*, O *uw*

13 Supposedly, collective meaning.

There are two words which are attested only in the Obdorsk dialect: *jik* ‘son’: 327 O *jik*; *laax-* ‘wait’: 725 O *láj-*. In the latter case, the SWKh and Obdorsk forms differ in the stem-final consonant. Although they are etymologically related to words in other dialects (V *liy-*, Trj. *liy-* ‘глядеть, смотреть, blicken, schauen; watch’, KoP *tiγ-* ‘караулить, aufpassen, warten; guard, watch out, look after, wait’; KoP Kr. *tāw-* ‘караулить, (wilden Reintieren im Sommer) auflauern, warten, (+ KoP зверовать, jagen); guard, ambush (wild reindeers in summer), wait (+ KoP hunt)’), these are both formally and mostly semantically are quite distant from both SWKh and Obdorsk Khanty verbs.

3.2.5. Stems which cannot be identified with any dialectal form

There are SWKh forms the identification of which with any dialectal form in Steinitz (1966–1993) failed. Supposedly, it is partially due to peculiarities (inaccuracy) of transcription, e.g. Vaysman makes a difference between *непәк* ‘book’ and *непәк* ‘letter’: 1007 V, Trj. *nipik*, DN *nepāk*, Š *непек*, Kaz. *непек*, Sy. O *непек*, although the very same word has both meanings in other Khanty dialects, and the divergence of forms and meanings is not reported anywhere else. In addition, schwa is not reported in the second syllable from any dialect. Also, in addition to *ox* ‘head’: 30 V *ox*, Trj. *ox*, *ox*, DN Š *ux*, Kaz. Sy. O *ox*, Vaysman mentions *uxī* ‘head’. As the correspondences show, the word has no stem-final vowel in any dialect; thus, it is unlikely that any newly discovered dialect will have that. The problem will be discussed in a subsequent study.

In addition, there can be words which exist but do not occur (or could not be found) in Steinitz (1966–1993). E.g., no equivalent for *wuuloomu* ‘grandmother’ was found, although due to Nikolaeva (1999: 15), it exists in the Obdorsk dialect: *wul-o:mi* ‘grandmother’.

There are twenty words the identification of which has failed. In half of these cases some ideas emerged about which etymons they could be identified with, but due to the semantic and/or phonetic differences, they remain unconvincing.

- *jinäp* ‘hook’: according to Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián, it is possibly a typo, and the word is identical with 380 V *jintəw*, Trj. *jintəp*, DN *jəntəp*, Š Kaz. Sy. *jintəp*, O *jintəp* ‘игла, иголка, Nadel; needle’;

- **jitü** ‘enemy’: the form resembles КоР *jäγät(-χuj)* ‘Feind, Verleumder, враг, клеветник; enemy, calumniator’ – it still considerably differs for identification;
- **jowa-** ‘wrap (skins)’: Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián suggests that the verb is related to 347 V *jɔγər-*, Tr. *jǎγər-*, DN *jōwər-* ‘запутать, verwickeln, verwirren, verfitzen; tangle up, mix up, confuse’; Ni. *jōwärt-*, Kaz. *jōwərlə-*, O *jǎwərlə-* ‘вертеть, крутить, drehen, bohren, sich verwickeln, sich verschlingen; turn, rotate, become entangled, (inter)twist, spin, roll’, DN *jōwwärt-*, Kaz. Sy. *jōwärt-*, O *jǎwärt-* ‘завёртывать, wikkeln [sic], einwickeln (z. B. in e. Tuch, Papier); roll up, wrap up’. Although both semantic and formal resemblance is blatant, this etymon contains *r*, which is missing from the stem given by Vaysman; thus, the identification of the two stems is highly questionable;
- **lixeen** ‘fire’: according to Márta Csepregi, the word seems to be related to 713 V *li-*, Trj. *li-*, DN *té-*, Š *te-*, Kaz. *le-*, *le-*, Sy. *le-*, O *li-* ‘eat’, which means ‘burn’ as well;
- **welpe** ‘criminal’: Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián suggests that it is derived from 1580 V *wel-*, Trj. *wǎl-*, DN Š *wet-*, Kaz. *wel-*, Sy. O *wel-*;
- **wixeeta** ‘cry, shout’, Mária Sipos suggests identifying this verb with 456 Ni. Š *χijij-* ‘schreien, brüllen; cry, shout, yell, roar, bellow’, *χijem-*, Kaz. *χiwemə-* ‘aufschreien, aufbrüllen; cry out, shout, yell, roar, bellow’. The suggestion is semantically well-grounded, and metathesis is also conceivable. However, Márta Csepregi suggests identifying this word with Trj. *wiy-*, DN *wōy-*, Š Kaz. Sy. *ǎw-*, O *uw-* ‘реветь, кричать, schreien, brüllen; cry, shout, yell, roar, bellow’. This suggestion is also perfect semantically, but **wixeeta** is, by all probability, an infinitive form, while the same form of the closest Surgut Khanty verb is *wiyta* (Csepregi 1998: 173);
- **woolax** ‘wolf’: Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián raises the possibility that it is an adapted form of Russian *волк* (IPA [vɔlk]) ‘wolf’;
- **xöł-** ‘disappear’: Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián suggests identifying this word with 473 V *kōla-*, Trj. *kōl(a)-*, DN *χōt(a)-*, Š *χōta-*, Kaz. *χōla-*, Sy. *χōla-*, O *χōl(a)-*, used in different meanings, such as ‘кончиться, zu Ende gehen, abgeschlossen werden; come to end, run short, be used up’, ‘kürzer werden, становиться короче, abnehmen, убывать, vergehen; pass, elapse, while away, kill (time)’, ‘abgenutzt werden, изнашиваться; wear out, wear away’, ‘протекать, lecken, Wasser

durchlassen, laufen; let through, leak, seep, run’. Although western forms are quite similar and the resemblance between the meanings is clear, the two words cannot be identified with each other without doubt;

- ***xörpaalax*** ‘(physically) disabled person’: possibly related to Vj. *kör-pälək*, Trj. *kör-pälək*, DN *kör-pelək* etc. ‘einbeinig, хромо́й, lahm, hinkend; one-legged, lame, limping’, similarly to what Vaysman (2008: 107) suggests in a footnote. But the form is not attested in northern dialects, where *k* is expected instead of *x* before an originally front vowel (Ni. Š Kaz. Sy. *kūr*, O *kur* ‘нога, Fuß; foot’);
- ***xuunteepc*** ‘backpack’: the first part of the word resembles 516 V Trj. *kjnt*, DN *χent*, Š Kaz. *χint* ‘кузов, Ranzen od. (auf dem Rücken getragener) Korb aus Birkenrinde; wicker basket, basket made of birch bark (carried on one’s back)’.

Nonetheless, in other cases, even such dubious etymologies have not surfaced: *aakse* ‘post office’, *kaano* ‘space’, *kaas-* ‘doubt’, *kiimpəl* ‘scale (of a cone)’, *koleečü* ‘fiance’, *luuče* ‘incident’, *nučeex* ‘ceremonial ring’, *piixəl* ‘fishing line’, *tojheto* ‘little piece’, *xööxeeł* ‘female (animal)’.

3.2.6. Statistics

To sum up: more than a third (~35%) of the lexical data is either unidentifiable with the items of the known Khanty vocabulary, or gives no real help in the identification of the dialect.

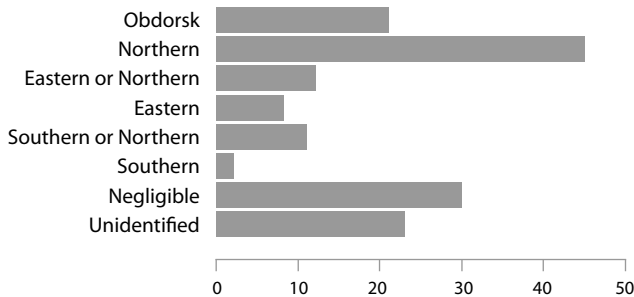


Figure 3. The number of the SWKh words with respect to words of other dialects.

Among words which can help identify the dialect (99 words), about 33% can be identified either with eastern or southern words, but less than a third of them cannot be identified with any northern word. On the contrary, ~90% can be identified with some northern forms, and 66% of the forms can be identified only with northern words. Moreover, while there are barely 10 words which cannot be identified with any word from a northern dialect, there are 21 words which can be identified only with words from the Obdorsk dialect. Furthermore, 29 of the 45 words which can be identified with more than one northern dialect form, can be identified with an Obdorsk Khanty one as well (at least not less than with some other northern dialect). In the following list, only the Obdorsk data are presented.

- *apši* ‘younger brother’: 149 O *ápši*
- *jeertəp* ‘fence’: 410 O *jertəp, jertep*
- *jiŋk* ‘water’: 387 O *jiŋk*
- *jöxän* ‘river’: 321 O *jöχan*
- *kul* ‘devil’: 624 O *kul*
- *kuuša* ‘master’: 709 O *kušä*
- *laajəm* ‘axe’: 723 O *läjəm*
- *ox* ‘head’: 30 *öχ*
- *ooxsar* ‘fox’: 1573 O *öχsar, öχsär*
- *ooxti* ‘snake’: 1570 O *öχti-waj*
- *palat* ‘height’: 1144 O *pälät*
- *pöškän* ‘gun’: 1098 O *päškän*
- *sam* ‘heart’: 1340 O *säm*
- *siijü* ‘reindeer calf’: 1300 O *sujəw*
- *sus* ‘autumn’: 1324 O *sus*
- *taal-* ‘carry’: 1424 O *täl-*
- *taas* ‘herd’: 1481 O *täs*
- *tal* ‘year’: 1429 O *täl*
- *taxti* ‘skin’: 1422 O *täχti*
- *toxəl* ‘wing’: 1412 O *töχəl*
- *tut* ‘fire’: 1420 O *tut*
- *uurho* ‘reason’: 159 O *orəhñä* ‘because of’
- *uuxəl* ‘sledge’: 39 O *uχəl*
- *xatl* ‘sun’: 571 O *χätł*
- *xir* ‘sack’: 550 O *χir*

- *xoram* ‘beauty’: 540 O *χōrám*
- *xölä-* ‘hear’: 473 O *χol-*
- *xul* ‘fish’: 466 V O *χul*
- *xulī* ‘dirt’: 474 O *χuli*

Additionally, some SWKh forms are close to an eastern or southern form, but also to the Obdorsk form (and sometimes to other northern forms as well – only the similar forms are shown here):

- *kew* ‘stone’: 600 DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *kew*
- *mit* ‘salary’: 973 DN *mit*, Š, Kaz. Sy. *mīt*, O *mit*
- *neepək* ‘book’: 1007 Š *nepek*, Kaz. *nepek*, Sy. O *nepek*
- *ɲawreem* ‘child’: 1038 DN Š *ńawrem*, Kaz. *ńawrem*, O *ńawrem*
- *ɲoxəs* ‘sable’: 1039 V *ńōγəs*, Trj. *ńōγəs*, DN Š Kaz. Sy. O *ńōχəs*
- *peɲk* ‘tooth’: 1188 DN Š *peɲk*, Kaz. *peɲk*, O *peɲk*
- *aaɲkee* ‘mother’: 136 Trj. *āɲki*, Kaz. *aɲki*, Sy. *āɲki*, *aɲki*, O *āɲki*
- *aara-* ‘break’: 161 V *ari-*, O *ari-* (the vowel of the second syllable is high in all the dialects)
- *iki* ‘old man’: 34 V Trj. *iki*, Kaz. Sy. *iki*, O *iki*
- *jeernäs* ‘dress’: 409 V *jernäs*, Trj. *jārnäs*, DN *jərnäs*, Š *jernas*, Kaz. *jernas*, Sy. *jernas*, O *jernäs*
- *lil* ‘soul’: 749 V *lil*, Sy. *līl*, O *lil*
- *lip-* ‘eat’: 713 V *li-*, O *li-* (there is no *-p-* in any of the dialects)
- *lāɲ-* ‘enter’: 773 V *lāɲa-*, O *lāɲ-*
- *ɲeeləm* ‘tongue’: 1049 V *ńäləm*, Sy. *ńaləm*, O *ńäləm*
- *toorum* ‘god’: 1472 V *tōrəm*, Trj. *tōrəm*, O *torəm*
- *uleem* ‘sleep’: 67 V *uləm*, O *uləm* (rather ‘dream’)
- *weel-* ‘kill’: 1580 V *wel-*, Sy. O *wel-*

Consequently, a great majority of the SWKh words which can be identified with a form of a northern dialect (and, possibly, also with an eastern or southern one), can also be identified with the Obdorsk form.

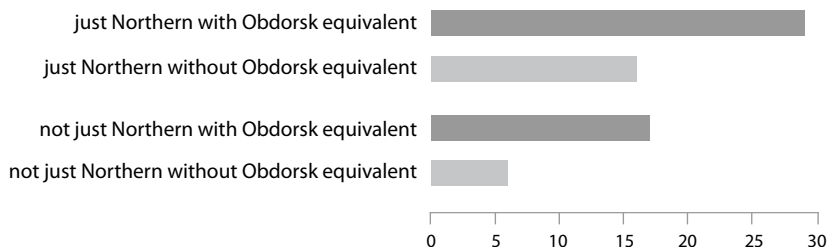


Figure 4. The number of identified SWKh words similar to at least one northern form.

Even more, all SWKh words similar to at least one dialect form of each of the three dialect groups are all similar to the one in the Obdorsk dialect:

- *nareem* ‘bridge’: 1020 O *nārəm* ‘полка, подмости, Regal, Brettergestell; shelf, trestle, platform’
- *пap* ‘bread’: 1061 O *nañ*
- *part-* ‘order’: 1218 O *pärt-*
- *tin* ‘price’: 1443 O *tin*
- *weer* ‘business’: 1613 O *wer*

Additionally, there are SWKh words which cannot be identified in Steinitz (1966–1993). The deverbal noun *uuntłätit* ‘teacher’ does not occur in Steinitz (1966–1993), but its base is represented from a wide range of dialects: 126 V *ɔn* (ə) *łtə-*, Trj. *ɔn* *łtə-*, DN *unttə-*, Š *unt*(*łt*)*ə-*, Kaz. *wɔn* *łtə-*, Sy. *ułłtə-*, O *on* *łtə-* ‘обучать, учить, lehren; teach’. Although these data suggest that the Obdorsk form, if exists, must be different, Nikolaeva (1999: 22) gives *u:nlt-ə-ti-t* ‘teacher’ in Obdorsk Khanty. The similarly derived word *janitit* ‘toy’ is attested only in a southern dialect: 382 DN *jānttət*, but the verb Surg. *jāntəγ-*, Irt. *jānt-*, Ni., Š. Kaz. *jōnt-*, O *jānt-* ‘играть, spielen; play’ is attested in almost all dialects. Nikolaeva (1999: 22) documents the *janitit* ‘toy’ from the Obdorsk dialect as well. The compound *tutjux* ‘firewood’ is attested in Steinitz (1966–1993) from a wide range of dialects, but not from Obdorsk Khanty – nonetheless, it occurs in Nikolaeva (1999: 86). The word *wuuloomu* ‘grandmother’ is not in Steinitz (1966–1993), but it exists in the Obdorsk dialect (Nikolaeva 1999: 15): *wul-o:mi* ‘grandmother’. In Steinitz (1966–1993), the word *sijjü* ‘reindeer calf’ is

attested in forms 1300 Sy. *sǫjǫw*, O *sujəw*, but Nikolaeva remarks that in Obdorsk Khanty it also occurs in the form *sijuw* (Nikolaeva 1999: 6).

Apparently, SWKh is the closest to Obdorsk Khanty among all the known dialects. Features typical for the close northern dialects (such as the simplification of consonant clusters in Synya Khanty or the epenthetic word-initial *w* in Kazym Khanty) cannot be observed in the SWKh material. A strange exception can be *wontut* ‘pine forest’: 1600 V *wont*, Trj. *wǫnt*, DN, Š *unt*, Kaz. *wont*, Sy. *u(n)t* ‘урман, Wald; forest’, which looks like the compound of the Kazym *wont* (but with a back vowel) and the Synya *ut* forms. Although this explanation is quite questionable, it is difficult to find a more convincing one.

4. Conclusion

Based on these observations, the possibility that SWKh is a new branch of the Khanty dialects must be rejected. It is clearly a northern dialect, which is quite close, despite all the differences, to Obdorsk Khanty. The possibility that SWKh is a mix of distinct dialects must also be ruled out. There are no significant traces of any dialect distant from Obdorsk Khanty. Although it cannot be excluded that SWKh developed from a mixture of Obdorsk Khanty and neighbouring dialects, this scenario cannot be distinguished from the possibility that it developed from a dialect transitional between Obdorsk Khanty and the neighbouring documented dialects.

A subsequent paper will offer a more detailed phonological analysis of lexical data. Additionally, data on SWKh morphology (Vaysman 2008) will also be taken into account.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

Ber. – Beryozov(o) dialect, DN – (Upper) Demyanka dialect, based on the data from informant Narygin, FUT – Finno-Ugric Transcription, IPA – International Phonetic Alphabet, Irt. – Irtysch dialects, J – Yugan dialect, based on Paasonen’s data, Kaz. – Kazym dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), KoP. – Dialekt of Kamenskije on the Konda, based on Paasonen’s data, Likr. – Likrovskoe dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), Mj. – Maly Yugan dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), Ni. – Nizyamy dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), O – Obdorsk dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), Pim – Pim dialect, based on (Karjalainen 1948), Sal. – Salym dialect, SaIT – 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), Šur – Shuryshkary dialect, 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 metaandmetest ja sõnavarast. Edelahandi murre on dokumenteeritud ainult Olga Vaysmani 2008. aasta doktoritöös. See artikkel püüab asetada edelahandi teiste handi murrete hulka. Esitatakse ja tõlgendatakse edelahandi murde kohta saadaolevaid metaandmeid, mille põhjal jääb segaseks, kus edelahandi murret kõneldakse. Lisaks võrreldakse edelahandi leksikoni andmeid handi suurima murde- ja etümoloogilise sõnaraamatu andmetega. Võrdlus näitab, et edelahandi murre on erinevalt nimetusest kõige lähemal põhjapoolseimale dialektile, obdorski murdele.

Märksõnad: handi keel, dialektoloogia, isoglossid, sõnavara, transkriptsioon