Chapter 10

Reflexivity in Kazym Khanty

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This paper discusses reflexivity strategies in the Kazym dialect of Khanty, an en-dangered Uralic language spoken in northwestern Siberia. Khanty is a language without dedicated reflexive pronouns (Nikolaeva 1995, 1999b); to express reflexivity Kazym Khanty speakers use personal pronouns, a doubled pronoun construction or add a particle to a personal pronoun. For a closed class of verbs in Kazym Khanty detransitivising suffixes can be employed to convey the reflexive meaning. The absence of dedicated reflexive pronouns is a typological rarity, cross-linguistically they are considered the "norm" (Heine & Miyashita 2008; Moyse-Faurie 2008). The paper presents a hypothesis about how Kazym Khanty avoids excessive anaphoric ambiguity.

1 Introduction

The present paper discusses reflexivity strategies in the Kazym dialect of Khanty, an endangered Uralic language spoken in northwestern Siberia.

Khanty is known in the literature to be a language without dedicated reflex-ive pronouns (Nikolaeva 1995, 1999b). That is true also for the Kazym dialect of Khanty: personal pronouns function as reflexive pronouns, as in (1).[1]

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[1]In Khanty, the 2nd person singular possessive suffix is often used in a non-possessive function to indicate discourse salience. In such uses, the link to the possessive meaning is preserved: when translating from Khanty to Russian, native speakers often convey the meaning with a 2nd person singular pronoun. The non-possessive uses of possessive affixes in Khanty are often reminiscent of definite articles, but the correspondence is not full. Thus, their distribution and referential properties need further investigation.

(1) *Evi-j-en*   *λʉw-ti*   *šiwaλ-ǝs-λe.*
     girl-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he-ACC see-PST-3SG>SG
     'The girl saw him/herself.'

A terminological note is warranted before we proceed. We use the term *reflexivity* for the phenomenon where two roles in a situation are performed by the same participant. The ways a natural language encodes reflexivity are referred to as *reflexivity strategies* (e.g. reflexive pronouns, verbal reflexive affixes). We use the term *binding* for an anaphoric dependency within a sentence, especially if the antecedent is non-referential (we, however, use this term loosely and refrain from any theoretical claims as to the nature of this dependency); we reserve the term *coreference* for cross-sentential anaphoric dependencies. *Local binding* refers to an anaphoric dependency between coarguments of a verb. The term *covaluation* is used as a cover term for both *binding* and *coreference*. We also use the term *reflexive possessive construction*, if the possessor of an argument is covalued with another argument in the clause.

Kazym Khanty differs from the northern varieties of Khanty discussed in the literature: for the 3rd person pronoun to be locally bound, the verb is not required to bear any special kind of agreement (we will address this in detail in §3; the reverse pattern with obligatory object agreement on the verb is described for the Tegi variety in Volkova & Reuland 2014 and for the Obdorsk variety in Nikolaeva 1999b). Apart from employing personal pronouns to encode reflexivity, Kazym Khanty speakers also make use of a doubled pronoun construction or add a particle to a personal pronoun (§4). A closed class of verbs in Kazym Khanty allows detransitivising suffixes to express reflexivity (§5). §6 deals with reflexive possessive constructions which combine a personal pronoun and a possessive affix on the possessed noun. Different means of intensification are discussed in §7. The absence of dedicated reflexive pronouns is typologically unusual, cross-linguistically they are considered the 'norm' (Heine & Miyashita 2008; Moyse-Faurie 2008). We discuss how Kazym Khanty avoids excessive anaphoric ambiguity in §8. §9 concludes.

The Kazym data and generalizations provided in this paper come primarily from the elicitation sessions conducted during the HSE University team field trips to Kazym (2018–2019). These examples are given below with no reference to the source. However, in illustrating language facts of Kazym Khanty we also (where possible) resort to providing examples from texts. They come from either the Western Khanty corpus created and glossed by Egor Kashkin (WKhC) or the text corpus collected by our team during the fieldwork (KKhC).

2 Khanty: A profile

2.1 Sociolinguistics

Khanty (Ostyak) is a member of the Ob'-Ugric subgroup of the Ugric group (includes also Mansi (Vogul) and Hungarian) of the Uralic language family. It is spoken by some 9,500 people (2010 census). The ethnic population totals 28,700 people spread out over several thousand square kilometers in northwestern Siberia, Russia (Lewis et al. 2013) from the upper reaches of Pechora, in the northern Urals, to the Yugan, Vasyugan, and Vakh rivers in the Tomsk region (see Figure 1).[2] The majority of Khanty people live in the Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Regions, smaller groups reside in the Tomsk region.
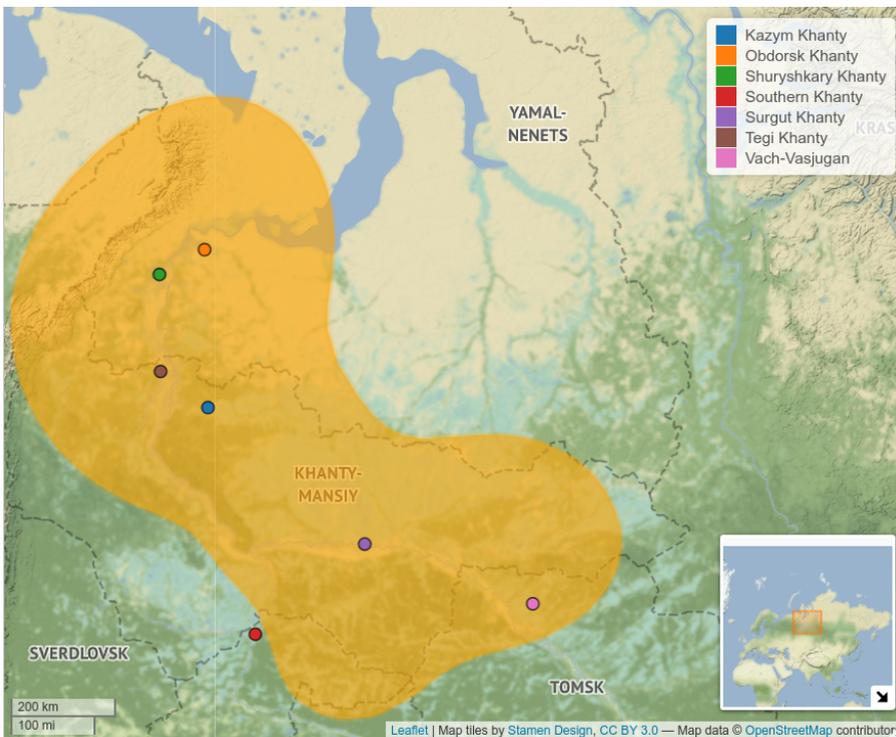
Figure 1: A map of Khanty

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[2]The map was generated by the lingtypology package for R. Moroz, Georgy. 2017. lingtypology: easy mapping for Linguistic Typology (https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology). The authors wish to thank Georgy Moroz and Yuri Koryakov for their help.

Due to limited contact between groups of speakers, the Khanty have developed a dialectal continuum, the opposite ends of which diverge greatly in both grammar and lexicon and are mutually incomprehensible (Nikolaeva 1999b). The most commonly accepted classification of dialects goes back to (Steinitz 1937). They can be subdivided into three groups: i) Eastern dialects (dialects of Vakh-Vasyugan, Surgut, and Salym); ii) Southern dialects (dialects of Irtysh and Demyanka); iii) Northern dialects (dialects of Middle-Ob', Kazym, Shuryshkary, and Obdorsk). At present, the southern dialects have almost died out, the eastern dialects are highly endangered. The northern dialects are used primarily by the older generation (50+).

The variety reported in this paper is spoken in the village of Kazym in the Beloyarsky District in the northern part of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Region, just to the east of the Ob' river. Another idiom we mention is the Berezovo Khanty variety spoken in the Tegi village which is situated in the Ob' basin.

2.2 Nominal system

The nominal system has three cases: Nominative, Dative, and Locative. The language distinguishes three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. Personal pronouns also distinguish three cases, but unlike nouns, they have dedicated affixes for Accusative and lack Locative. The pronominal system has three persons: 1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ, and 3ʳᵈ.

Like many other Finno-Ugric languages, Khanty employs a full set of nominal suffixes encoding number and person of a possessor on a possessed noun. A possessor expressed by a full nominal or a free personal pronoun may or may not be present in addition – see (2a) and (2b) respectively. In Kazym Khanty, possessive affixes are obligatory only in the case of an overt free personal pronoun possessor (2a) and are optional otherwise.[3] In (2c), in the noun phrase 'Leshtan's elder son' a possessive marker is present on the head noun 'son' (2c), while in a noun phrase 'sister's dress' in (2d) it is absent on the head noun 'dress'.

(2) a. *Ma puχ-**em***   / **puχ wɵn woš-ən   wɵ-λ.*
         I   son-POSS.1SG / son   big   town-LOC live-NPST[3SG]
         'My son lives in a big town.'

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[3]According to Nikolaeva (1999b: 52), in Khanty lexical possessors do not trigger possessive marking on the head. In contrast, in our Kazym data (including data of WKhC) we register some cases of headmarking with lexical possessors. Thus, the distribution of possessive markers in Kazym is different from that in Ob' dialects, but establishing precise rules for it is outside the scope of the present paper.

  b. *Akɛ-**m***   *tiw* *χăt-əmt-əs.*
   uncle-POSS.1SG here move-PUNCT-PST[3SG]
   'My uncle came in.' [WKhC, "Russian doll"]

  c. *λeśtan-leŋke-λ*   *wɵn poχ-**əλ*** *juχt-əs.*
   Leshtan-DIM-POSS.3SG big son-POSS.3SG come-PST[3SG]
   'The elder son of Leshtan came in' [WKhC, "Bogatyr"]

  d. *Ma upɛ-m*   *jɛrnas λɵmt-s-əm.*
   I sister-POSS.1SG dress put.on-PST-1SG
   'I put on my sister's dress.'

Possessive affixes can also be attached to postpositions (3).

(3) *Ma λiw piλ-**aλ**-a*   *kulaś-ti*   *pit-λ-əm.*
   I they with-POSS.3PL-DAT fight-NFIN.NPST become-NPST-1SG
   'I'll fight with them!' [WKhC, "The river land man and Ob' river land man"]

Possessive affixes in Khanty also have a number of non-possessive functions: they can mark semantic/discourse features of a noun phrase such as definiteness, topicality, familiarity, as in (4a) (see Nikolaeva 1999b; Simonenko 2017; Mikhailov 2018 for a detailed discussion). The 2nd person singular possessive suffix is also used in a discourse function (4b), marking what can be roughly described as discourse salience. This is particularly frequent with person names.

(4) a. *I* *ike-**λ***   *lup-λ.*
   one man-POSS.3SG say-NPST[3SG]
   'One man (the river land man) says:' [WKhC, "The river land man and Ob' river land man"]

  b. *Worŋa imi-j-**en***   *pa lop-t-aλ.*
   raven woman-OBL-TEXTBFPOSS.2SG ADD tell-EVID.PRS-3SG
   '(It appears that) The (female) raven says:' [WKhC, "The raven and the gull"]

2.3 Verbal system

Kazym Khanty distinguishes two tenses:[4] past and non-past. A verb has three argument marking patterns: subject agreement, subject-object agreement, and

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  [4]There is also a separate paradigm for evidential forms. These forms are participles in a predicative position inflected with possessive affixes for subject agreement.

passive. In the case of subject agreement, the verb obligatorily agrees with the subject in number (SG, DU, PL) and person (1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ). Both intransitive (5) and transitive verbs (6a) attach subject agreement suffixes.

(5) *Tăm još eweλt ńɛwrem-ət aškola-j-a   jăŋχ-λ-**ət**.*
    this road from child-PL   school-OBL-DAT go-NPST-3PL
    'Children go to school along this road.'

Like other Ob'-Ugric languages, Khanty employs differential object marking. In the absence of the Accusative case marker (except for pronouns), it comes in the form of object agreement. Transitive verbs in Khanty can optionally agree in number (singular vs. non-singular) with the direct object – this is expressed by subject-object agreement paradigm (6b). According to some reference grammars (e.g. Honti 1984), agreement with the object is licensed by the definiteness of the direct object. In Kazym, the system is more complex, with aspect playing a role (see below in §2.4).

(6) a. *Was'a-j-en   ar   arij-s.*
         Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG song sing-PST[3SG]
         'Vasja sang a song.'
     b. *Was'a-j-en   ar-əλ   arij-s-**əλλe**.*
         Vas'a-OBL-POSS.2SG song-POSS.3SG sing-PST-3SG>SG
         'Vasja sang the/his song.'

The third argument marking pattern is passive, as in (7). The passive affix follows the tense markers on the verb, and then subject agreement affixes are attached. The logical subject is demoted to an oblique locative position. Apart from direct objects, in Kazym Khanty, Recipients and low Applicatives (7) can be promoted into the subject position (Nikolaeva 1999b; Colley & Privoznov 2019).

(7) (*Ma*) *aŋk-ɛm-ən   jɛrnas-ən jənt-s-**aj**-m.*
     I   mother-POSS.1SG-LOC dress-LOC sew-PST-PASS-1SG
     'My mother sewed a dress for me.' (lit. 'I was sewn by my mother with a dress.')

Like Hungarian, Khanty has a rich system of detachable preverbs which are grammaticalized adverbs. Some of them have the source semantics of space relations (cf. *nuχ* 'up', *iλ* 'down'). A number of them have developed aspectual meanings (e.g. telicity, Kozlov 2019).

(8) a. *Waśka-j-en*   *kinška λʉŋt-əs.*
         Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG book   read-PST[3SG]
         'Vasja read the book/read the book for a while/was reading the book.'

     b. *Waśka-j-en*   *kinška nuχ λʉŋt-əs-λe.*
         Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG book   up read-PST-3SG>SG
         'Vasja read the book (to the end)/#read the book for a while/#was
         reading the book.'

In (8a), the verb *λʉŋtati* 'read' in past tense can have an atelic, a telic, and a
progressive meaning. In contrast, in (8b) when accompanied with the preverb
nuχ this verb can have only a telic reading, the atelic reading is unavailable (as
indicated by #).

Khanty also makes use of a number of polyfunctional verbal affixes to encode
valency-changing operations (causative, reflexive, middle, impersonal, and an-
tipassive). This point is illustrated in (9).

(9) a. *Aŋk-ɛm*   *jɛrnas upe-m-a*   *jønt-λ.*
         mother-POSS.1SG dress sister-POSS.1SG-DAT sew-NPST[3SG]
         'My mother is sewing a dress for my sister.'

     b. *Aŋk-ɛm*   *jønt-**əs**-λ.*
         mother-POSS.1SG sew-DETR-NPST[3SG]
         'My mother is sewing.'

Adding the detransitivising suffix *-əs* to a transitive verb *jøntati* 'sew' (9a)
makes it intransitive (9b). The use of such verbal affixes is lexically restricted
and not productive.

2.4 Clause structure

Khanty is a SOV language, but the word order is relatively free (Nikolaeva 1999b).
Khanty employs accusative alignment. The choice between the three argument
marking patterns discussed in the previous subsection depends on the informa-
tion structure of the clause. Object agreement is used if the object is a "secondary
topic" (this property often correlates with the definiteness of a noun phrase, see
Nikolaeva 1999a). In Kazym Khanty, some speakers disfavour subject agreement
on the verb if the direct object is a pronoun (disregarding whether it is bound
or not) or a definite noun phrase. However, one more factor comes into play:
the aspectual and actional properties of the verb (Kozlov 2019). The interaction
of the aspectual interpretation of the clause and the object marking on the verb

is rather complicated. Roughly, a definite object and a subject agreement on the verb are possible only if the clause has an imperfective reading (10a); on the other hand, with certain telic verbs the definite direct object requires subject-object agreement under a perfective interpretation (10b). Consequently, both subject and subject-object agreement patterns on the verb are compatible with a definite/pronominal direct object.

(10) a. *Petra χʉw   măn-ti woχ-əs.*
          Peter long.time I-ACC   call-PST[3SG]
          'Peter was calling for me for a long time.'

     b. *Petra măn-ti woχ-s-əλλe.*
          Peter I-ACC   call-PST-3SG>SG
          'Peter called me up."

Passive is a basic topic maintaining device (Nikolaeva 1999b: 30; Koshkaryova 2002: 35). Topic is encoded as a subject (Nikolaeva 1995, 1999b). Thus, passive is used to promote a non-subject argument (e.g. Theme, Recipient) in the subject position under topicalization (for a more detailed discussion of passive properties see Colley & Privoznov 2019; Kiss 2019), while focused subjects of transitive verbs are usually illicit:[5]

(11) a. *Tăm ar-əλ   χuj-ən   ari-s-a?*
          this song-POSS.3SG who-LOC sing-PST-PASS[3SG]
          'Who sang this song?' (lit. 'By whom was this song sung')

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[5]Under certain conditions some speakers allow focused subjects (i), but such examples are rare. As for intransitive verbs, the focused wh-word *χuj* 'who' can be used with a verb in active voice (ii.a), however, for some verb classes passive is also an option (ii.b) with a low applicative being promoted to the subject position.

   (i) *Xuj mɛt χuw-a   juwət-λ-əle.*
        who most long-ADV throw-NPST-3SG>SG
        'Who will throw [this stick] the farthest' [WKhC, "The Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda"]

   (ii) a. *Jetən oλəŋ-a   śi ji-s   χuj śi χuwat muw-a   măn-əλ.*
            evening begin-DAT FOC become-PST who this length land-DAT go-NPST[3SG]
            '– It's evening, who'll go all the way out here?' [WKhC, "Pashit-Wort"]

        b. *Maša-j-en   χot χujat-ən   λuŋ-s-a.*
            Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG house who.INDF-LOC enter-PST-PASS[3SG]
            'Masha's house was entered by someone.' (Nikita Muravyev, p.c.)

b. * *Xuj tăm ar-əλ   ari-s(-əλλe)?*
who this song-POSS.3SG sing-PST-3SG>SG
Intended: 'Who sang this song?'

Example (11a) is a translation into Khanty of the sentence 'Who sang this song?': 'this song' is promoted into the subject position, while the focused wh-word *χuj* 'who' is marked by locative; if the focused wh-word occupies the subject position, the sentence is illicit (11b).

Kazym Khanty also uses subject pro-drop. In (12), the subject is expressed only on the verb, there is no overt 2nd person pronoun in the sentence. In (13), a series of clauses has the same subject 'grandfather' which is never expressed as a full nominal.

(12) *Ńaλm-en   χoti wɛr-s-ən?*
tongue-POSS.2SG what do-PST-2SG
'– What have you done with your tongue?' [WKhC, "A woman preparing sinews"]

(13) *Ar   moś wɵ-s.   Moś-λ-aλ   χʉw-ət.*
many tale know-PST[3SG] tale-PL-POSS.3SG long-PL
'[He] knew a lot of tales. [His] tales are long.' [KKhC]

Object pro-drop is also possible:

(14) *Śempər   kew potali juwət-s-a   λʉw katəλ-s-əλλe.*
Schemper stone lump throw-PST-PASS (s)he catch-PST-3SG>SG
'[They] threw the Schemper stone, he caught [it].' [WKhC, "The Schemper stone"]

In (14), the argument of the verb *katəλsəλλe* 'caught' occupying the direct object position (in the second clause) is not expressed overtly. It refers to the Schemper stone mentioned in the first clause.

It should be noted, however, that object drop does not license a reflexive interpretation, cf. the unavailability of the bound reading in (15):

(15) *Upi   pa jaj   išək-λ-əλλən.*
older.brother and older.sister praise-NPST-3DU>NSG
{LC: The younger sister and brother performed very well.} 'The older brother and sister praise [them/*themselves].'

2.5 Personal pronouns

In Khanty, personal pronouns have three case forms: Nominative, Accusative, and Dative. The pronominal system distinguishes three persons – 1st, 2nd, and 3rd – across three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The paradigms of Kazym Khanty personal pronouns are presented in the Table 1.[6]

Table 1: Personal pronouns

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG	*ma*	*măn-ti*	*mănεm*
1DU	*min*	*min-t*	*minam(a)*
1PL	*mʉŋ*	*mʉŋ-t*	*mʉŋew*
2SG	*năŋ*	*năŋ-ti*	*năŋen*
2DU	*niŋ*	*nin-t*	*ninen(a)*
2PL	*nin*	*nin-t*	*ninen*
3SG	*λʉw*	*λʉw-ti / λʉweλ*	*λʉweλ(a)*
3DU	*λin*	*λin-t*	*λinan(a)*
3PL	*λiw (λij)*	*λiw-t*	*λiweλ*

The 3rd person pronouns in Kazym Khanty are only used with animate antecedents. If an antecedent is inanimate, speakers of Khanty resort to object drop, repeating the full NP or using a demonstrative. In (16), using the 3rd person pronoun *λʉwti* to refer to the bowl is illicit; instead, the object is either dropped or the full NP *an-λ* 'her bowl' appears. Example (17) shows the use of a demonstrative *śi* 'that one'.

(16) *Maša-en   λöt-əs   χuram   an. Ik-əλ-a*
      Masha-POSS.2SG buy-PST[3SG] beautiful bowl husband-POSS.3SG-DAT
      *(an-λ   / *λʉw-ti) išək-s-əλλe.*
      bowl-POSS.3SG / (s)he-ACC praise-PST-3SG>SG
      'Masha bought a beautiful bowl. [She] praised [it] to her husband.'

(17) *Wan'a-en   śi-ti   išək-λ-əλλe.*
      Vanja-POSS.2SG that.one-ACC praise-NPST-3SG>SG
      'Vanja praises it/him/*himself.'

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[6]In Kazym Khanty, the accusative and dative forms of pronouns differ from those in the Ob' region. However, there are speakers in Kazym who use the Ob' variants (*λʉweλ* [(s)he.ACC] and *λʉweλa* [(s)he.DAT]).

There are no dedicated possessive pronouns in Khanty, instead the Nominative form of a personal pronoun is used in possessive constructions, as in (18).

(18) *Tăm năŋ λajm-en?*
      this you axe-POSS.2SG
      'Is it your axe?' [WhKC, "The golden axe"]

3 Locally bound pronouns

3.1 Direct object

In Kazym Khanty, the majority of speakers use personal pronouns (non-reflexive forms) to encode binding. In (19), a 3rd person pronoun can be interpreted both as covalued with the subject of the clause or as coreferential to someone in the previous context.

(19) *Maša-j-en$_i$*   *λʉw-ti$_{i/j}$ λapət-əλ.*
      Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he-ACC feed-NPST[3SG]
      'Masha feeds herself/him.'

The constraints on bound vs. disjoint reading of pronouns in such cases vary across the speakers.[7] For some speakers, the presence of object agreement on the verb licenses the bound reading of the pronoun (20a), while the subject agreement on the verb forces the disjoint reading (20b).

(20) a. *λin   λin-ti   išək-λ-əλλen.*
          they.DU they.DU-ACC praise-NPST-3DU>NSG
          'They praised themselves'
      b. *λin   λin-ti   išək-λ-əŋən.*
          they.DU they.DU-ACC praise-NPST-3DU
          *'They praise themselves.'/'They praise them.'

This pattern is identical to the one described for Tegi Khanty in Volkova & Reuland (2014). For other speakers, verbal agreement seemingly plays no role, and a personal pronoun can get a bound or a disjoint reading either way. Consider (21a–21b): in (21a), the verb carries object agreement while in (21b) it agrees only with the subject; in both cases, the 3rd person pronoun *λʉw* can be interpreted as bound or as referring to someone mentioned in the previous discourse.

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[7]At this point in our discussion we are focusing on the so-called extroverted (or other-oriented) verbs. The differences in encoding reflexivity between extroverted and introverted (self-oriented) verbs will be addressed in §5.

(21) a. *Kašəŋ χɵjăt*ᵢ *λʉw-ti*ᵢ/ⱼ *išək-s-əλλe.*
          every man (s)he-ACC praise-PST-3SG>SG
          'Every man praised himself/him.'

      b. *Kašəŋ χɵ*ᵢ *λʉw-ti*ᵢ/ⱼ *išək-əλ.*
          every man (s)he-ACC praise-NPST[3SG]
          'Every man praises himself/him.'

Judgments on examples like (21) in Kazym Khanty often vary from speaker to speaker and from example to example elicited from the same speaker.

3.2 Indirect Object

Personal pronouns also encode reflexivity in the position of indirect (dative) object. Example (22) illustrates the point, *λʉw* is encoding Experiencer in Dative.

(22) *Paša-j-en*   *λʉweλa kăλ.*
      Pasha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he.DAT be.visible.NPST[3SG]
      'Pasha is visible to himself/him.' (~'Pasha is able to see himself/him.')

For Recipient (23), Benefactive (24), and other semantic roles that are encoded in Khanty by Dative, the strategy is the same: a locally bound personal pronoun. Depending on the context, in all these examples *λʉweλa* can also have a disjoint interpretation.

(23) *Nɛm χujat*   *λʉweλa šiməλ-šək ăn pun-λ.*
      NEG who.INDF (s)he.DAT few-ATT   NEG put-NPST[3SG]
      'Nobody puts less to himself (than to others).'

(24) *Waśka-j-en*   *λʉweλa χot   os-əs.*
      Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he.DAT house build-PST[3SG]
      'Vasja built the house for himself/him.'

The 3ʳᵈ person pronoun in the indirect object position cannot be anteceded by a direct object (25a), however, if it occupies a direct object position, an indirect object can serve as its antecedent (25b).

(25) a. * *Ma χur-ən*   *Pet'a λʉweλa   wantλta-s-ɛm.*
          I   image-LOC Petja (s)he.DAT show-PST-1SG>SG
          Int.: 'I showed Petja to himself on the photo.'

      b. *Ma χur-ən*   *Pet'a-j-en-a*   *λʉw-ti wantλta-s-ɛm.*
          I   image-LOC Petja-OBL-POSS.2SG-DAT (s)he-ACC show-PST-1SG>SG
          'I showed to Petja himself on the photo.'

3.3 Binding conditions for *λʉw*

As mentioned above, personal pronouns can be bound by non-referential expressions such as quantifiers. In example (26), the 3$^{\text{rd}}$ person pronoun *λʉw* occupies the position of a direct object, and in (27) it occupies the position of an indirect dative object.

(26) *Nɛm χujat   λʉw-t   ăn šɵka-λ.*
     NEG who.INDF (s)he-ACC NEG offend-NPST[3SG]
     'Nobody will offend himself.'

(27) *Kašəŋ ewi-ja jɵnt-λ   λʉweλa   tʉtśaŋ   χir.*
     every girl   sew-NPST[3SG] (s)he.DAT for.needlework pouch
     'Every girl sews herself a pouch for needlework.'

In general, when a subject of a clause is a quantified expression, speakers prefer the bound interpretation of *λʉw*, but provided an appropriate context they allow the disjoint interpretation as well (28).

(28) *Pet'a-j-en   nuχ pit-əs.   Kašəŋ kort-əŋ*
     Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG up   become-PST[3SG] every village-ATTR
     χɵjăt-əw   λʉw-t   išk-əλ.
     man-POSS.1PL (s)he-ACC praise-NPST[3SG]
     'Peter won (the game). Every man from the village praises him.'

If the antecedent is referential, there is no clear preference in favour of a bound or a disjoint reading, both are available. In (29), the verb in the first conjoined clause bears subject-object agreement while in the second clause it agrees only with the subject; in both clauses, the pronoun *λʉw* can get either a bound or a disjoint reading.

(29) *Maša-j-en$_{\text{i}}$ šiwaλ-əs-λe   λʉw-ti$_{\text{i/j}}$ χur χośi i*
     Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG see-PST-3SG>SG (s)he-ACC image to   and
     Daša-j-en$_{\text{k}}$ λʉw-ti$_{\text{i/k/j}}$ pa šiwaλ-əs.
     Dasha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he-ACC ADD see-PST[3sg]
     'Masha saw her(self) on the photo and Dasha saw her(self) too.'

The 3$^{\text{rd}}$ person pronoun *λʉw* can also get a sloppy reading, cf. (30a). For the strict reading the speakers prefer repeating the full noun phrase, as in (30b).

(30) a. *Maša-j-en*   *šiwaλ-əs-λe*   *λʉw-ti*   *χur*   *χośi i*
          Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG see-PST-3SG>SG (s)he-ACC image to   and
          Daša-j-en   *pa.*
          Dasha-OBL-POSS.2SG ADD
          'Masha saw herself in the photo and Dasha did so too (Dasha saw
          herself).'

      b. *Maša-j-en*   *šiwaλ-əs-λe*   *λʉw-ti*   *χur*   *χosi i*
          Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG see-PST-3SG>SG (s)he-ACC image to   and
          Daša-j-en   *iśi Maša-j-əλ*   *šiwaλ-əs.*
          Dasha-OBL-POSS.2SG too Masha-OBL-POSS.3SG see-PST[3SG]
          'Masha saw herself in the photo and Dasha saw Masha too.'

3.4 Postpositional phrases

Some postpositions in Khanty can attach case and possessive suffixes (e.g. *ewəλt-
εm-a* [from-POSS.1SG-DAT] 'from me'), similarly to possessed nouns (see §2.2 and
§6). The complement noun phrase overtly expressed as a free personal pronoun
triggers the agreement on the postposition.

(31) ∅ᵢ *Xθλ-mit* *χătəλ šiwaλ-əs*   *jθš χoś-a*   **λʉwᵢ**
      ∅ᵢ three-ORD day   see-PST[3SG] road near-DAT (s)he
      *jeλpe-**λ**-ən*   *wθn taś pa mir.*
      in.front.of-**POSS.3SG**-LOC big   herd ADD people
      'On the third day he saw a big herd and people in front of him near the
      road.' [WKhC, "The three wise words"]

(32) *Paša-j-en*ᵢ   **λʉw**ᵢ/ⱼ *oλŋ-**əλ**-ən*   *putərt-əs.*
      Pasha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he   about-POSS.3SG-LOC tell-PST[3SG]
      'Pasha told about him/himself.'

(33) *Maša-j-en*   *ńεwrem-λ-aλ-a*ᵢ   **λiw**ᵢ *oλŋ-**eλ**-ən*
      Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG child-PL-POSS.3PL-DAT they about-POSS.3PL-LOC
      putərt-əs.
      tell-PST[3SG]
      'Masha told the children about them.'

In (31–32), personal pronoun *λʉw* is covalued with the subject of the clause.
(32) illustrates the fact that both bound and disjoint readings are available for *λʉw*
in a postpositional phrase, as in object position. In (33), *λiw* is covalued with a
dative object.

Kazym Khanty also employs uninflected postpositions. They can also take pronouns as their complements, and the pronouns can be covalued with the subject, as shown in (34).

(34) *Mitχɵ*ᵢ *λʉw*ᵢ *rot-a* *nɵməs-ij-əλ.*
servant (s)he along-DAT think-IPFV-NPST[3SG]
'The servant thinks to himself...' [WKhC, "The Quick-witted servant of the king"]

Personal pronouns with the postposition *kʉt-ən* 'between' form a reciprocal postpositional phrase as in (35).

(35) *λin*ᵢ *kʉt-ən*ᵢ*-ən* *jăm-a* *wɵ-s-ŋən.*
they.DU interval-POSS.2/3DU-LOC good-ADV live-PST-3DU
'They had a good rapport with each other.' [WKhC, "The Quick-witted servant of the king"]

There is also a lexeme *pănən* meaning 'with oneself'. This lexeme has the properties of a dedicated presuppositional comitative in terms of Perkova (2018), meaning the involvement of one of the coparticipants is presupposed. In (36), the subject 'they' is covert, *pănən* serves as a comitative postposition, the second member of the comitative construction is *ime-λ* 'his wife'. The presupposed member of the comitative construction is covalued with the covert subject, thus, the whole construction in (36) has the meaning 'his wife with themselves'. Similarly in (37), the presupposed member of the comitative construction is covalued with the covert subject 'he', the construction with *pănən* means 'his sack with himself'. In example (38), the subject *mitχɵ* 'servant' is overt, the implicit member of the comitative construction is covalued with the subject rendering the constructions with the meaning 'the king with the servant'.

(36) *Joχλi măn-s-ət ime-λ* *pănən tɵ-s-ət.*
back go-PST-3PL wife-POSS.3SG with.self carry-PST-3PL
'Back they went (and) took his wife with them.' [WKhC, "The younger daughter of the sun"]

(37) *Pănən χăλ-i* *χir-əλ-ən* *tɵp χɵλəm aj ńań*
with.self food.for.travel-ATTR sack-POSS.3SG-LOC only three small bread
tăj-əs.
take-PST[3SG]
'He took only three little loaves of bread in his sack with him.' [WKhC, "The boy from the other side"]

(38) *Mitχɵ χon pănən λɛ-ti ɵms-əs.*
servant king with.self eat-NFIN.NPST sit-PST[3SG]
'The servant and the king with him sat down to eat.' [WKhC "The Quick-witted servant of the king"]

Summing up, in all relevant contexts Kazym Khanty employs locally bound personal pronouns to express reflexivity. The agreement pattern on the verb does not play a crucial role in the availability of a bound reading the way it does in the northern dialects of Khanty.

4 Pronoun doubling

4.1 Doubling *λʉw*

Some speakers prefer or even require a doubling strategy for coargument binding. Examples in (39–40) elicited from different speakers illustrate the cross-speaker variation. In (39), *λʉw λʉwti* forms a single unit which ensures a bound interpretation, cf. the impossibility of dropping *λʉw* in (39b).

(39) a. *Maša-j-en*ᵢ   [*λʉw λʉw-ti*]ᵢ/*ⱼ *λapət-λ-əλλe.*   (Speaker X)
Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he (s)he-ACC feed-NPST-3SG>SG
'Masha maintains herself by her own efforts (lit. Masha feeds herself).'

  b. *Xuj *(λʉw) λʉw-ti muλχatλ išk-əs-əλλe.*
who (s)he (s)he-ACC yesterday praise-PST-3SG>SG
'Somebody praised himself yesterday.'

Other speakers disprefer this strategy (40a) or reinterpret *λʉw λʉwti* as a combination of an intensifier and a pronominal (on the use of *λʉw* as a self-intensifier see §7). In (40), both interpretations (bound and disjoint) are available for a simple pronoun.

(40) a. *Maša-j-en*ᵢ   (*λʉw) λʉw-ti*ᵢ/ⱼ *λapət-λ-əλλe.*   (Speaker Y)
Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he (s)he-ACC feed-NPST-3SG>SG
'Masha feeds herself/him.'

  b. *Was'a-j-en λʉw λʉw-ti ăn wɵ-λ-λe.*
Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he (s)he-ACC NEG know-NPST-3SG>SG
'Vasja himself doesn't know himself.'

c. *Maša-j-en*   *ʌʉw ʌʉweʌa jɵnt-əs*   *jɛrnas.*
Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he (s)he.DAT sew-NPST[3SG] dress
'Masha (herself) sews herself a dress.'

The order of the elements is also not fixed. Some speakers use the nominative form followed by the case form (39), one speaker also used the reversed order (41). In (41a), the verb bears subject-object agreement, in (41b), it agrees only with the subject, thus both options can be combined with the doubled pronoun.

(41) a. *Učitel'-ət*ᵢ *ʌiw-ti*   *ʌiw*ᵢ/*ⱼ *išək-s-əʌʌaʌ.*   (Speaker Z)
teacher-PL they-ACC they   praise-PST-3PL>NSG
'The teachers praised themselves/*them.'

b. *Učitel'-ət*ᵢ *ʌiw-ti*   *ʌiw*ᵢ/*ⱼ *išək-s-ət.*
teacher-PL they-ACC they   praise-PST-3PL
'The teachers praised themselves/*them.'

4.2 Combining *ʌʉw* and *i*

Some Kazym Khanty speakers also use a combination of a discourse particle *i* and a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun to encode reflexivity. This option unambiguously yields a bound interpretation. For some, it does not depend on the type of agreement on the verb (can be combined with both the subject and the subject-object agreement), as in (42), others consider subject agreement on the verb in combination with *i ʌʉwti* illicit (43).

(42) *Wan'a-en*   *i ʌʉw-ti*   *išək-ʌ(-əʌʌe).*
Vanja-POSS.2SG PT (s)he-ACC praise-NPST(-3SG>SG)
'Vanja praises himself/*him.'

(43) *Evi-en*   *i ʌʉw-ti*   *iśn'i*   *lis-ən*   *šiwaʌ-əs*(-ʌe).*
girl-POSS.2SG PT (s)he-ACC window glass-LOC see-PST-3SG>SG
'The girl saw herself in the window glass.'

Summing up, personal pronouns in Kazym Khanty can have both a bound and a disjoint interpretation. If a speaker wants to avoid ambiguity, she can resort to an alternative strategy such as doubling of a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun or adding a discourse particle *i* to a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun. Both of these strategies are neither fully grammaticalized, nor accepted by all the speakers.

5 Verbal reflexivization

In Kazym Khanty, two detransitivising suffixes – *-əs-* (also *-as-*, *-aś-*) and *-ijλ-* – can function as verbal reflexivizers in combination with a closed class of verbs (grooming, bodily posture etc.). The use of the detransitivising suffix *-əs-* as a verbal reflexive is exemplified in (44).

(44) a. *Maša-j-en*   *λurt-as-əs.*
        Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG cut.hair-DETR-PST[3SG]
        'Masha got her hair cut.'

    b. *Maša-j-en*   *puχ-əλ*   *λurt-s-əλλe.*
        Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG son-POSS.3SG cut.hair-PST-3SG>SG
        'Masha cut her son's hair.'

The suffix *-əs-* can also mark reciprocity (45).

(45) a. *λin*   *λin*   *kʉt-ən-ən*   *taŋ-as-λ-əŋən*
        they.DU they.DU interval-POSS.3DU persuade-DETR-NPST-3DU
        'They persuaded each other.'

    b. *Pet'a-j-en*   *Was'a-j-λ*   *taŋ-s-əλλe*   *χot*
        Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG Vasja-OBL-POSS.3SG persuade-PST-3SG>SG house
        omas-ti.
        build-NFIN.NPST
        'Peter persuaded Vasja to build a house.'

It also covers most of the meanings in the reflexive-middle domain on Kemmer's semantic map (Kemmer 1993), including middle and antipassive, cf. (46b) for deobjective and (46c) for potential passive (possibilitive).

(46) a. *Aŋk-ɛm*   *jɵnt-λ*   *jɛrnas.*
        mother-POSS.1SG sew-NPST[3SG] dress
        'My mother is sewing a dress.'

    b. *Aŋk-ɛm*   *jɵnt-əs-λ.*
        mother-POSS.1SG sew-DETR-NPST[3SG]
        'My mother sews (clothes).'

    c. *Tam šaškan jăm-a*   *jɵnt-əs-λ.*
        this textile good-DAT sew-DETR-NPST[3SG]
        'This textile is easy (good) to sew.'

Examples (47–48) illustrate the use of suffix *-ijλ-* as a verbal reflexive.

(47) a. *Ewi-je-n*   *λuχit-ijλ-əs.*
         girl-DIM-POSS.2SG wash-DETR-PST[3SG]
         'The girl washed.'

    b. *Maša-j-en*   *još-ŋəλ*   *λuχit-s-əλλe.*
         Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG hand-POSS.3DU wash-PST-3SG>NSG
         'Masha washed her hands.'

(48) a. *Ɉivan-en*   *ar   vuχ   røpət-əs*   *pa   išək-ijλ.*
         Ivan-POSS.2SG a.lot money earn-PST[3SG] and praise-DETR.NPST[3SG]
         'Ivan earned a big sum of money and praises himself/boasts.'

    b. *Ɉivan-en*   *jaj-əλ*   *išək-əλ.*
         Ivan-POSS.2SG brother-POSS.3SG praise-NPST[3SG]
         'Ivan praises his brother.'

The suffix *-ijλ-* can also be used to mark reciprocity (49).

(49) a. *Pet'a-en*   *Maša-en*   *piλ-a   mosəλt-ijəλ-s-əŋən.*
         Petja-POSS.2SG Masha-POSS.2SG with-DAT kiss-DETR-PST-3DU
         'Petja and Masha kissed.' (lit. 'Petja kissed with Masha.')

    b. *Im-əλ*   *mosəλt-əs.*
         wife-POSS.3SG kiss-PST[3SG]
         '(He) kissed his wife.'

However, its primary function is to mark frequentative (Kaksin 2007), as can be seen from the contrast between (50a–50b).

(50) a. *Want-i*   *sorəm muw-n*   *oλ*   *śi*
         look-IMP.SO dry   ground-LOC lay.NPST[3SG] FOC
         wojəmt-λ-a.
         fall.asleep-NPST-PASS[3SG]
         'Look, (he) lies on dry ground, and he is about to fall asleep' [WKhC, "The river land man and the Ob' land man"]

    b. *At-λ*   *λiλ-əŋ   tɛλ-n   oməs-s-əλλe   χuta*
         night-POSS.3SG soul-ATTR full-LOC sit-PST-3SG.SG where
         wojəmt-ijəλ-s-a   *moj χuta   ăntø.*
         fall.asleep-IPFV-PST-PASS[3SG] or   where NEG
         '…And so he spent the night, sometimes falling asleep, sometimes not.' [WKhC, "The river land man and the Ob' land man"]

The division of labour between *-əs-* and *-ijλ-* is lexically motivated. The existence of a certain suffixed form depends on a particular verb stem (cf. *λurt-* 'to cut hair' ~ *λurt-əs-* [cut.hair-DETR] 'to cut self's hair' vs. *λuχit-əs-* [wash-DETR]).

With detransitivised verbs, *λʉw* can occasionally be used as a self-intensifier modifying the subject in a dedicated construction with the postposition *satta-/saχt*, cf. (51) (see §7.1 for details).

(51)   *Maša-j-en*   *λʉw saχt-əλ-a*   *λuχit-ijλ-s.*
       Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he with-POSS.3SG-DAT wash-DETR-PST[3SG]
       'Masha herself washed herself.'

The use of a bound personal pronoun or a doubled pronoun is also possible with grooming verbs (52–53), but speakers consider such examples artificial or triggering the meaning that by default the participant is incapable of performing this action on her own.

(52)   *Maša-j-en*   *(λʉw) λʉw-t*   *λuχt-s-əλλe.*
       Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he   (s)he-ACC wash-PST-3SG>SG
       'Masha (herself) washed herself.'

(53)   *Ajk-en*   *λʉw-ti*   *λomλa-s.*
       boy-POSS.2SG (s)he-ACC dress-PST[3SG]
       'The boy (himself) dressed himself (the boy is usually dressed by
       somebody else, but now he has managed to do this himself).'

Therefore, to encode reflexivity with introverted verbs, speakers primarily use detransitivising suffixes or possessive constructions (see §6.2).

6 Reflexive possessive constructions

6.1 Adpossessive domain

To encode an anaphoric dependency between the subject of a clause and the possessor of a non-subject argument, Kazym Khanty employs a possessive affix sometimes accompanied by a free personal pronoun in the position of the possessor in a corresponding noun phrase:

(54)   a.   [*Kašəŋ χɵjăt*]$_i$ *arij-s*   *(λʉw$_{i/j}$) ar-əλ.*
            every man   sing-PST[3SG] (s)he   song-POSS.3SG
            'Every man sang his (own)/his song.'

b. [*Kašəŋ χɵjăt*]ᵢ *nɵm-əλ-λe* (*λʉwᵢ/ⱼ*) *kɵrt-əλ.*
every man   remember-NPST-3SG>SG (s)he   village-POSS.3SG
'Every man remembers his (own)/his village.'

A bound reading for the possessor of a direct object is available independently of the presence of object agreement on the verb: the verb agrees only with the subject in (54a) and with the subject and object in (54b). This comes in contrast with data reported for the Obdorsk dialect in Nikolaeva (1999b). In the Obdorsk dialect, a possessive affix is bound if the verb carries object agreement and can be interpreted as bound or disjoint in the case of subject agreement on the verb. In Kazym Khanty, both readings are available for both cases. The combination of a personal pronoun in the possessor position and a possessive affix is also used in 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person (see 55).

(55) *Ma ma muw-ɛm-ən*   *jăŋχ-λ-əm.*
I   I   land-POSS.1SG-LOC go-NPST-1SG
'I am walking through my land.' [WKhC, "The Quick-witted servant of the king"]

Some speakers who adhere to the non-doubling strategy of encoding reflexivity consider the overt pronoun redundant (56) and use it only to add emphasis.

(56) *Was'a-j-en*   (*ʔλʉw*) *ar-əλ*   *ari-s-əλλe.*
Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG s(he)   song-POSS.3SG sing-PST-3SG>SG
'Vasja sang his own song.'

Some speakers strongly prefer a bound interpretation if the possessor position is occupied by an overt pronoun. In (57), the first sentence provides a context which identifies Peter as the author of the song. Despite that, in (57a–57b) presented to speakers with this context, this interpretation (Peter is the author of the song) is not readily available. Sentence (57a) has a local antecedent in the Locative while the possessive noun phrase is the subject of the passive construction. Sentence (57b) exemplifies active alignment with subject agreement on the verb:

(57) *Pet'a-j-en*   *isa* *arij-s*   *λʉw ar-əλ.*
Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG always sing-PST[3SG] (s)he song-POSS.3SG
'Peter always sang his (own) song.'

a. *Muλχatλ kašəŋ χɵjăt-ən arij-s-a   λʉw ar-əλ.*
   Yesterday every man-LOC sing-PST-PASS[3SG] (s)he song-POSS.3SG
   1) 'Yesterday, every man sang his (own) song.'
   2) '%Peter sang his (own) song. Yesterday every man sang his
   (Peter's) song.'

b. *Kašəŋ χɵjăt arij-s   λʉw ar-əλ.*
   every man sing-PST[3SG] (s)he song-POSS.3SG
   1) 'Yesterday, every man sang his (own) song.'
   2) '%Peter sang his (own) song. Yesterday every man sang his
   (Peter's) song.'

As was mentioned in §2.2, some discourse prominent noun phrases (the noun phrases under the scope of the pragmatic presupposition or noun phrases with secondary topic status, according to Nikolaeva 1999b) are marked with possessive affixes. In Kazym Khanty, direct objects with possessive affixes trigger object agreement on the verb (excluding imperfective clauses and noun phrases within the focus domain). There is a tendency among speakers to interpret such direct objects as belonging to subjects (associated with subject's personal domain) even if the relationship between the subject and the direct object is not possessive in the proper sense of the word.

(58) *Pet'a tut juχ-λ-aλ   χuλ sewər-s-əλλe.*
      Peter fire tree-PL-POSS.3SG all   cut-PST-3SG>NSG
      'Peter cut all his firewood.'

In (58), the relationship between subject (Peter) and the direct object (firewood) is established on the basis of the involvement in the same situation and on the basis of the presence in the same scene (presupposed under the same conditions).

In Kazym Khanty, object agreement on the verb does not force subject orientation for the possessive affixes, as can be seen in (59a–59b). In example (59a), the possessive suffix *-əλ-* on the direct object "her son" is covalued with the noun phrase within a PP "from this woman"; in (59b), the possessive suffix on the direct object is covalued with the zero subject ('the woman' mentioned in the previous clause). In both cases, the verb carries object agreement.

(59) a. *λʉw śi   im-en   ewəλt poχ-əλ   woχ-s-əλλe.*
         (s)he this woman-POSS.2SG from   son-POSS.3SG beg-PST-3SG>SG
         'He begged this woman for her son.'

b. *Śăλta mɛt jɵχət poχ-əλ   tini-j-s-əλλe   śi śoras*
then   most later son-POSS.3SG sell-OBL-PST-3SG>SG this goods
χɵ-j-a.
man-OBL-DAT
'(The woman)… then sold her son to this merchant.' [WKhC, "Bogatyr"]

Example (60) showcases that the antecedent of the possessor expressed with a possessive affix can be the direct object, which is possible both with subject-object agreement (60a) and with subject-only agreement on the verb (60b).

(60) a. *Maša-j-en   ak-et*ᵢ *χot-eλ*ᵢ*-a   kit-s-əλλe.*
Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG boy-PL house-POSS.3PL-DAT send-PST-3SG>NSG
'Masha sent the boys to their house.'

b. *Maša-en   ajk-et*ᵢ *χot-eλ*ᵢ*-n   šiwaλ-əs.*
Masha-POSS.2SG boy-PL house-POSS.3PL-LOC see-PST[3SG]
'Masha saw boys in their house'

In Kazym Khanty, at least for some speakers the unmarked direct object (indefinite direct object) does license the covalued interpretation of a possessive marker on another noun phrase (60b). In this respect, Kazym Khanty also differs from the Obdorsk dialect of Khanty described by Nikolaeva (1999b).

6.2 Possessive constructions in encoding argument binding

Possessive constructions are widely used with introverted verbs, in particular, they are preferred with grooming verbs, as in (61–62).

(61) a. *Was'a-j-en   tʉš-λ-aλ   λurt-s-əλλe   /*
Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG whiskers-PL-POSS.3NSG cut.hair-PST-3SG>NSG /
λurt-əs.
cut.hair-PST[3SG]
'Vasja shaved his whiskers.'

b. *Was'a-j-ən   tʉš-λ-aλ   λurt-s-aj-t.*
Vasja-OBL-LOC whiskers-PL-POSS.3NSG cut.hair-PST-PASS-3PL
'Vasja shaved his whiskers.' lit. 'His whiskers were shaved by Vasja.'

(62) *Maša-j-en   ɵpət-λ-aλ   nʉχ kunš-s-əλλe.*
Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG hair-PL-POSS.3NSG up comb-PST-3SG>NSG
'Masha combed her hair (herself).'

Possessive constructions can also be used with extroverted verbs to encode argument binding. In (63), instead of using the 3ʳᵈ person pronoun *λuw* in the direct object position (as in 'saw him(self)'), speakers prefer a possessive construction '(his) shadow image' (=reflection).

(63) *Was'a-j-en   jiŋk lot-a   šɵš-əs.   Śăta šiwaλ-əs-λe*
      Vasya-OBL-POSS.2SG water pit-DAT walk-PST[3SG] there see-PST-3SG>SG

      (λuw) is   xur-əλ.
      (s)he   shadow image-POSS.3SG

      'Vasya came up to a puddle. He saw there his (own) reflection.'

To sum up, in Kazym Khanty there are no dedicated reflexive possessive pronouns or dedicated reflexive possessive affixes. The reflexivity in this context is encoded by means of possessive affixes. Besides, the possessor can be overtly expressed with a free personal pronoun in the possessor position in the noun phrase. Not only subjects but also direct objects can antecede possessive affixes irrespective of the agreement patterns on the verb. Possessive constructions are also often used both with introverted (especially, grooming verbs) and extroverted verbs in place of other ways of encoding reflexivity.

7 Self-intensification

7.1 The postpositional phrase with *satta-/saχt-*

Kazym Khanty employs a dedicated grammaticalized postpositional construction as an intensifier with the meaning 'on one's own, by oneself'. It consists of a personal pronoun and a postposition *satta-/saχt-* with a corresponding possessive affix, cf. (64). This intensifier is controlled by the subject. The subject triggers the possessive agreement on the postposition – cf. the contrast between (64) with the 1ˢᵗ singular subject and (65) with the 3ʳᵈ singular subject.

(64) *Ma ma satt-ɛm-a   śit wɛr-λ-ɛm.*
      I I with.self-POSS.1SG-DAT this do-NPST-1SG>SG

      'I do it myself.'

(65) a. *λʉw saχt-əλ-a   moləpś-əλ*
         (s)he with.self-POSS.3SG-DAT deer.skin.coat-POSS.3SG

         λɵmt-s-əλλe.
         put.on-PST-3SG>SG

         '(He) himself put on his malitsa (deer skin coat) (without anybody's help).'

   b. *λʉw saχətt-əλ-a*   *λəmət-λə-s.*
     (s)he with.self-POSS.3SG-DAT put.on-DETR-NPST[3SG]
     '(He) dresses up by himself.'

According to Kaksin (2007), the postposition *satta* 'with' occurs only with personal pronouns. The final affix *-a* is a dative or an adverbial affix. The construction can be literally translated as 'me with myself' (Kaksin 2007: 93). This construction is never used in the sense 'alone, separately' or in a contrastive context.

7.2 *λʉw* as an intensifier

Some native speakers use the anaphoric pronoun *λʉw* as an intensifier meaning 'alone, separately' (as in 66–67).

(66) *Maša-j-en*   *λʉw juχt-əs*   *Petr-əλ*   *ănt*
     Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he come-PST[3SG] Peter-POSS.3SG NEG
     λawəλ-s-əλλe.
     wait-PST-3SG>SG
     'Masha came herself, she did not wait for Peter.'

(67) *Maša-j-en*   *λʉw wɛr-s*   *ar.*
     Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he do-PST[3SG] song
     'Masha made the song by herself.'

7.3 Other means of expressing intensification

In Kazym Khanty, there are several other expressions (adjectives and adverbs) conveying intensification or reflexive possession meanings. An adjective *jukan* 'own, personal' forces the coreferential reading of the possessor of a noun phrase and the subject of the clause, cf. (68).

(68) *λʉw năŋ ńań ănt λɛ-λ*   *λʉw (λʉw) jukan ńań-əλ*
     (s)he you bread NEG eat-NPST[3SG] (s)he (s)he own bread-POSS.3SG
     wɛr-λ.
     do-NPST[3SG]
     'She won't eat your bread, she will cook her own bread.'

There is also a derivative *jukana* with the meaning 'on one's own, separately, for personal usage': *jukana wəλti* 'to live by himself' (Solovar 2014: 102) , cf. (69).

(69) *Kɵrt-əŋ   joχ   λiw jukan-eλ-a   tɵp iχuśjaŋ wʉλi*
village-ATTR people they own-POSS.3PL-DAT only eleven deer
tăj-λ-ət.
have-NPST-3PL
'The camp people own only eleven deers privately.' [WKhC, "In the camp"]

Another lexeme with a similar meaning is an adjective *ateλt* 'alone' and a corresponding adverb *ateλta*, its use is illustrated in (70).

(70) *Ma ateλta   wɛr-λ-əm.*
I   separately live-NPST-1SG
'I live on my own.'

Intensification across languages is often expressed by the same form as reflexivity. In Kazym Khanty, in the absence of dedicated reflexive pronouns, this function can be performed by personal pronouns (for the 3rd person), by a grammaticalized postpositional construction with the postposition *satta-/saχt-* or with the help of dedicated adjectives like *jukan* 'own, personal' or *ateλt* 'alone' and adverbs derived from them.

8 Strategies for overcoming ambiguity

The Kazym Khanty data is typologically unusual: There are no dedicated reflexive pronouns; personal pronouns, including the 3rd person pronoun *λʉw* '(s)he', are used in reflexive contexts. Thus, the 3rd person pronoun can have both a reflexive and a disjoint reading. The question naturally arises, what are the ways of overcoming this ambiguity? When answering this question, the following factors should be taken into consideration. Firstly, the choice of discourse anaphora devices depends on the distribution of discourse topics and, hence, on the particular information structure of a clause: pronominal noun phrases tend to encode discourse prominent referents (discourse topics, cf. accessibility hierarchy of Gundel 1996), they refer to given information in a clause, and predominantly they are topics or secondary topics (Lambrecht 1994; Nikolaeva 1999b). Secondly, there is a direct mapping between information structure and an argument marking pattern (passive, object agreement) in Khanty. Thirdly, Khanty is a pro-drop language with possibility of direct object and possessor pro-drop.

Khanty exploits two primary strategies to avoid the conflict between reflexive vs. disjoint reading of the 3rd person pronoun in a non-subject position. As has

been shown by Nikolaeva (1999a,b), Colley & Privoznov (2019), and Kiss (2019), information structure is the crucial factor that licenses a particular argument marking pattern in the clause in Khanty. Topics occupy the subject position in Khanty. If a pronominal argument is coreferential with a noun phrase from the previous discourse, it is likely to be a topic (it is given, presupposed). The following possibilities are available for it: (i) this argument is topical while the other argument in the clause is not topical (new), (ii) both core arguments of a predicate are topical.

The case when one argument is topical and the other is new is illustrated in example (71). The subject of the first clause is the agent, *Paša*. In the second clause, a new participant is introduced as an agent of the verb 'to praise', *Paša* loses its agent role but preserves its topical status – the passive construction is required:

(71)   *Pašă-j-en*ᵢ   *χot*   *λaŋəλ* *λeśit-s-əλλe.*   Øᵢ
     Pasha-OBL-POSS.2SG house roof   repair-PST-3SG>SG ∅
     Aŋk-əλ-ən   *išək-s-a.*
     mother-POSS.3SG-LOC praise-PST-PASS[3SG]
     'Pasha repaired the roof. [He] was praised by his mother.'

In the second clause in (71), the agent of the verb 'to praise' is *aŋkəλ* 'his mother', it is new, it cannot occupy the subject position. Hence, it is demoted to the oblique position marked with locative. The verb bears the passive marker. The topical noun phrase coreferential to *Paša* occupies the subject position and has no overt expression in the clause. The accusative argument marking as in (72) is not ungrammatical *per se*, but it is not a natural continuation for the first sentence in (71) as it violates discourse coherence.

(72)   *Aŋk-əλ*   *λʉw-ti* *išək-s-əλλe.*
     Mother-POSS.3SG (s)he-ACC praise-PST-3SG>SG
     'His mother praised him.'

A similar case is presented in (73).

(73)   *Aš-ɛm*   *muλχattəλ sort katλ-əs,*   *śi* *sort(-əλ)*   *ma*
     father-POSS.1SG yesterday   pike catch-PST[3SG] FOC pike(-POSS.3SG) I
     jaj-ɛm-ən   *nuχ ɛsaλ-s-i.*
     brother-POSS.1SG-LOC up   let.go-PST-PASS[3SG]
     'My father caught the fish, my brother set it free.'

In (73), the noun phrase *sort* 'pike' is mentioned in the first clause and is the topic of the second one where it is the patient of the verb *ɛsaλti* 'let go'. It is promoted to the subject position, the full noun phrase is repeated, and the verb in the second clause is in passive. Summing up, in Kazym Khanty, the topicalization of an argument is usually accompanied by passivization: the topicalized argument is promoted into the subject position where it is either repeated as a full noun or dropped.

If both arguments in the clause are topical, the subject is a topic introduced in the previous discourse and the direct object is a secondary topic ("an entity such that the utterance is construed to be about the relationship between it and the primary topic", Nikolaeva 1999a,b, cf. also "tail" in Vallduví 1992). This is the context where object-drop is used (74).

(74) *Want-λ-əλλe*   *χot* *χări*   *kʉt-λ-əp-ən*
      look-NPST-3SG>SG house open.place distance-POSS.3SG-ATTR-LOC
      *nawərnɛ-lɛ*ᵢ *ari-man* *oməs-əλ.*   *Pupi poχ-ije* ∅ᵢ *wu-s-λe*
      frog-DIM   sing-CVB sit-NPST[3SG] bear boy-DIM ∅ᵢ take-PST-3SG>SG
      još   *păte-λ*   ∅ᵢ *χătśə-s-λe*   *nawərnɛ-lɛ wośləχ-a*
      hand bottom-POSS.3SG ∅ᵢ hit-PST-3SG>SG frog-DIM   mud-DAT
      ji-s.
      become-PST[3SG]
      '[He] looks, a frog is sitting on the floor and singing. The bear took [her], hit [her] with his hand, the frog turned into mud.' (WhKC, "Little chipmunk")

Example (74) is a fragment of a tale. The bear is a discourse topic in this part of the text. The bear goes to the house where he sees a frog. The frog is introduced in the first sentence and is also a discourse topic in this piece of text. In the consequent clauses the direct object referring to the frog has no overt lexical expression but is cross-referenced on the verb with the help of the subject-object agreement marker.

In other words, Kazym Khanty has an array of strategies (passivization, subject and object drop) that allow it to avoid 3ʳᵈ person pronouns in the direct object position in the contexts where a familiar Standard Average European would have used a coreferential personal pronoun. This observation is also supported by the quantitative data. In the WhKhC corpus which has 2883 sentences in total there are only 17 clauses where *λʉw* occupies the direct object position. Five of them are cases where the subject and the direct object differ in their grammatical features

(in person or number). The majority of the other cases stem from a retelling of a Russian tale and can be attributed to the influence of Russian.

Speakers of Kazym Khanty also employ a number of strategies to avoid locally bound 3rd person pronouns in the direct object position. These include replacing them with reflexive possessive constructions (§6.2) or using a detransitivised form of a verb instead of a transitive one. However, a 3rd person pronoun in the direct object position is a regular variant in isolated elicited sentences even though the native speakers are not consistent in their judgments on bound vs. disjoint readings. We hypothesize that the overt free pronoun in Kazym Khanty is, in a sense, reserved for reflexive contexts – see (75) where the bound 3rd person pronoun is contrastively focused.

(75) *Was'a-j-en*   *Pet'a-j-λ-a*   *χur*   *wan-əλt-əs.*
      Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG Peter-OBL-POSS.3SG-DAT image look-CAUS-PST[3SG]
      Nəməs-əs   *śăta Pet'a-j-en*   *pa* (*i*) *λʉw-t*   *śi*
      think-PST[3SG] there Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG ADD PT (s)he-ACC FOC
      χur-əλ-ən   *uš-a*   *wɛr-s-əλλe.*
      image-POSS.3SG-LOC brain-DAT do-PST-3SG>SG

      'Vasya was showing a photo to Petya. (He) thought that Petya was there, (but instead) found himself on the photo'

In naturally occurring texts, coreference (discourse-level anaphora) is usually expressed by other means, therefore there is no real competition between a bound and a disjoint reading for a 3rd person pronoun. But it may arise in isolated sentences presented to speakers.

To sum up, there are no grammatical constraints on the 3rd person pronoun in the direct object position in Kazym Khanty, but in naturally occurring texts its use is rare.

9 Conclusions

Kazym Khanty uses locally bound personal pronouns to express reflexivity. Their behavior, unlike in other dialects of Khanty, is not grammatically constrained. In other words, in most of the cases we considered, a pronoun can have both a bound and a disjoint reading, and one cannot predict the interpretation solely based on grammatical factors.

This is typologically unusual. Other languages reported in the literature to allow locally bound 3rd person pronouns are Frisian (Everaert 1986), Old English (van Gelderen 2000), and Haitian Creole (Zribi-Hertz & Glaude 2007). In general,

the use of dedicated strategies is considered the norm (Heine & Miyashita 2008; Moyse-Faurie 2008). Binding in Khanty thus violates the Principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). It is problematic for both the syntactic Reflexivity theory (Reinhart & Reuland 1993; Reuland 2011) and the semantics-based theory of Schlenker (2005), as well as for the theories that argue for the Disjointness presumption (Farmer & Harnish 1987; König & Siemund 2000) or for a blocking and obviation account (Kiparsky 2012).

In our paper we discussed factors influencing the encoding of reflexivity in Kazym Khanty and offered an account in terms of distribution of labour. Unlike many European languages, Kazym Khanty avoids ambiguity when a 3rd person pronoun is used. Coreference (discourse-level anaphora) is expressed by different strategies which depend on topic domains and patterns of their encoding. The two crucial factors are: (a) the choice of verbal argument marking regulated by the information structure and (b) the patterns for subject and object pro-drop. The use of 3rd person pronouns in a direct object position is rare and is reserved for a bound reading even if it can also get a disjoint reading.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

ADD	additive	DIM	diminutive
ATT	attenuative	EVID	evidential
ATTR	attributive	NFIN	non-finite
DETR	detransitivizing affix	NPST	nonpast

NSG	non-singular		PUNCT	punctual
ORD	ordinal		SO	subject-object agreement
PT	particle			

Acronyms

KKhC	Kazym Khanty Corpus		WKhC	Western Khanty Corpus

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