

Chapter 10

Reflexivity in Kazym Khanty

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This paper discusses reflexivity strategies in the Kazym dialect of Khanty, an endangered 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 reflexive pronouns (Nikolaeva 1995, 1999b). That is true also for the Kazym dialect of Khanty: personal pronouns function as reflexive pronouns, as in (1).¹

¹In 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* *λ#w-ti* *šiwal-əs-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.

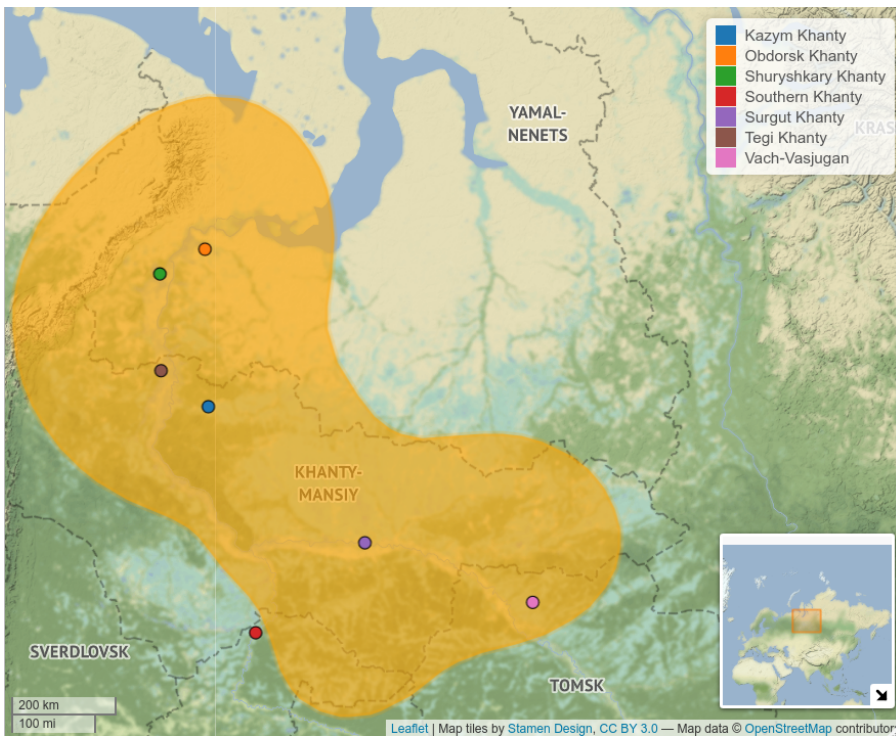
Kazym Khanty differs from the northern varieties of Khanty discussed in the literature: for the 3rd person pronoun to be locally bound, the verb is not required to bear any special kind of agreement (we will address this in detail in §3; the reverse pattern with obligatory object agreement on the verb 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; Moysse-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.



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Figure 1: A map of Khanty

²The 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-εm* / **puχ wən woš-ən wə-λ*.
I son-POSS.1SG / son big town-LOC live-NPST[3SG]
'My son lives in a big town.'

³According 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. *Akε-m tiw χăt-əmt-əs.*
 uncle-POSS.1SG here move-PUNCT-PST[3SG]
 ‘My uncle came in.’ [WKhC, “Russian doll”]
- c. *leštan-leŋke-λ wəŋ 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 upe-m jernas λəmt-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 liw 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

⁴There 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) *Tām još ewełt n̄ewrem-ət aškola-j-a j̄āηχ-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) aηk-εm-ən jernas-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. *nux* ‘up’, *il* ‘down’). A number of them have developed aspectual meanings (e.g. telicity, Kozlov 2019).

- (8) a. *Waška-j-en kinška ληηt-əs.*
 Vasja-OBL-POSS.2SG book read-PST[3SG]
 ‘Vasja read the book/read the book for a while/was reading the book.’
- b. *Waška-j-en kinška nuχ ληηt-əs-λε.*
 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 *ληηtati* ‘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 antipassive). This point is illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. *Aηk-em jernas upe-m-a jənt-λ.*
 mother-POSS.1SG dress sister-POSS.1SG-DAT sew-NPST[3SG]
 ‘My mother is sewing a dress for my sister.’
- b. *Aηk-em jənt-əs-λ.*
 mother-POSS.1SG sew-DETR-NPST[3SG]
 ‘My mother is sewing.’

Adding the detransitivising suffix *-əs* to a transitive verb *jəntati* ‘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 information 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* $\chi\text{t}\omega$ *mǎn-ti* $\omega\chi\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\text{s}$.
 Peter long.time I-ACC call-PST[3SG]
 ‘Peter was calling for me for a long time.’
 b. *Petra* *mǎn-ti* $\omega\chi\text{-s-}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon$.
 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. *Tǎm* *ar-əl* $\chi\text{uj-}\acute{\alpha}\text{n}$ *ari-s-a?*
 this song-POSS.3SG who-LOC sing-PST-PASS[3SG]
 ‘Who sang this song?’ (lit. ‘By whom was this song sung?’)

⁵Under 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 met* $\chi\text{uw-a}$ *juwət-λ-ələ*.
 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* *oləŋ-a* *sí ji-s* χuj *sí* $\chi\text{uwat muw-a}$ *mǎn-əl*.
 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 $\chi\text{ujat-}\acute{\alpha}\text{n}$ $\lambda\text{uŋ-s-a}$.
 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 tām ar-əl* *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 wεr-s-ən?*
 tongue-POSS.2SG what do-PST-2SG
 ‘– What have you done with your tongue?’ [WKhC, “A woman preparing sinews”]
- (13) *Ar* *moś wə-s.* *Moś-λ-aλ* *χϣw-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* *λϣw katəl-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) *Uπi* *pa jaj* *iśək-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	<i>ma</i>	<i>mǎn-ti</i>	<i>mǎnεm</i>
1DU	<i>mín</i>	<i>mín-t</i>	<i>minam(a)</i>
1PL	<i>mεη</i>	<i>mεη-t</i>	<i>mεηew</i>
2SG	<i>nǎη</i>	<i>nǎη-ti</i>	<i>nǎηen</i>
2DU	<i>nιη</i>	<i>nín-t</i>	<i>ninen(a)</i>
2PL	<i>nín</i>	<i>nín-t</i>	<i>ninen</i>
3SG	<i>λϵw</i>	<i>λϵw-ti / λϵwel</i>	<i>λϵwel(a)</i>
3DU	<i>λín</i>	<i>λín-t</i>	<i>λinan(a)</i>
3PL	<i>λiw (lij)</i>	<i>λiw-t</i>	<i>λiwel</i>

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 *λϵwti* 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-əl-a*
 Masha-POSS.2SG buy-PST[3SG] beautiful bowl husband-POSS.3SG-DAT
*(an-λ / *λϵw-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.’

⁶In 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 (*λϵwel* [(s)he.ACC] and *λϵwela* [(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) *Tām năŋ lajm-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 λθw-ti_i; 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 λθw can be interpreted as bound or as referring to someone mentioned in the previous discourse.

⁷At 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 χəjät_i λɛw-ti_{i/j} išək-s-əλλe.*
 every man (s)he-ACC praise-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘Every man praised himself/him.’
 b. *Kašəŋ χə_i λɛw-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, *λɛw* is encoding Experiencer in Dative.

- (22) *Paša-j-en λɛwela käl.*
 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 *λɛwela* can also have a disjoint interpretation.

- (23) *Nem χujat λɛwela šiməl-šək ən pun-λ.*
 NEG who.INDF (s)he.DAT few-ATT NEG put-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Nobody puts less to himself (than to others).’
 (24) *Waška-j-en λɛwela 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 λɛwela wantλta-s-εm.*
 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 λɛw-ti wantλta-s-εm.*
 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 $\lambda\mu\omega$

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

- (26) *Nem χujat λμω-t ən šoka-λ.*
 NEG who.INDF (s)he-ACC NEG offend-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Nobody will offend himself.’
- (27) *Kašəη ewi-ja jənt-λ λμwela tətśaη 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 $\lambda\mu\omega$, but provided an appropriate context they allow the disjoint interpretation as well (28).

- (28) *Pet’a-j-en nuχ pit-əs. Kašəη kort-əη*
 Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG up become-PST[3SG] every village-ATTR
χəjät-əw λμω-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 $\lambda\mu\omega$ can get either a bound or a disjoint reading.

- (29) *Maša-j-en_i šiwal-əs-λe λμω-ti_{i/j} χur χoši i*
 Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG see-PST-3SG>SG (s)he-ACC image to and
Daša-j-en_k λμω-ti_{i/k/j} pa šiwal-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 3rd person pronoun $\lambda\mu\omega$ 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* *šiwal-əs-λe* *λ#w-ti* *χur* *χοσί 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* *šiwal-əs-λe* *λ#w-ti* *χur* *χοσι i*
 Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG see-PST-3SG>SG (s)he-ACC image to and
Daša-j-en *ísi Maša-j-əl* *šiwal-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. *ewəlt-em-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) \emptyset_i *Xəl-mit* *χătəl* *šiwal-əs* *jəš* *χοś-a* ***λ#w_i***
 \emptyset_i three-ORD day see-PST[3SG] road near-DAT (s)he
jelpe-λ-ən *wən 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* ***λ#w_{i/j}*** *ολη-əl-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* *ńewrem-λ-aλ-a_i* ***λiw_i*** *ολη-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 *λ#w* is covalued with the subject of the clause. (32) illustrates the fact that both bound and disjoint readings are available for *λ#w* 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) *Mitχə_i λθw_i rot-a nəməs-ij-əl.*
 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 *kət-ən* ‘between’ form a reciprocal postpositional phrase as in (35).

- (35) *lin_i kət-ən_i-ən jām-a wə-s-ηən.*
 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 *pānən* 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, *pānən* 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 *pānən* means ‘his sack with himself’. In example (38), the subject *mitχə* ‘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) *ʃoχli mān-s-ət ime-λ pānən tə-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) *Pānən χāl-i χir-əl-ən təp χələm aj nāñ*
 with.self food.for.travel-ATTR sack-POSS.3SG-LOC only three small bread
tāj-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) *Mitχə χon pǎnən λɛ-ti əms-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 *λɛw*

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), *λɛw λɛwti* forms a single unit which ensures a bound interpretation, cf. the impossibility of dropping *λɛw* in (39b).

- (39) a. *Maša-j-en_i [λɛw λɛw-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 *(λɛw) λɛw-ti mulχatλ 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 *λɛw λɛwti* as a combination of an intensifier and a pronominal (on the use of *λɛw* 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 (*λɛw) λɛw-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 λɛw λɛw-ti ǎn wə-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* $\lambda\theta w$ $\lambda\theta we\lambda a$ *jənt-əs* *jernas*.
 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 liw-ti liw_{i/*j} išək-s-əλλaλ*. (Speaker Z)
 teacher-PL they-ACC they praise-PST-3PL>NSG
 ‘The teachers praised themselves/*them.’
 b. *Učitel'-ət_i liw-ti liw_{i/*j} išək-s-ət*.
 teacher-PL they-ACC they praise-PST-3PL
 ‘The teachers praised themselves/*them.’

4.2 Combining $\lambda\theta w$ 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* $\lambda\theta wti$ illicit (43).

- (42) *Wan'a-en i λθw-ti išək-λ(-əλλe)*.
 Vanja-POSS.2SG PT (s)he-ACC praise-NPST(-3SG>SG)
 ‘Vanja praises himself/*him.’
 (43) *Evi-en i λθw-ti išn'i lis-ən šiwaλ-əs*(-λe)*.
 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 *-ijl-* – 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* *kūt-ən-ən* *taη-as-λ-əηən*
 they.DU they.DU interval-POSS.3DU persuade-DETR-NPST-3DU
 ‘They persuaded each other.’
- b. *Pet’a-j-en* *Was’a-j-λ* *taη-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. *Aηk-εm* *jənt-λ* *jernas*.
 mother-POSS.1SG sew-NPST[3SG] dress
 ‘My mother is sewing a dress.’
- b. *Aηk-εm* *jənt-əs-λ*.
 mother-POSS.1SG sew-DETR-NPST[3SG]
 ‘My mother sews (clothes).’
- c. *Tam šaškan jām-a* *jənt-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 *-ijl-* as a verbal reflexive.

- (47) a. *Ewi-je-n* *luxit-ijl-əs.*
 girl-DIM-POSS.2SG wash-DETR-PST[3SG]
 ‘The girl washed.’
- b. *Maša-j-en* *još-ηəl* *luxit-s-əλλe.*
 Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG hand-POSS.3DU wash-PST-3SG>NSG
 ‘Masha washed her hands.’
- (48) a. *ʃivan-en* *ar vuχ* *rəpət-əs* *pa išək-ijl.*
 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. *ʃivan-en* *jaj-əl* *išək-əl.*
 Ivan-POSS.2SG brother-POSS.3SG praise-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Ivan praises his brother.’

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

- (49) a. *Pet’a-en* *Maša-en* *pil-a* *mosəlt-ijəl-s-əηən.*
 Petja-POSS.2SG Masha-POSS.2SG with-DAT kiss-DETR-PST-3DU
 ‘Petja and Masha kissed.’ (lit. ‘Petja kissed with Masha.’)
- b. *Im-əl* *mosəlt-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* *ol* *ši*
 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* *lil-əη* *teλ-n* *oməs-s-əλλe χuta*
 night-POSS.3SG soul-ATTR full-LOC sit-PST-3SG.SG where
wojəmt-ijəl-s-a *moj χuta əntə.*
 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. **λuxit-əs-* [wash-DETR]).

With detransitivised verbs, *λ#w* 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* *λ#w saχt-əl-a* *λuxit-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* (*λ#w*) *λ#w-t* *λuxt-s-əλλe*.
 Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he (s)he-ACC wash-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘Masha (herself) washed herself.’
- (53) *Ajk-en* *λ#w-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 χəjät*]_i *arij-s* (*λ#w_{i/j}*) *ar-əl*.
 every man sing-PST[3SG] (s)he song-POSS.3SG
 ‘Every man sang his (own)/his song.’

- b. [Kašəŋ χəjät]_i nəm-əl-λe (λɥw_{i/j}) kərt-əl.
 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-əm-ən jəŋχ-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 (?λɥw) ar-əl ari-s-əlλe.*
 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 λɥw ar-əl.*
 Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG always sing-PST[3SG] (s)he song-POSS.3SG
 ‘Peter always sang his (own) song.’

- a. *Μυλχατλ kašəŋ χəjät-ən arij-s-a λɛw ar-əl.*
 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 χəjät arij-s λɛw ar-əl.*
 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-αλ χυλ sewər-s-əλλε.*
 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 *-əl-* 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. *λɛw śi im-en ewəlt poχ-əl woχ-s-əλλε.*
 (s)he this woman-POSS.2SG from son-POSS.3SG beg-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘He begged this woman for her son.’

- b. *Šǎlta met jəχət poχ-əl tini-j-s-əλλe śi śoras*
 then most later son-POSS.3SG sell-OBL-PST-3SG>SG this goods
χθ-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 śiwal-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 tʰš-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 tʰš-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 əpət-λ-aλ nɛχ 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 jɪŋk lot-a šəš-əs. Šāta šiwal-əs-λe*
 Vasya-OBL-POSS.2SG water pit-DAT walk-PST[3SG] there see-PST-3SG>SG
(λuw) is xur-əl.
 (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-/saxt-*

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-/saxt-* 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-εm-a šit wer-λ-εm.*
 I I with.self-POSS.1SG-DAT this do-NPST-1SG>SG
 ‘I do it myself.’
- (65) a. *λɪw saxt-əl-a moləp's-əl*
 (s)he with.self-POSS.3SG-DAT deer.skin.coat-POSS.3SG
λəmt-s-əlλe.
 put.on-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘(He) himself put on his malitsa (deer skin coat) (without anybody’s help).’

- b. $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ $sa\chi\acute{a}tt\text{-}\acute{a}\lambda\text{-}a$ $\lambda\acute{o}m\acute{a}t\text{-}\lambda\acute{a}\text{-}s$.
 (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 $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ as an intensifier

Some native speakers use the anaphoric pronoun $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ as an intensifier meaning ‘alone, separately’ (as in 66–67).

- (66) $Ma\acute{s}a\text{-}j\text{-}en$ $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ $ju\chi t\text{-}\acute{a}s$ $Petr\text{-}\acute{a}\lambda$ $\acute{a}nt$
 Masha-OBL-POSS.2SG (s)he come-PST[3SG] Peter-POSS.3SG NEG
 $\lambda a\omega\acute{a}\lambda\text{-}s\text{-}\acute{a}\lambda\lambda e$.
 wait-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘Masha came herself, she did not wait for Peter.’
- (67) $Ma\acute{s}a\text{-}j\text{-}en$ $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ $w\acute{e}r\text{-}s$ 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) $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ $n\acute{a}\eta$ $n\acute{a}\acute{n}$ $\acute{a}nt$ $\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda$ $\lambda\text{#}\omega$ ($\lambda\text{#}\omega$) $jukan$ $n\acute{a}\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{a}\lambda$
 (s)he you bread NEG eat-NPST[3SG] (s)he (s)he own bread-POSS.3SG
 $w\acute{e}r\text{-}\lambda$.
 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 w\acute{e}\lambda ti* ‘to live by himself’ (Solovar 2014: 102), cf. (69).

- (69) *Kərt-əŋ joχ liw jukan-eλ-a təp iχuśjaŋ wɛli*
village-ATTR people they own-POSS.3PL-DAT only eleven deer
tǎj-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-/saxt-* 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 *λ#w* '(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* *λαηαλ* *λεśit-s-αλλε*. \emptyset_i
 Pasha-OBL-POSS.2SG house roof repair-PST-3SG>SG \emptyset
Aηk-αλ-αn *iśαk-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 *aηkαλ* ‘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) *Aηk-αλ* *λϣw-ti* *iśαk-s-αλλε*.
 Mother-POSS.3SG (s)he-ACC praise-PST-3SG>SG
 ‘His mother praised him.’

A similar case is presented in (73).

- (73) *Aś-εm* *mulχattαλ* *sort* *katλ-αs*, *śi* *sort(-αλ)* *ma*
 father-POSS.1SG yesterday pike catch-PST[3SG] FOC pike(-POSS.3SG) I
jaj-εm-αn *nuχ* *εsaλ-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 *εσαλιτι* ‘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-αλλε χοτ χări kət-λ-əp-ən*
 look-NPST-3SG>SG house open.place distance-POSS.3SG-ATTR-LOC
nawərne-le_i ari-man oməs-əλ. Pupi poχ-ije Ø_i wu-s-λε
 frog-DIM sing-CVB sit-NPST[3SG] bear boy-DIM Ø_i take-PST-3SG>SG
još păte-λ Ø_i χătsə-s-λε nawərne-le wośləχ-a
 hand bottom-POSS.3SG Ø_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 *λHW* 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 *śāta Pet'a-j-en* *pa (i) λ#w-t* *śi*
 think-PST[3SG] there Peter-OBL-POSS.2SG ADD PT (s)he-ACC FOC
χur-əλ-ən *uś-a* *wεr-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.

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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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