

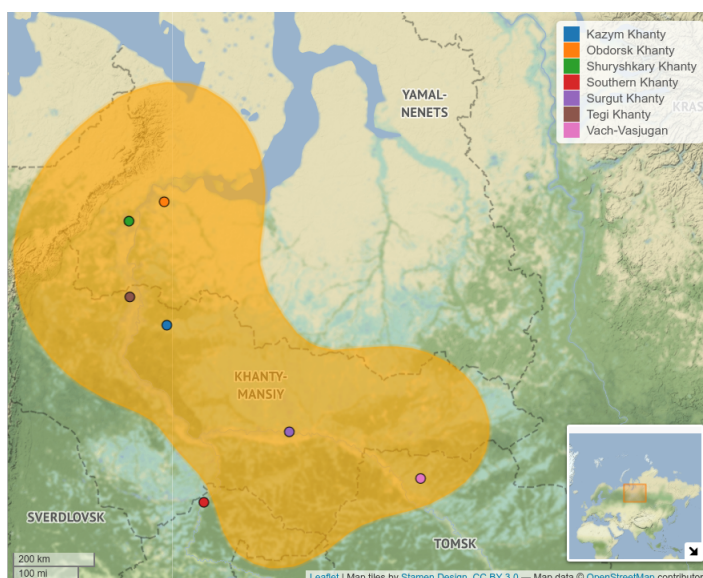
# Kazym Khanty dataset

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## 1 Basic facts

Russia, Khanty-Mansi autonomous region, Kazym



Vowel and consonant inventories (Kukhto et al. 2018). In the practical transcription,  $\lambda = ɬ$

Table 1. The inventory of consonantal symbols

p	t	t'	k
	s	ś	χ
m	n	ń	ŋ
	λ	λ'	
	l	j	
w	r		

Not every vowel occurs in the first syllable:

Table 2. The inventory of vocalic symbols (1<sup>st</sup> σ on the left, the rest are on the right)

i	ɯ	u	i	
e	ə		e	ə
(ɛ)		o	(ɛ)	
ä	a			a

Nominal inflection:

» base - number - possession - case (1)

» if the base ends in /u i/, insertion of /w j/ is possible ( $w\mu\lambda i + (\partial)n \rightarrow w\mu\lambda i j n$  'deer-LOC')

- (1) *jaʝ-λ-aλ-a*  
 brother-PL-POSS.3SG-DAT  
 '3SG's brother'

Verbal inflection:

» base - tense - inersive - agreement (2a)

» if the base ends in /u i/, /w j/ insertion sometimes occurs ( $ari + (\partial)s \rightarrow ari-js$  'sing-PST')

» infinitive: base + *ti/əm* (NPST/PST); *əm* after /u i/ causes insertion of /w j/ ( $t\partial-ti$  'carry-NFIN.NPST' vs  $t\mu w-\partial m$  'carry-NFIN.PST')

- (2) a. *λəʔ-s-aʝ-ən*  
 buy-PST-PASS-2SG  
 'you were bought'

## 2 Vowel-zero alternations

Schwa is a phoneme, see a minimal pair in (3).

- (3) a. *kurt* 'iron'  
 b. *kur-əʔ* 'bull-PL'

3 types of verbal bases wrt. schwa behaviour:

Form	No schwa	Alternating schwa	Stable schwa
	ort- ‘divide’	ir(ə)t- ‘turn’	orət- ‘drag’
NPST[3SG]	ort-əλ ~ orλ	irət-λ	orət-λ
PST[3SG]	ort-əs	irt-əs	orət-s
NPST-2SG	or-λ-ən	irt-λ-ən	orət-λ-ən
PST-2SG	or-s-ən	irt-s-ən	orət-s-ən
NPST-1DU	or-λ-əmn	irt-λ-əmn	orət-λ-əmn
PST-1DU	or-s-əmn	irt-s-əmn	orət-s-əmn

Vowel-final verb bases:

- (4) Ca#  
*χunta-s* ‘run-PST’ — *χunta-s-n* ‘run-PST-2SG’

- (5) Ci#  
*arij-s* ‘sing-PST’ — *ari-s-ən* ‘sing-PST-2SG’

- (6) Cə#  
*pərλə-s* ‘soar-PST’ — *pərλə-s-n* ‘soar-PST-2SG’  
also: *pərλə-s-mən* ‘soar-PST-1DU’

- (7) a. *ari* + *əs* → *arijəs* → *arijs*  
b. *ari* + *əs* + *ən* → *ari* + *s* + *ən*

(Egorov 2022)

Nominal inflection: possessive vs case markers

Form	Ci#	Ca#	CVC#
	wɘli ‘deer’	lapka ‘shop’	sɘmət (sɘmt) ‘birch’
NOM	wɘli	lapka	sɘmət (sɘmt)
LOC	wɘli-jn	lapka-jn	sɘmət-n
POSS.3PL	wɘlen	lapka-jn	sɘmt-ən
PL	wɘlet	lapka-jt	sɘmt-ət

### 3 Stress

Trochee with some quirks (Tjutjunnikova 2022).

- (8)
- |    |            |                                     |
|----|------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | păsa'nema  | păsan-εm-a 'table-POSS.1SG-DAT'     |
| b. | 'laraś     | laraś 'box'                         |
| c. | 'lara'sema | laraś-εm-a 'box-POSS.1SG-DAT'       |
| d. | 'laraśa    | laraś-a 'box-DAT'                   |
| e. | 'păsan     | păsan 'table'                       |
| f. | muχə'łaja  | muχəłaja 'around'                   |
| g. | junt'laλən | junt-λ-aλ-ən 'game-PL-POSS.3SG-LOC' |

Interaction with schwa (Tjutjunnikova 2023).

- (9)
- |    |                     |  |
|----|---------------------|--|
| a. | la'raśla            | laraś-(ə)λ-a 'box-POSS.3SG-DAT'          |
| b. | 'paknəλ'səmn        | paknəλ-(ə)s-əm(ə)n 'scare-PST-3DU'       |
| c. | 'pirś'laλən         | pir(ə)ś-λ-aλ-ən 'old-PL-POSS.3SG-LOC'    |
| d. | kər'təta ~ 'kərtəta | kərt-ət-a 'settlement-PL-DAT'            |
| e. | 'sewrsa'ləmn        | sew(ə)r-(ə)s-aλəm(ə)n 'chop-PST-1DU>NSG' |

## 4 Questions to consider

About schwa:

- » Is schwa epenthetic? Does it appear in the course of computation or is it rather deleted in some places?
- » How can cases of glide insertion (*wuλi-jn* 'deer-LOC') versus vowel coalescence (*wuλ-en* 'deer-POSS.3PL') be brought apart?
- » Are there several distinct entities that surface as schwa or a single one? Why?

About stress:

- » Why is the trochee violated?
- » Is stress weight-sensitive?
- » Do schwa-zero alternations feed stress placement or does stress placement affect schwa?
- » Are there syllabic consonants?

## Glossing abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, DAT = dative, DU = dual, LOC = locative, NFIN = non-finite, NOM = nominative, NPST = non-past, NSG = non-singular, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PST = past, SG = singular.

## References

- Egorov, Il'ja. 2022. De schwa ostiaco. Talk at the Khanty fieldwork group seminar.
- Kukhto, Anton et al. 2018. Practical transcription revisited. Talk at the Khanty fieldwork group seminar.
- Tjutjunnikova, Varvara. 2022. Udarenie v kazymskom xantyjskom [Stress in Kazym Khanty]. Fieldwork report.
- Tjutjunnikova, Varvara. 2023. Stress, vol. 2. Talk at the Khanty fieldwork group seminar.

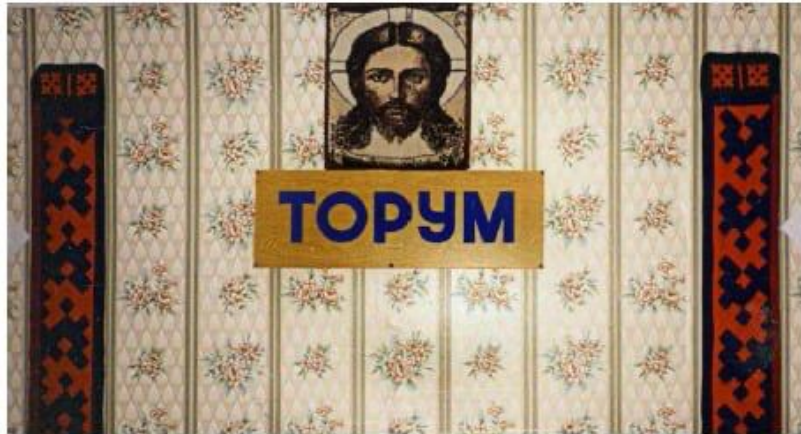


Fig. 2.17. Interior of the House of Culture in Pim settlement, 2001, featuring the name Torum (the Khanty high god) beneath an icon of Christ