

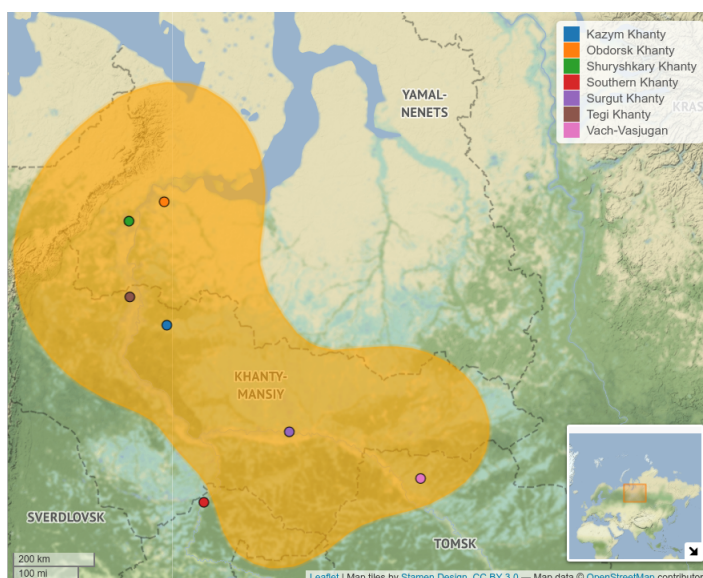
Kazym Khanty dataset

EGG2023, Novi Sad

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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	š	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 (1st 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-t-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-3SG	or-λ-ən	irt-λ-ən	orət-λ-ən
PST-3SG	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-3SG’

- (5) Ci#
arij-s ‘sing-PST’ — *ari-s-ən* ‘sing-PST-3SG’

- (6) Cə#
pərλə-s ‘soar-PST’ — *pərλə-s-n* ‘soar-PST-3SG’
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-DAT' |

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.
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- Tjutjunnikova, Varvara. 2022. Udarenie v kazymskom xantyjskom [Stress in Kazym Khanty]. Fieldwork report.
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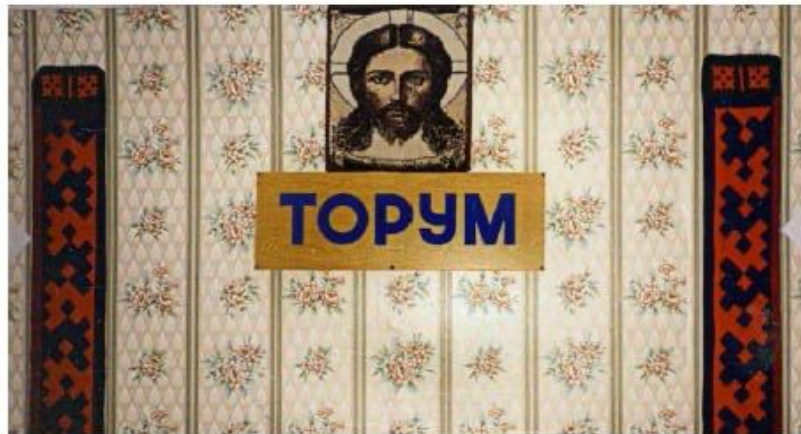


Fig. 2.17. Interior of the House of Culture in Pim settlement, 2001, featuring the name Torum (the Khanty high god) beneath an icon of Christ