Kazym Khanty non-finite forms: Multifunctionality and variability in the amount of structure

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0. Introduction

Language info:

- Khanty > Ob-Ugric > Uralic
- data: fieldwork in 2018-2020, mostly elicitation
- SOV, head-final

The two non-finite forms: *-ti* (nfin.npst) and *-əm* (nfin.pst) are handling almost all subordination. In her study of the Obdorsk dialect of Khanty, Nikolaeva (1999) distinguishes between Infinitive on *-ti* and two participles on *-ti* and on *-əm* that differ in time reference (non-past and past, correspondingly).

Infinitive can occur in same-subject purpose clauses (1) and as complements of several verbs and experiential adjectives (2):

INFINITIVAL PURPOSE CLAUSES

(1) *vasa-jen   woš-a   man-s   motor   λɵt-ti*
Vasya-POSS.2SG   city-LOC   go-PST[3SG]   engine   buy-NFIN.NPST
'Vasya went to the city to buy a boat engine'.

INFINITIVAL SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS

(2) *waśaj-en[2]   ńań ɫɛ-ti   wuɫi-s*
    Vasya-POSS.2SG bread eat-NFIN.NPST stop-PST[3SG]
'Vasya stopped eating bread'.

Participles form complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses.

PARTICIPIAL SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS

(3) *ɫʉw wʉɫi katəɫ-ti   wɛr-ɫ   ma   wɵ-ɫ-ɛm*
    s/he deer catch-NFIN.NPST deed-POSS.3 I   know-NPST-1SG.SG

'I know that he is catching a deer'.[3]

PARTICIPIAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

(4) *mʉŋ rɵpata tăj-t-ew-ən*   *χot-eł*   *mir-ew*   *jɛm-a*
  we   job   have-nfin.npst-poss.1pl-loc   house-poss.3   people-poss.1pl   good-dat
  tăj-ł-əł-ew
  have-NPST-O-1PL
'When we have a job, people in our house live well'.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

(5) *ma aś-ɛm*   *ari-ti*   *ar katra*
  I   father-POSS.1SG   sing-NFIN.NPST   song ancient
a. 'The song that my father is singing is old'.

b. 'The song that my father will sing is old'.

(6) *mułχatł   arij-əm*   *ewi aškolaj-ən rɵpit-ł*
  yesterday   sing-NFIN.PST   girl   school-LOC work-NPST[3SG]
'The girl who was singing yesterday works at school'.

We claim that all the variety of Khanty non-finite clauses can be systematized in another way than it is done in existing grammatical descriptions and works on non-finite clauses in Khanty (Nikolaeva 1999; Koškareva 2001, 2006; Kovgan 2007; Kaksin 2010). We are going to group non-finite constructions basing on their morphosyntactic properties.

1. Subject expression and agreement

The basis of our classification is the way non-finite constructions express their subject and show agreement with it. Besides control clauses (infinitival clauses in Nikolaeva's terms), all other constructions allow for the overt expression of a subject marked with nominative case. There are three subject agreement patterns in non-finite clauses. No object agreement is ever possible.

- Pattern 1: no agreement

(7) *ma aś-ɛm*   *par-s-ɛm*   *rat   χar ăl-ti*
  I   father-POSS.1SG   ask-PST-1SG.SG   fireplace place set.on.fire-NFIN.NPST
  'I asked my father to make a bonfire'.
  - Pattern 2: possessive markers on an extraclausal element:
    o on the head noun:

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[3] The *wɛr*-construction can be analyzed as relativization of the factive argument in terms of (Davidson 1967; Parsons 1990). See (Bikina, Starchenko 2019) for analysis.

(8) *łuw łuŋt-ti kinškaj-eł*
    s/he read-NFIN.NPST book-POSS.3
    'the book she is reading'
           o   on the "auxiliary" (semantically vacuous) head noun:

(9) = (3) *łuw wułi katəł-ti wɛr-ł ma wø-ł-ɛm*
          s/he deer catch-NFIN.NPST deed-POSS.3 I know-NPST-1SG.SG
  'I know that he is catching a deer'.

(10) *pet′a-jen näŋti λawəł-ti mǎr-aλ mašaj-en łant jiŋk*
    Petya-POSS.2SG you.ACC wait-NFIN.NPST time-POSS.3 Masha-POSS.2SG flour water
    kawərt-əs
    cook-PST[3SG]
    'While Petya was waiting for you, Masha cooked a soup'.
- Pattern 3: possessive marker on the (non-finite) verb:

(11) *ma jɛm-a uł-t-ɛm păta aŋk-ɛm amp-əł*
    I sacredness-DAT sleep-NFIN.NPST-POSS.1SG for mother-POSS.1SG dog-POSS.3
    jira wošt-s-əł-łe
    away chase-PST-3SG-O
    'My mother chased away the dog in order for me to sleep well'.

These options are not universally acceptable for all non-finite constructions.

	No agreement	Extraclausal possessive agreement	Possessive agreement on the verb
Infinitives	ok	-	*
Relative clauses	Non-pronominal subjects only (including pro-drop)[4]	ok (head noun)	*
Participial sentential complements	Non-pronominal subjects only (including pro-drop)	ok (*wɛr* 'deed')	*
Sentential different-subject complements	Non-pronominal subjects only (excluding pro-drop)	-	ok
Participial adverbial clauses	Non-pronominal subjects only (excluding pro-drop)	Depends on the postposition *mär, märn, purajən* 'when' Probably others / *päta* 'in order to', *-n* (locative case, expresses simultaneity),	ok

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[4] This is the pattern represented in possessive noun phrases in Kazym Khanty: pronominal subject require obligatory possessive agreement, non-pronominal subjects show optional agreement.

			oλəŋən (about) and others	
		ok	*	

Unlike infinitival clauses, participial ones seem to be highly diverse both in form and function. **We thus suppose that this classification can be replaced by a more exact one. We do not use terms Infinitive and Participle but consider the only distinction between non-past and past non-finite forms (which is reflected in our glosses). We claim further that the uses of non-finite forms can be classified basing on their morphosyntactic peculiarities rather than on the contexts they occur in. We are going to reduce the multifunctionality of Khanty non-finite forms to the following three morphosyntactic classes:**

Bare (non-agreeing) non-finites
Non-finite forms bearing agreement on themselves (Verb-agreement non-finites)
Constructions with non-finite forms with agreement on the nominal head (Head noun-agreement non-finites)

We are going further to discuss other morphosyntactic parameters that contribute to our claim.

2. Interaction with argument alternations

Khanty exhibits a morpheme *-a-/-i-* that has been traditionally described as passive (see Nikolaeva 1999): although it follows tense, it promotes object to subject position. The demoted subject bears locative case.

(12) a. *petˊaj-en χʉw jɛm-əŋ χatł ławł-əs*
    Peter-2SG long sacredness-PROP day wait-PST[3SG]
    b. *jɛm-əŋ χatł petˊaj-en-ən χʉw ławł-s-a*
      sacredness-PROP day Peter-2SG-LOC long wait-PST-PASS
  'Peter has been waiting long for the holiday'.

Non-finite forms are voice-neutral; the only difference between active and passive non-finite forms is the encoding of the Agent (nominative vs. locative, correspondingly). Most syntactic and morphosyntactic types of non-finite clauses allow for passivization, including relativization (13), relativization-like sentential complements (14), adjuncts (15) with agreement on the nominal head, as well as sentential complements (16) and adjuncts (17) with agreement on the non-finite form:

(13) a. *śaś-ɛm łøt-əm păsan nuχ məŋ-s-ɛm*
    grandmother-POSS.1SG buy-NFIN.PST table up wipe-PST-1SG.SG

b. *śaś-ɛm-ən*   *łɵt-əm*   *păsan nuχ mɵŋ-s-ɛm*
grandmother-POSS.1SG-LOC   buy-NFIN.PST table up wipe-PST-1SG.SG
   'I wiped the table bought by my grandmother'.

(14) *łɵxs-ɛm-ən*   *kinška wɥj-ł′-əm*   *wɛr wɵ-ł-ɛm*
    friend-POSS.1SG-LOC book take-FREQ-NFIN.PST deed know-NPST-1SG.SG
   'I know that my friend has taken the book (lit. that the book has been taken by my friend)'.

(15) *năŋ pɛtr-en-ən*   *ławəł-əm*   *măr-en-ən*   *mašaj-en*
    you Peter-POSS.2SG-LOC wait-NFIN.PST time-POSS.2SG-LOC Masha-POSS.2SG
    łant jiŋk   *kawərt-əs*
    flour water   cook-PST[3SG.SG]
   'While Peter was waiting for you, Masha cooked soup'.

(16) *ma aś-ɛm*   *ɵχəł*   *wɛr-t-ał*   *nɵm-ł-ɛm*
    I   father-POSS.1SG sledge do-NFIN.NPST-3 remember-NPST-1SG.SG
   'I remember that my father is doing a sledge'.[5]

(17) *mašaj-en*   *pet′aj-en-ən*   *än wox-m-ał*   *păta*
    Masha-POSS.2SG Petya-POSS.2SG-LOC   NEG call.for-PTCP.PST-POSS.3SG for
    λɥw jaməŋ xatλ-a   *än juχt-əs*
    (s)he holy   day-DAT NEG come-PST[3SG]
'Because of Petya's not inviting Masha, she didn't come to the holiday'.

In case of non-argument relativization, however, passivization is not possible:

(18) a. *aŋk-ɛm*   *χɥł ńaχəs-ti*   *kɛši päsan-ən uł*
      mother-POSS.1SG fish peel-NFIN.NPST knife table-LOC sleep.NPST[3SG]
    b. **aŋk-ɛm-ən*   *χɥł*   *ńaχəs-ti*   *kɛši*   *päsan-ən*   *uł*
      mother-POSS.1SG-LOC fish peel-NFIN.NPST knife table-LOC sleep.NPST[3SG]
   'The knife my mother skins fish with is on the table'.

As well as in case of bare non-finites:

(19) a. **Vas'a*   *λäŋxa-λ*   *maša-jen-ən*   *äpəλt-ti*
    Vasya   want-PRS[3SG]   Masha-POSS.2SG-LOC hug-NFIN.NPST
    'Vasya wants to be hugged by Masha.'

Thus, the ability to form passive distinguishes non-argument relativization and bare non-finites from other types of non-finite forms.

3. Island effects

Some of the constructions discussed above are syntactically islands, some are not.

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[5] Example courtesy of Vsevolod Potseluev.

INFINITIVAL SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS – NOT ISLANDS

(20) *katˈaj-en   numəs wɛr-əs   wən χot łət-ti*
Kate-POSS.2SG   decision do-PST[3SG]   big house buy-NFIN.NPST
'Kate decided to buy a big house'.

(21) *mujsər χot katˈaj-en   numəs wɛr-s   łət-ti?*
which house Kate-POSS.2SG   decision do-PST[3SG]   buy-NFIN.NPST
'What house did Kate decide to buy?'[6]

ADVERBIAL PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES – ISLANDS?

(22) *ma   uł-əm   măr-ɛm-ən   petˈaj-en   ow-ɛm-a*
I   sleep-NFIN.PST time-POSS.1SG-LOC Peter-POSS.2SG   door-POSS.1SG-DAT
sɛŋk-əs
knock-PST[3SG]
'While I was sleeping, Peter knocked on the door'.

(23) *ˀχuj petˈaj-en   uł-əm   măr-ał-ən   ow-a   sɛŋk-əs?*
who Peter-POSS.2SG   sleep-NFIN.PST time-POSS.3-LOC door-DAT   knock-PST[3SG]
'Who Peter knocked on the door, while ~~who~~ was sleeping?'

PARTICIPIAL SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS – ISLANDS?

(24) *ˀmuj năŋ łət-əm   wɛr-en   nəm-ł-en?*
what you buy-NFIN.PST deed-POSS.2SG   remember-NPST-2SG.SG
'What do you remember that you bought?'

PURPOSE CLAUSES – ISLANDS

(25) *ma   χop łət-ti   păta woš-a jăŋχ-s-əm*
I   boat buy-NFIN.NPST for   city-DAT go-PST-1SG
'I went to the city to buy a boat'.

(26) **muj năŋ łət-ti   păta woš-a jăŋχ-s-ən?*
what you buy-NFIN.NPST for   city-DAT go-PST-2SG
Intended reading: 'What did you go to the town to buy ~~what~~?'

RELATIVE CLAUSES – ISLANDS

(27) *kolˈaj-en   mərχ wənś-ti   ewi šiwał-əs*
Kolya-POSS.2SG cloudberry pick-NFIN.NPST girl see-PST[3SG]
'Kolya saw a girl who was picking cloudberries'.

(28) **muj kolˈaj-en   wənś-ti   ewi šiwał-əs?*
what Kolya-POSS.2SG   pick-NFIN.NPST girl see-PST[3SG]
Intended reading: 'What did Kolya see the girl who was picking ~~what~~?'

Island effects show the difference between bare (infinitival) and agreeing (participial) non-finite clauses.

Bare non-finite forms	Not islands

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[6] Example courtesy of Polina Kasyanova.

Head noun-agreement non-finite forms	Relative clauses – strong islands, other constructions – weak islands
Verb-agreement non-finite forms	Islands

4. Adverbial modification

The constructions in question also differ with respect to compatibility with different adverbs, which argues for the difference in the amount of functional structure they involve (Cinque 1999).

Verb-agreement non-finite clauses allow for high epistemic adverbs:

(29) *ma   waśaj-en   jina   juχt-t-ał   χołł-əs-ɛm*
     I   Vasya-POSS.2SG indeed come-NFIN.NPST-POSS.3   hear-PST-1SG.SG
     'I heard that Vasya is indeed coming'.

Head noun agreement non-finites, unlike in previous cases, do not group together with this respect:

Sentential arguments and adverbial clauses of this type do not allow for epistemic adverbs (29) but are still compatible with most tense-related modifiers (30):

(30) **śi   nɛŋ-en   ńawr-ɛmjina   łəmət-t-əm   wɛr ma wɵ-s-ɛm*
     EMPH woman-POSS.2SG child   indeed put.on-TR-NFIN.PST deed I   know-PST-3SG.SG
     Intended reading: 'I knew that this woman has indeed already dressed her baby'.
(31) *waśaj-en   jøχət tørəmłor-a jăŋχ-əm   wɛr-ł   ma wɵ-ł-ɛm*
     Vasya-POSS.2SG later Numto-DAT go-NFIN.PST deed-POSS.3 I   know-NPST-3SG.SG
     'I know that later Vasya visited Numto'.

Relative clauses are ungrammatical with tense-related adverbs (31) but allow for agent-modifying (32) and manner (33) adverbs:

(32) **ma joχət măn-əm   łapkaj-ɛm*
     I   later go-NFIN.PST   shop-POSS.1SG
     Intended reading: 'the shop I went later to'
(33) *apś-ɛm-ən   nɛman   šukat-əm   an*
     younger.brother-POSS.1SG-LOC intentionally break-NFIN.PST   cup
     'the cup that my younger brother intentionally broke'
(34) *jɛm-a   arij-əm   ewi*
     sacredness-DAT   sing-NFIN.PST girl
     'the girl who sang well'

Bare non-finite for are not compatible are not compatible with temporal adverbs (34). Neither can they be modified with agent-oriented adverbs (35).

(35) **petˊaj-en   łăŋχ-əł   jăšawøł woš-a   măn-ti*
     Petya-POSS.2SG   want-NPST[3SG]   soon   city-DAT go-NFIN.NPST
     Intended reading: 'Peter wants to go to the city soon'.

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(36) *łʉw tăj-ł   nɛman   χop šukat-ti
     s/he have-NPST[3SG] intentionally boat break-NFIN.NPST
     Intended reading: 'He can intentionally break the boat'.

		Epistemic adverbs	Temporal adverbs	Aspectual adverbs
Verb agreement		Ok	Ok	Ok
Head noun agreement	Sentential arguments and adverbial clauses (*wɛr*-clauses)	*	Ok	Ok
	Relative clauses	*	*	Ok
Bare non-finites		*	*	*

5. Results

		Highest adverbs	Island effects	Passive voice	Overt subject
Verb agreement		CP	Strong	ok	ok
Head noun agreement	Sentential arguments and adverbial clauses (*wɛr*-clauses)	TP	Weak	ok	ok
	Relative clauses	AspP	Strong	Argument relativisation only	ok
Bare non-finites		VP	No island effects	*	*

- Bare non-finites are indeed the most distinct class of Kazym Khanty non-finites.
- Amount of verbal structure according to the adverb test: Verb agreement clauses > non-relative head noun agreement clauses > relative head noun agreement clauses > bare non-finites

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- Infinitival sentential complements are not islands, while infinitives under postpositional and nominal heads are

6. Discussion

Adyghe, Caponigro and Polinsky (2011):

- DP complements
- TP complements
- no CP complements; CP relativisation
- Adverbial clauses and CP sentential complements constructed as "auxiliary" nouns modified by relative clauses or just headless relative clauses:

ADYGHE

(37) [DP [CP č'ale-r qə-zə-re-ḵwež'ə-š'tə]   [NP qeba-r]]   ə-gwəreʁ
          boy-ABS INC-REL.OBL-APPL-return-FUT-ABS   news-ABS 3SG.ERG-understood
    'She understood that the boy will arrive' [Caponigro, Polinsky 2011: 106]

cf. Kazym Khanty:

(38) = (9) = (3) ɬuw wuɬi katəɬ-ti   wer-ɬ   ma   wø-ɬ-ɛm
              s/he deer catch-NFIN.NPST deed-POSS.3 I   know-NPST-1SG.SG
    'I know that he is catching a deer'.

	Adyghe (Caponigro, Polinsky 2011)	Kazym Khanty
DP complements	ok	ok
Overt non-relative complementizers	*	*
Genuine clausal CP complements	*	*
TP complements	ok	*
Relative clauses	CP	TP
TP complementation "rescue strategy"	--	TP relativizing "auxiliary" head nouns (always overt)
Null head nouns	ok	*
CP complementation "rescue strategy"	CP relativizing "auxiliary" head nouns (possibly null)	CP obtaining nominal features

Proposal:

Khanty lacks both CP relativization and overt complementizers

➔ use TP relativization in Adyghe-like way
➔ or give nominal features to CP

Verb-agreeing CP clauses as nominals:

- postposition complements (11)
- capable of bearing case (4)
- possessive markers (11)
- triggering object agreement on the matrix verb

ma   aś-ɛm   θχəλ   wɛr-t-aλ   wθ-λ-ɛm
me   father-poss.1sg   sledge   do-nfin.npst-poss.3sg   know-pst-1sg.sg
'I know that my father is making a sledge.'

- although this agreement cannot be plural

[*a   iki   rat-en   χθrət-m-aλ*]
little man   fireplace-POSS.2SG   douse-NFIN.PST-3SG
pa [*aśɛm   ar   ari-m-aλ*]   *ma wθ-λ-ɛm/*-λam*
ADD father-POSS.1SG   song   sing-NFIN.PST-POSS.3SG   I   know-NPST-1SG.SG/*1SG.PL
'Я знаю, что мальчик потушил костер и мой отец спел песню'

Hypothesis: DP – (PossP) – CP structure (see Alexiadou 2001 for Greek and Turkish nominalized clauses)

(1) *to oti irthe*
     'the that he came'

(2) Ben [siz   tatil-e   çik-acag-iniz-i
     I   you-GEN vacation-dat go-out-FACT.FUT-2PL-ACC
     duy-du-m
     hear-PAST-1SG
     'I heard that you will leave for vacation'

List of abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – person, ABS – absolute, ACC - accusative, APPL – applicative, DAT– dative, EMPH – emphatic particle, ERG – ergative, FREQ – frequentative, FUT – future, INC – incorporation, LOC – locative, NFIN – non-finite form (participle), NPST – non-past, O – object agreement marker, OBL – oblique marker, PASS– passive, PL– plural, PST – past, REL – relativizer, SG – singular, TR– transitivizer

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Appendix: mirative clauses

- Independent usage of verb-agreement non-finites

(39) *aś-em   jʉχ   sɛwər-t-ał*
    father-POSS.1SG   wood chop-NFIN.NPST-POSS.3
        'It turns out that my father is chopping wood'.

- no agreementless usages attested
  - besides passive voice cases:

(39) *rɵpata   jox-ł-an-ən   χot   oməs-ti*
    work   people-PL-POSS.2SG-LOC   house   build-NFIN.NPST

'It turns out that is being built by laborers'

(Golosov, p.c.)

cf.

ENGLISH

(40) *That I should live to see such ingratitude!*
                                (Quirk et al. 1985)

GERMAN

(41) *Daß   du   immer   noch Witze   mach-en   kann-st*

That   you still   still jokes do-INF   can-2SG
'That you can still make jokes about it!'

(Buscha 1976)

Hypothesis: insubordination and reanalysis as a main clause structure (see Evans 2007 for the overview)

The degree of insubordination is not clear yet (conventionalized ellipsis or reanalysis as a main clause structure, see Evans 2007)