

## Multi-functional participles in Surgut Khanty<sup>1</sup>

### 0. Introduction

The Surgut dialect of the Khanty language has five nonfinite verb forms: the infinitive, formed with the derivational morpheme *-ta(γə)*; the present participle, formed with *-t-*; the past participle, formed with *-m-*; the converb, formed with *-min*; the conditional nonfinite, formed with *-η-*, and the negative nonfinite, formed with *-ləγ*. Of these, participles allow the greatest degree of suffixation; they can bear person marking, adverbial suffixes, and postpositions. Negative nonfinites can be suffixed similarly, although their suffixation is more restricted. Conditional nonfinites, whose use is archaic in modern Khanty, can only show person marking. Gerunds can only show plural marking when they function as predicates. Infinitives do not allow any suffixation.

This article examines the syntactic function of present and past participles with person marking in Surgut Khanty (PTC.PRS + PPx and PTC.PST + PPx).<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, this morpheme string can fulfill any syntactic role in the sentence, which raises the question of whether nonfinite forms in Khanty are comparable to those of English, as in the following widely known examples (Nedjalkov 1995, 106, as quoted in Ylikoski 2000, 219):

Participle: *A **crying** girl entered the room.*

Converb: ***Crying**, the girl entered the room.*

Infinitive: *The girl started **crying** (=to cry).*

Action nominal: *The girl's **crying** irritates me.*

Translation of these sentences into Hungarian reveals that Hungarian morphology clearly differentiates the various word classes and syntactic functions; that is, the *-ing* morpheme has at least four nonfinite and nominalizer counterparts in Hungarian (*sír-ó*, *sír-va*, *sír-ni*, *sír-ás*). The Surgut Khanty phenomenon to

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2. The affixes used in person marking on nonfinite verbs are generally classified as possessive pronouns and glossed as Px. In Surgut Khanty, however, possessive person markers differ from the person marking used on nonfinite verbs, and so the latter is glossed as PPx. The crucial difference is that Px contains reduced vowels, whereas PPx full ones. The suffix of 2sg is *-a*, sometimes also *-an* (see below).

be discussed in this article most closely resembles that of English. Both cases show morphologically identical forms fulfilling various syntactic functions and therefore belonging to different word classes.

The four English sentences above are frequently cited in linguistic discussion of intermediate word classes between nouns and verbs. The traditional nonfinite categories infinitive, participle, and gerund have been amended in the literature to include the terms *converb*, which describes a word of verbal origin and adverbial function (Haspelmath & König 1995, van der Auwera 1998, etc.), and *action nominal*, which describes a word that can serve as either subject or object and is closer to a noun (Comrie 1976, Koptevskaja-Tamm 1993, 2011, Malchukov et al. 2008, etc.). Most recently, Jussi Ylikoski (2003) attempted to clarify these categories while also taking Finno-Ugric languages into consideration. Not only does this clarification make it difficult to organize the features of very different languages within the same system, but morphological and syntactic considerations further complicate the matter. Undeniable overlaps between individual word class categories mean that firm borders cannot be drawn. In many cases, it is not even possible to tell whether the morphology of nonfinite forms is inflectional or derivational. As an alternative to this dichotomy, the “word-class-changing inflection” category was proposed by Haspelmath (1996). Following a broad survey of the last twenty years of linguistic discussion, Ylikoski characterized the four basic nonfinite verb forms as such:

Nonfinite verb form	Infinitive	Converb	Participle	Action nominal
Syntactic function	<b>argument</b> (=subject, object, obligatory adverbial)	<b>(free) adverbial</b> (=adjunct)	<b>attribute</b> (+ adjectival predicate)	– (those of nouns)
“New word-class”	–	–	adjective	noun
Direction of lexicalization	noun, adverb	adverb, adposition, conjunction	adjective (→ noun)	noun

Table 1. The four main types of non-finite verb forms, their syntactic functions and “new word-classes” (Ylikoski 2003, 228.)

A broad survey of the Khanty verbal system is not within the scope of the present article, but discussion of the use of person-marked participles requires also addressing current questions of word classes.

Based on the English examples, a list of Khanty sentences can be compiled to show the four distinct syntactic functions of the morpheme string *mən-t-am* (go, leave-PTC.PRS-1SG) or *mən-m-am* (go, leave-PTC.PST-1SG). If syntactic function determines word class, four distinct word classes can be identified:

Participle:	<i>ma mənmam leki jüwa!</i>	‘Come on the path walked by me.’
Converb:	<i>ma mənmam ar ɔlyə jəɣ.</i>	‘Since my leaving, many years have passed.’
Action nominal:	<i>ma mənmam əntə wuje.</i>	‘You did not see my leaving.’
Verb:	<i>tut pɪrnə ma ti mənmam.</i>	‘After that, I left.’

The living language is much richer than these example sentences. Using example sentences from written texts collected over the last century and checked with native speaker informants, I will explore the grammatical nature of the morpheme string PTC + PPX.

## 1. Person-marked participles as attributes

The prototypical syntactic function of participles is attributive. Present and past participles with person marking in Surgut Khanty also fulfill this function. Active and passive moods are not marked separately on nonfinite verbs, but they can be distinguished by semantic roles. If the head of a structure is the agent of the participle, the participle is active; if it is the patient, the participle is passive. The same is true in Hungarian.

Active present participle:

- (1) *ma wəle mən-tə ne wōs-əm.*  
 I PCL go-PTC.PRS woman COP-1SG  
 ‘As I am a going woman.’ (Chr 78)

Active past participle:

- (2) *wəjəy kənč-čəyə jəŋqil-əm jəq-qən jōwət-γən.*  
 wild animal search-INF go-PTC.PST people-DU arrive[PTC]-DU  
 ‘Two people who went hunting arrived.’ (VJM 46)

Passive present participle:

- (3) *wət aləm-tə sərəm lipət*  
 wind raise-PTC.PRS dry leaf  
 ‘dry leaf being lifted by the wind’ (BUFF 26/47)

Passive past participle:

- (4) *tem ot äwt-əm juγ aŋkl-ət-a jōwət.*  
 this year cut down-PTC.PST tree trunk-PL-LAT arrive[PTC.3SG]  
 ‘She arrived to the tree trunks cut down this year.’ (Chr 74)

Relative participles constitute an intermediate category between active and passive participles. They are derived from intransitive verbs that have other adjuncts, such as adverbials indicating location, goal, or instrument (Lehmann 1984, 49–58, quoted in Haspelmath 1994, 154).

Relative past participle:

- (5) *ma jis jəγ-l-əm mən-əm lek-i*  
 I old people-PL-1SG go-PTC.PST road-ABL  
 ‘on the road walked by my ancestors’ (BUFF 27/55)

The agent of passive (or relative) past and present participles is indicated by the person marking on the participle. This phenomenon has only been found in the

eastern dialect of Khanty; western dialects mark the agent by affixing a personal pronoun to the head of the attributive phrase (more on this in Csepregi 2012).

Relative present participle:

- (6) *temi wəle ma jǎŋqil-t-am tər qənəŋ.*  
 this PCL I go-PTC.PRS-1SG lake shore  
 ‘This is the lakeshore walked by me.’ (VJM 8)

Passive past participle:

- (7) *katəl-m-am qul put-nə qif.*  
 catch-PTC.PST-1SG fish pot-LOC stay[<sub>PST.3SG</sub>]  
 ‘The fish I caught (caught by me) stayed in the pot.’ (NyK 108: 67)

Relative past participle:

- (8) *lin jǎŋqil-m-in tɔŋi-t-nə lin wər-in-at*  
 they(2) go-PTC.PST-3DU place-PL-LOC they(2) blood-3DU-INSF  
*ńərəm kar-ət əjnam wərt-a jəŋ-ət.*  
 bush clearing-PL all red-LAT become-[<sub>PST</sub>]-PL  
 ‘At the place they two of them went, the bushy areas turned red from their blood.’ (JAK 30)

In the examples above, the nonfinite verbs show all the features of participles, expressing features of both nouns and verbs. Like verbs, they can express relative time and the agent; they maintain the argument structure of the verb, as in example (2). Like nouns, they can serve as complements to a noun phrase as attributes.

## 2. Person-marked participles as adverbials

The structure of participles as adverbials is usually root+PTC (+PPx) + Cx or root+PTC (+PPx) + PP. Regardless of whether it bears person marking, a participle can be followed by a case marker; it can also form a phrase with a postposition. These structures fulfill an adverbial function in the sentence, indicating time and, less frequently, cause, goal, result, and comparison. They can also substitute conditional clauses. Of the seven adverbial cases in Surgut Khanty, five can be expressed on a participle (LAT, LOC, ABL, TRA, INSF); more than a dozen postpositions can be used with participles.

A person-marked participle with no other modifiers can also be used as an adverbial. These are in fact elliptical forms, variants of postpositional and adverbial suffix forms, where the morpheme indicating the specific adverbial relationship has been omitted. My set of examples includes structures that only appear occasionally (see 2.1). My suspicion is that these forms appear in continuous speech and folklore, but this has yet to be confirmed by native speakers. On the other hand, in some cases of adverbial function (see 2.2), the person-marked participle appears regularly without additional adverbial modifiers.

## 2.1. Inconsistent use

Present participle, simultaneous events:

- (9) *nüŋ mən-t-an ma nüŋ-at qōt-nə ðjajtə-l-əm?*  
 you go-PTC.PRS-2SG I you-ACC how notice-PRS-1SG  
 ‘If you go, how will I notice you?’ (Chr 66)

As an adverbial marking simultaneous events, *mən-t-an-nə* (go-PTC.PRS-2SG-LOC) would be the expected form, with *mən-t-an-ka* (go-PTC.PRS-2SG-PCL) appearing in conditional clauses.

Past participle, subsequent events:

- (10) *tü pāy tōj-m-in tāqa, (...) nīpək ðjajtəq-qən.*  
 DET SON was born-PTC.PST-3DU PCL paper notice-[PST]-3DU  
 ‘After their son was born, they noticed a paper.’ (BUFF 32/6)

Past participle, simultaneous events:

- (11) *səy pōn lōt-tā jāŋq-m-a qōw mətə*  
 burbot fish trap look-INF go-PTC.PST-2SG long something  
*māri jāŋq-ən.*  
 time go[PST]-2SG  
 ‘When you went to check the burbot trap, you were gone a long time.’ (BUFF 17/89)

A feature of Khanty stories is use of the same verb root in various grammatical forms, which adds to the cohesion of the text. A variety of finite and nonfinite verb forms also adds to the dynamicity of the text. In examples (11) and (12), the nonfinite verb indicates a long-lasting event:

- (12) *tī ðnəltəyət-m-am qoləm ol ðnəltəyət-əm, os*  
 DET study-PTC.PST-1SG three year study[PST]-1SG more  
*kat ol-γən qit-γən.*  
 two year-DU remain[PST]-3DU  
 ‘Studying like that, I studied for three years, and two years remained.’ (Chr 56)

A similar strategy can be used to produce conditional clauses. In Khanty, temporal and conditional clauses can often be distinguished semantically.

- (13) *təyə jōwət-ən, nüŋ təyə jōwət-m-a*  
 here come-[PST]-2SG you here come-PTC.PST-2SG  
*lilŋ-ən əntə mən-l-ən.*  
 alive-LOC NEG go[PST]-2SG  
 ‘You came here; if you came here, you won’t leave alive.’  
 (BUFF 34/97)

## 2.2. Consistent use

In place of subordinate clauses, adverbials can be used in a wide range of contexts. For example, person-marked participles appear relative consistently conveying two different meanings: cause and antecedent time. In these cases, it appears that the grammaticalization of the person-marked participle has begun, with the nonfinite forms showing a shift towards converbs.

The following sentences are from an unrelated study by Katalin Gugán.<sup>3</sup> The native speaker informant, who was asked to evaluate the sentences in terms of meaning and grammar, judged the suffixed (14b–c) and postpositional structure (14d–e) as a time adverbial and the structure bearing only person marking as a causal adverbial (14a).

- (14a) *pǎy čǎŋkəl-m-al aʔe-l tōγə əsəl.*  
 boy grow up-PTC.PST-3SG father-3SG there allow[PST.3SG]  
 ‘Since the boy had grown up, his father let him go.’
- (14b) *pǎy čǎŋkəl-m-al-nə aʔe-l tōγə əsəl.*  
 boy grow up-PTC.PST-3SG-LOC father-3SG there allow[PST.3SG]  
 ‘When the boy grew up, his father let him go.’
- (14c) *pǎy čǎŋkəl-m-al-a aʔe-l tōγə əsəl.*  
 boy grow up-PTC.PST-3SG-LAT father-3SG there allow[PST.3SG]  
 ‘Once the boy grew up, his father let him go.’
- (14d) *pǎy čǎŋkəl-m-al latnə aʔe-l tōγə əsəl.*  
 boy grow up-PTC.PST-3SG time-LOC father-3SG there allow[PST.3SG]  
 ‘When the boy grew up, his father let him go.’
- (14e) *pǎy čǎŋkəl-m-al pirnə aʔe-l tōγə əsəl*  
 boy grow up-PTC.PST-3SG after father-3SG there allow[PST.3SG]  
 ‘After the boy grew up, his father let him go.’

If a person-marked nonfinite is followed by a case marker or postposition, the structure is equivalent to a time adverbial clause. If the nonfinite bears only person marking, its meaning is more abstract, expressing cause.

Additionally, it can be used to express antecedent time, answering the question “Since when?” The main clause includes the length of time.

Present participle:

- (15) *ma wōnt-nam mən-t-am ar qǎtəl-γə jəγ.*  
 I forest-APP go-PTC.PRS-1SG many day-TRA become[PST.3SG]  
 ‘Since I went into the forest, many days have passed.’ (LNK)
- (16a) *mükkim tisəl-γə jəγ qōn-nat wǎl-t-a?*  
 how many month-TRA become[PST.3SG] stomach-COM be-PTC.PRS-2SG  
 ‘How many months pregnant are you?’ (RAZ 1117)<sup>4</sup>

3. Used with permission from the author.

4. A word order that differs from the canonic one – a finite verb before a participle clause – is possible in interrogatives.

- (16b) *ma qõn-nat wãł-t-am qut tisãł-γə jəγ.*  
 I stomach-COM be-PTC.PRS-1SG six month-TRA become[<sub>PST.3SG</sub>]  
 ‘I am six months pregnant.’ (RAZ 1118)

Past participle:

- (17) *ma iki-ja mən-m-am, temi qos əł-γə jəγ.*  
 I husband-LAT go-PTC.PST-1SG behold twenty year-TRA become[<sub>PST.3SG</sub>]  
 ‘Since I got married, twenty years have passed.’ (LNK)

- (18) *qãntəq-qo nãwi liw-m-imən-pə qõq-qə jəγ.*  
 Khanty person meat eat-PTC.PST-IDU-PCL long-TRA become[<sub>PST.3SG</sub>]  
 ‘We have not eaten human meat in a long time.’ (BUFF 22/249)

Although it is tempting to think that these sentences show the beginnings of verbalization and the development of complex sentences, nonfinite verbs in Surgut Khanty only become verbs when they appear in sentence-final position as predicates. The relationships between special modals will be discussed in Section 4.

### 2.3. Participle, converb, or action nominal?

Nonfinite structures that function as free adverbials in the sentence are often considered to be converbs, even when they are based on a participle (Ylikoski 2000). These can be adverbial or postpositional structures, and, as seen above, they can also appear bearing only person marking. Their morphological classification is unambiguous, but if we consider their syntactic function, the boundaries of the categories blur. In analysis of examples (15) through (18), consideration of semantics further complicates the question of word class. These sentences can be translated with “Since...” clauses, and they are close to converbs, but deverbal nouns as well: (15) *Many days have passed since my coming into the woods*; (16b) *My pregnancy is six months*; (17) *Twenty years have passed since my getting married*; (18) *Our eating of human meat was long ago*. The nominalization of the person-marked nonfinite structure can be seen here, showing a shift towards action nominals.

## 3. Person-marked participles in subject position and in object position

Nominalization in Surgut Khanty is very limited, occurring only in special syntactic and semantic environments, as discussed below.

### 3.1. With verbal predicates relating to the senses

In the written source texts, person-marked participles occur next to two verbs that express senses: the intransitive *set-* ‘can be heard, can be felt’ and the transitive *wu-* ‘see, know’. The person-marked participle serves as the subject next the intransitive verb and as the object next to the transitive verb.

## 3.1.1. Subject of intransitive verbs

Present participle:

- (19) *wan-γə jōwət-m-əl qoləntəγ-əl, (...)*  
 short-TRA arrive-PTC.PST-3SG listen-PRS.3SG  
*jü-t-əl set-əl.*  
 come-PTC.PRS-3SG can be heard-PRS.3SG  
 ‘Coming closer, he listens: its coming can be heard.’ (Chr 108)

Both clauses of the sentence include a participle with person marking; in the first clause, *jōwətmal* serves as an adverbial, and in the second, *jütal* serves as the subject.

Past participle:

- (20) *li-ta jəγ-m-am set-əl.*  
 eat-INF become-PTC.PST-1SG can be heard-PRS.3SG  
 ‘I feel that I have become hungry.’ (BUFF 16/38)

## 3.1.2. Object of transitive verbs

Present participle:

- (21) *tem säšəγ ləγpi-ja nüη läη-t-a əntə wu-l-e.*  
 this trap inner-LAT you step into-PTC.PRS-2SG NEG see-PRS-SG<2SG  
 ‘You do not see your stepping into the trap (i.e., you do not notice when you step into the trap.’ (VJM 10)

Past participle:

- (22) *il tōrəm mən-m-am əntə wuj-əm,*  
 lower sky go-PTC.PST-1SG NEG see/know-[PST]-1SG  
*num tōrəm mən-m-am əntə wuj-əm.*  
 upper sky go-PTC.PST-1SG NEG see/know-[PST]-1SG  
 ‘I did not know whether I went into the lower or upper sky.’ (Chr 72)

## 3.2. With a predicate meaning ‘get ready, be ready’

General subject, impersonal structure; the person marking on the verb is coreferent with the object of the verb:

- (23) *qət wär-m-əl tərəm.*  
 house do-PTC.PST-3SG ready[PST.3SG]  
 ‘The house was built.’ (OJS)

Specific subject:

- (24) *ma liw-m-am qōlγa əntə tərəm-əm,*  
 I eat-PTC.PST-1SG still NEG ready[PST]-1SG  
*liw-nə any-ət l’ōwit-at.*  
 she-LOC dish-PL wash-[PST]-3PL  
 ‘I am not done eating yet; she has already washed the dishes.’ (OJS)



### 3.3. Subject of a negative sentence

#### 3.3.1. With a negative predicate

Present participle:

- (25) *jōwət-t-at*      *qōw-ən*      *əntem.*  
 arrive-PTC.PRS-3SG      long-LOC      NEG  
 ‘His arrival is not far (i.e., will soon arrive).’ (Chr 108)

Past participle:

- (26) *əj lat-nə*      *əj imi-l*      *lüw*      *qut-əl-a*  
 a time-LOC      a woman-3SG      she      house-3SG-LAT  
*ləyatlə-m-at-pə*      *əntem.*  
 visit-PTC.PST-3SG-PCL      NEG  
 ‘Once, a woman did not visit the other woman’s house.’ (Chr 74)

#### 3.3.2. In other negative sentences

- (27) *nüj man-t*      *wuj-m-a*      *arətta-pə*      *‘etti,*  
 you I-ACC      see-PTC.PST-2SG      more-NEG.PCL      here  
*ma nüj-at*      *wuj-m-am*      *arətta-pə*      *‘etti.*  
 I you-ACC      see-PTC.PST-1SG      more-NEG.PCL      here  
 ‘You won’t see me anymore; I won’t see you anymore.’ (NyK 80:132)

The sentence clearly illustrates that the nonfinite maintains the obligatory cases required by the verb, with the subject in nominative case and the object in accusative. This can be seen because, unlike nouns, which remain unmarked even as objects, personal pronouns show accusative inflection.

- (28) *ma jastə-m-am*      *müwə jəm-γə*      *pit-l.*  
 I speak-PTC.PST-1SG      what good-TRA      follow-PRS-[3SG]  
 ‘What I said has no use.’ (KVGr 291)

### 3.4. Participle or action nominal?

Person-marked participles can only serve as subject or object within the aforementioned three semantic-syntactic functions: referring to the senses, meaning ‘ready’ or ‘not ready’, and the predicate ‘there is not’. Is this enough to form a separate word class, or is a greater degree of productivity and frequency required for grammaticalization, as claimed by Bybee (2003, 602–623)?

In Mansi, in the other Ob-Ugrian language, the category of action nominals can be used for a wider range of nonfinite forms derived from participles and gerunds (Bíró 2008, 2011, 2012). In her research, Bernadett Bíró cannot always draw clear boundaries between word classes, but she establishes the place of Mansi participles on the nominalization scale (Koptevskaja-Tamm 1993, 60) as closer to nouns than their nonfinite counterparts in Khanty.

## 4. Person-marked participles as predicates

In northern Khanty dialects, present and past participles with person marking have become present and past tense finite verbs; they appear in the predicate position and express the evidential mood, with the verbalizer having undergone grammaticalization into a tense marker (Nikolaeva 1999). This change has not occurred in the spoken variant of the eastern dialects, including Surgut.

### 4.1. Verbalization in the language of songs

In the Surgut Khanty dialect, participles only appear as predicates in the language of songs. In mythical songs, no semantic explanation can be given for the varying use of finite verbs derived from nonfinites and originally finite verbs; only stylistic reasons can be offered. The first half of the following sentence shows a verbal predicate; the second, a nonfinite predicate.

- (29) *pir kūr-γəl ma säwrəm-γəl-am, ma tōt säwrəm-lə-t-am.*  
 hind leg-DU I cut[PST]-DU-1SG I there cut-FREQ-PTC.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I cut off the two hind legs, I cut them off there.’ (Chr 130/173–174)

In the active voice, the PPX affixed to the participle marks the agent. In passive structures, the PPX is coreferent with the patient.

- (30) *məkkələ pun-pi tōrəm nōw*  
 crowberry coat-ADJZR sky elk  
*ma-nə-pa wäl-iləγəl-m-ał.*  
 I-LOC-PCL kill-FREQ-PTC.PST-3SG  
 ‘I did indeed kill a heavenly elk of a crowberry(-colored) coat.’  
 (TRJ 86/191–192)<sup>5</sup>

In Northern Khanty, grammaticalized verb forms in predicate position can also occur in passive structures, but they cannot show person marking; they are structurally the same as bare participles (Nikolaeva 1999, 132). In Surgut Khanty, however, verb forms that derive from the language of songs show the same inflection for active and passive verbs as in the original verb forms. In the following examples, the term *səmlam-ńaləmlam* can be literally translated as ‘my hearts, my tongues’ – that is, the pieces of flesh from an elk hunted by the heavenly hunter, the hero of the story, whose is referred to in first person by the singer. In the first clause, the word *səmlam-ńaləmlam* is the object of the verb *tuwəm* ‘I brought (it) home’. In the second clause, the third-person plural PPX suffixes on the nonfinites *liləmil* ‘put’ and *kiwərtiləmil* ‘cooked’ refer to a plural patient.

5. Frequentative morphemes can appear as expletives in the language of songs. Their function is to increase the number of syllables.

- (31) *səm-l-am- näləm-l-am jǎqə tuw-əm,*  
heart-PL-1SG tongue-PL-1SG home bring[PST]-1SG  
*nik-nam lilə-m-il lüw,*  
water-APP put-PTC.PST-3PL PCL  
*nik-nam kiwərt-il-əm-il.*  
water-APP COOK-FREQ-PTC.PST-3PL  
‘I took my hunting prey home; they (the pieces of meat) were put  
in the water and cooked.’ (TRJ 87/209–213)

## 4.2. Verbalization in prose

Other than in the language of songs, I have found only two incidents in which person-marked participles appear in predicate position in Surgut Khanty texts. Not incidentally, both cases show passive structures, similar to examples (30) and (31):

- (32) *qət-lumi-nə tǔj-əm äwi pəŋki-nə*  
house uninhabited-LOC have-PTC.PST girl fly agaric mushroom-LOC<sup>6</sup>  
*pit-m-ał.*  
get drunk-PTC.PST-3SG  
‘The girl of the spirit of the house got intoxicated on mushrooms.’  
(BUFF 14/10)
- (33) *os tǎqa jəγ-iw-nə tasəŋ-kə wärəntə-m-iw.*  
PCL PCL father-1PL-LOC rich-TRA do-PTC.PST-1PL  
‘Well, our father has made us rich.’ (JKN 147/607)

It is possible that nonfinite verbalization will occur in Surgut Khanty in the future. If this does occur, however, it will represent a unique innovation of the Surgut dialect, rather than the survival of a common feature of Proto-Khanty.

## 4.3. Participle or verb?

In the Surgut dialect, the verbalization of participles only occurs in the language of songs. With active nonfinites, the PPx is coreferent with the agent; with passive nonfinites, the patient. These occasionally verbalized forms hardly display the richness of the inflected verbs; there is no definite and indefinite conjugation, and verbal moods cannot be marked. In spoken language, participles without person marking do not occur in predicate position; with person marking, they occur only rarely, as in examples (32) and (33).

6. In Surgut Khanty passive constructions, agents are marked by the LOC suffix.

## 5. Conclusion

The following table shows the syntactic functions of *-t-* and *-m-* participles in Surgut Khanty and thus the direction in which the word classes can develop. The + symbol shows whether the nonfinite verb form listed at the top of the column can fulfill the given syntactic function; (+) indicates low frequency and limited productivity.

Syntactic function	Morphological structure of <i>-t-</i> , <i>-m-</i> nonfinites				Word class
	root + PTC	root + PTC + PPx	root + PTC + (PPx) + Cx	root + PTC + (PPx) + PP	
Attribute	+	+	–	–	Participle > adjective
Subject	(+)	+	–	–	Action nominal > noun
Object	(+)	+	–	–	
Adverbial	–	+	+	+	Converb > adverbial
Predicate	–	(+)	–	–	Verb

Table 2. The syntactic functions of the Surgut Khanty participles

The (+) in the root + PTC column indicates that the bare nonfinite – albeit very infrequently – can also function as the subject or object.

- (34) *qət puɣəl qārəɣ-a jōwət,*  
house village area-LAT come[PST.3SG]  
*niməl sōw ǎl-tə-pə əntem.*  
ski ski pole lie-PTC.PRS-PCL NEG  
‘He arrived in the yard, there were neither skis, nor poles (lying).’  
(Chr 106)

The same event is described using three types of verbal structures in the story.

Present participle with person marking:

- (35a) *ma juɣ mǎwr-əm mən-t-əl pə*  
I tree branch-1SG go-PTC.PRS-3SG PCL  
*tōm əntə wul-i.*  
DET NEG see- PRS-PASS.3SG  
‘The flying of my tree branch cannot be seen.’ (JKN 124/ 109)

Bare participle, without person marking:

- (35b) *juɣ mǎwər mən-tə pə əntə wu-l-i.*  
tree branch go-PTC.PRS PCL NEG see- PRS-PASS.3SG  
‘The flying of the tree branch cannot be seen.’ (JKN 124/ 115)

Past participle without person marking:

- (35c) *ma lüw juγ mäwr-əl män-əm əntə pə wuj-əm.*  
 I he tree branch-3SG GO-PTC.PST NEG PCL see-[PST]-1SG  
 ‘I did not even see the flying of his tree branch.’ (JKN 2004:125/ 13)

As subject or object, person-marked nonfinites are much more frequent than nonfinites without PPx. PPx does not always refer to a specific individual; there are cases in which it simply serves as a nominalizer, see also (19):

- (36) *pəl-γəl-nat qot-əl, tú tōw jəŋk-nə*  
 ear-DU-COM listen-PRS[3SG] that lake water-LOC  
*mōləγ-t-əl set-əl.*  
 whisper-PTC.PRS-3SG can be heard- PRS[3SG]  
 ‘He listens with two ears; whispering can be heard on the water of that lake.’ (JKN 2004:122/ 61)

The present study does not address attributive participial structures. I mention only that in the formation of action nominals, the structure root + PTC + (PPx) + N plays much greater role than the root + PTC + PPx structure. Among others, the nouns *wär* ‘work, thing’, *təyi* ‘place’, and *sij* ‘noise’ already carry the features of derivational morphemes: *məntə wär* ‘leaving, traveling’, *wältə təyi* ‘life’, *mōləγtə sij* ‘whispering’. Participial structures with the head *təyi* ‘place’ can also occur in predicate position; they serve here not as nominalizers but a verbalizers. These structures serve as sentence-final forms expressing evidentiality (Csepregi 2008). There is such a variant of example (33) in the same story:

- (37) *täqa, jəγ-iw-nə tas-at, wäy-at*  
 PCL father-1PL-LOC richness-INSF money-INSF  
*məj-m-iw təyi.*  
 give-PTC.PST-1PL place  
 ‘Well, our father gave us richness and money (it seems).’  
 (JKN 147/612)

The table clearly illustrates that the root + PTC + PPx morpheme string is the most universal; the person-marked nonfinite can fulfill any syntactic role in the sentence. In examples (19) through (24), (35a), and (36), the forms serving as subject and object are the closest – even though they maintain their restrictions on argument structure, as well as their ability to express relative time relationships. They are followed by the attribute, which, although a nominal complement, can refer to the agent of the action it expresses, as in examples (6) through (8). Nonfinites that function as adverbials are clausal predicates, and they are closer to verbs (examples (9)–(13), (14a), (15)–(18)), whereas sentence-final nonfinites serving as predicates (examples (29)–(33)) are closest.

## Abbreviations of grammatical terms

1	1st person	N	noun
2	2nd person	NEG	negative
3	3rd person	NEG.PCL	negative particle
ABL	ablative case	PASS	passive
ACC	accusative case	PCL	particle
ADJZR	adjectivizer	PL	plural
APP	approximative case	PRS	present
COM	comitative case	PST	past
Cx	adverbial morpheme	PTC.PRS	present participle
DAT	dative case	PTC.PST	past participle
DET	determiner	PP	postposition
DU	dual	Px	possessive
FREQ	frequentative morpheme	PPx	person marking on the nonfinite
INF	infinitive		
INSF	instructive-final case	SG	singular
LAT	lative case	TRA	translative case
LOC	locative case		

## Abbreviations of data sources

BUFF	Csepregi 2011
Chr.	Csepregi 1998
JAK	Ajpin 2002
JKN	Koškarëva 2004
KVGr	Karjalainen & Vértes 1964
LNK	Lyudmila Kayukova (personal communication)
NyK 108	Csepregi 2012
NyK 80	Honti 1978
OJS	Olesya Sopočina (personal communication)
PVJ	Paasonen & Vértes 2001
TRJ	Csepregi 2003
VJM	Koškarëva & Pesikova 2006

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