Márta Csepregi & Katalin Gugán[1]
Budapest

On clausal subordination in Surgut Khanty
– with implications for Proto-Uralic

1. Introduction

Enumerations of the presumable features of Proto-Uralic syntax usually include that clauses were typically joined paratactically or through nominalization of the verbs of subordinate clauses (Collinder 1960: 250–251, Bereczki 1996: 56). Consequently, it is generally assumed that finite subordination is a later development in the daughter languages, and possibly a result of contact-induced change (see e.g. Filchenko 2015: 175). In what follows, we will focus on subordination in Surgut Khanty, the speakers of which are almost exclusively Russian–Khanty bilinguals. The aim of this paper is twofold: besides giving a concise overview of the different encoding possibilities of clausal subordination, it also aims to discuss the hypothesis that finite subordination as a category would be an interference phenomenon in the syntax of Uralic languages.

Our paper is structured as follows. After giving some basic information about the language under investigation and the methods of investigation (2), we will briefly discuss the features that are regularly used to describe clausal subordination (3), and then, in a truly cursory manner, we will also consider how these features relate to syntactic reconstruction (4). Then in (5) we will describe the three major types of clausal subordination in modern Surgut Khanty, applying the semantic-based classification developed by Cristofaro (2005), and in (6) we will focus on the oldest available texts to point out similarities and differences. On the basis of these, we will argue that i) in line with the typological findings of Cristofaro (2005), certain semantic types of subordinate

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clauses are less likely to contain deranked, that is, nonfinite forms; ii) although there are changes between the two periods, the older texts feature finite subordination as well; iii) however, if these texts had been lost, there would have been hardly any evidence to postulate the earlier presence of finite subordination, as iv) due to the limitations of syntactic reconstruction, it is necessarily skewed towards nonfinite subordination.

2. Surgut Khanty: some basic data and methods of investigation

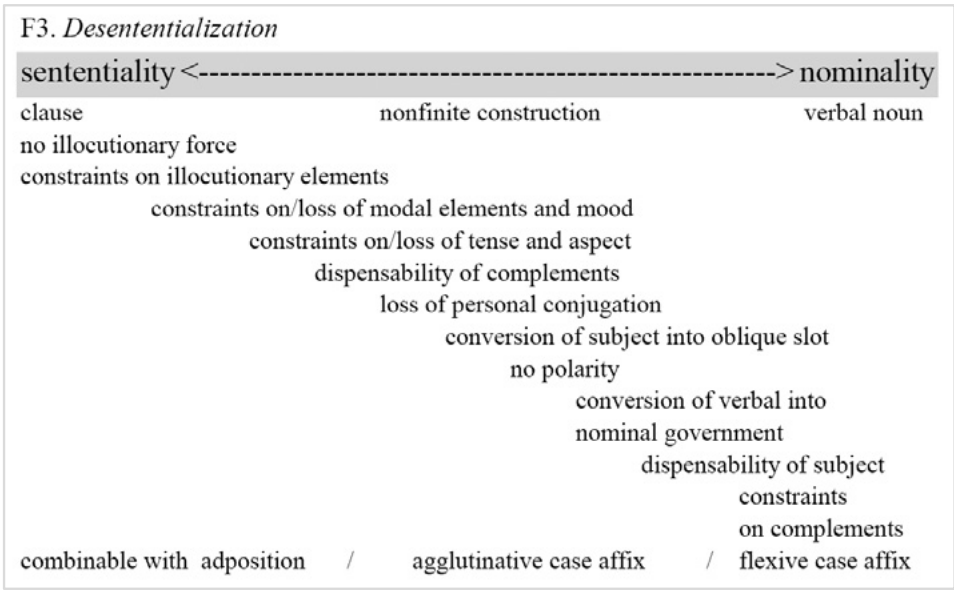
Surgut Khanty is an eastern Khanty dialect spoken around the middle current of the river Ob and its tributaries (Pim, Tromagan, Agan, Small and Big Yugan).[2] The other two eastern dialects, Vakh and Vasyugan Khanty differ significantly from Surgut Khanty at all levels of linguistic structure (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon).[3] Our paper is based on several types of texts, ranging from collections dating from the end of the 19th century (K. F. Karjalainen, H. Paasonen) to 20th-century scientific publications (L. Honti, M. Csepregi)[4] and the material of the Typological Database of the Ugric Languages (Havas et al. 2015). We have also browsed through the Surgut Khanty publications published in Russia (materials published mainly for the purposes of school education). The transcription of the sample sentences was unified on the basis of the principles laid out in Csepregi (2016).

3. Characterizing clausal subordination

In what follows, we will give a brief survey of the features that are generally used to describe subordinate clauses. As Gast & Diessel (2012) observe, the two basic criteria (syntactic function and attachment site) used to classify subordinate clauses would yield in fact four subtypes. Adjunction of a clause to a nominal projection or to a verbal projection yields relative and adverbial clauses, respectively. Complement clauses are clauses that fill argument slots of verbal projections, but certain nominal projections also have argument slots to be filled with a clause, and yet nominal complement clauses are usually omitted from the enumerations of subordinate clause types. Unfortunately, the present study is no exception to this, that is, we will focus on verbal complement, adverbial and relative clauses.

2. According to the results of the 2010 census in the Russian Federation (VPN 2010), 30943 people claimed to be of Khanty nationality. Out of them, 9584 said that they also spoke Khanty. There is no information about the number of the speakers of the dialects; according to current estimations, Surgut Khanty is spoken by approximately 3000 people.
3. Therefore, it seems to be somewhat misleading that A. Filchenko (2010, 2015) publishes Vakh, Vasyugan and Yugan Khanty data under the cover term Eastern Khanty without discussing the differences between the two dialect groups (Vakh and Vasyugan vs. Surgut).
4. The bibliographic data of these sources can be found in the References section.

The morphological and syntactic properties of subordinate clauses, the difference between independent main clauses and subordinate clauses can be described using numerous features. Due to space limitations, we quote Lehmann's desententialization cline (1988: 15) and then illustrate the features during our description of the system of Khanty nonfinite forms.



Some characteristics of desententialization, e.g. the lack of assertiveness (Cristofaro 2005) and the lack of independent illocutionary force (Lehmann 1998) apply to the entire category of subordinate clauses,[5] while others can be used to compare types and subtypes of subordinate clauses.

The form of the predicate of the subordinate clause is a cornerstone of categorization: compared to the predicate of a main clause, subordinate clauses are likely (though to a differing degree) to contain forms that are less marked for the verbal categories (TAM & agreement). Verbs in Surgut Khanty finite clauses are marked for tense (past vs. non-past), mood (indicative vs. imperative), voice (active vs. passive), agree in number and person with the subject, and may agree in number with the object (1, 2).

5. However, Lehmann mentions that non-restrictive relative clauses are an exception to this in that they can have an independent illocutionary force.

(1) *säm-γəł-a* *iłə* *moŋət-γəł-a.* (Chr 88)
eye-DU-2SG away dab.PST-DU-2SG
'You dabbed your (two) eyes.'

(2) *məta* *tåγi-ł* *kür-a* *kəčaŋ,* *pamt-e!* (Razg 50)
what place-3SG foot-2SG sick show-IMP.2SG>SG
'Show where your foot hurts!'

Surgut Khanty features five nonfinite forms. In general, these forms are not marked for tense, voice and mood, but they retain their argument structure, and their arguments have the same morphological marking they would have in the corresponding main clauses (i.e. subjects and nominal objects are unmarked, while pronominal objects bear the accusative case). All the participial forms can be negated independently; the negative participle is a specific way to express negation in a relative clause, but it is still an instance of independent negation.

The infinitive (3) and the converb (4) are not inflected and cannot have any case markers, whereas the three participles, i.e. the present, the past, and the negative participles can bear person markers, and they combine with certain case markers and postpositions. In fact, contrary to what their name suggests, the temporal interpretation (anteriority, posteriority, simultaneity) of the present and past participle mostly depends on the case marker/postposition they combine with (5). The agreement markers that appear on the participial forms are similar to, but not identical with the markers of possession, and participial forms can only agree with their subject, that is, object agreement is impossible in this case.

(3) *t'i* *wăł-ł-əγən,* *ńuł-nam* *måjəł-taγə* *jăŋqił-ł-əγən.* (Chr 74)
thus live-PRS-3DU each.other-APR be.guest-INF go-PRS-3DU
'Thus (the two) live, they visit each other.'

(4) *nüŋ* *łəγəł-min* *mən-ł-ən,* *ma* *kür-at.* (VJM 17)
2SG fly-CVB go-PRS-2SG 1SG foot-INSF
'You shall fly, I'll walk.'

(5) *łüw* *jăŋqił-t-ał-i* *imi-ł* *kat* *ńewrem-γən* *tŏj.* (VJM 35)
3SG go-PTC.PRS-3SG-ABL wife-3SG two child-DU have.PST.3SG
'While he was away, his wife had two children.'

Lehmann (ibid.) also mentions that word order in subordinate clauses can be more rigid than in main clauses, as subordinate clauses are less likely to encode discourse-pragmatic information. Word order in Surgut Khanty is fairly rigid both in main and in subordinate clauses, and it is passivization that is used extensively to mark information structure roles. However, if we substitute passivization for word-order freedom, this feature only partially distinguishes nonfinite subordinate clauses from main clauses:

although nonfinite forms cannot have a voice marker, arguments in nonfinite clauses may also display the case alignment pattern of passive clauses. It is the patient that is relativized in both of the following structures, yet in (6a) the agent appears in the nominative, whereas in (6b) it is in the locative, that is, the case of encoding agents in passive sentences. According to our informant, the two patterns differ in information structure.

(6a) *aťe-m* *puɬt-əm* *ăwɬ-ət* (Csepregi 2012: 71)
father-1SG harness-PTC.PST sledge-PL
'the sledges that were harnessed by my father'

(6b) *aťe-m-nɔ* *puɬt-əm* *ăwɬ-ət*
father-1SG-LOC harness-PTC.PST sledge-PL
'the sledges that were harnessed **by my father**'
[and not by somebody else]

Elements within and between clauses can be both indicators of the strength of dependency. As for the former, subordinate clauses may (as in e.g. purpose clauses) or need to (as in relative clauses) share arguments with the main clause. Besides, arguments may themselves cross the boundaries of their clause (movement, raising), or they may trigger agreement on non-clause-mate elements. The latter phenomenon, though not investigated in detail, is also attested in Surgut Khanty. The relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause may be marked with conjunctions, but it can also be left unmarked;[6] as Lehmann observes, asyndesis is not restricted to coordination.

4. The reconstruction of clausal subordination

One of the safest starting points in syntactic reconstruction is morphology in languages with rich morphology (Harris & Campbell 1995). As an example, the authors reconstruct (with the traditional methods) the Proto-Balto-Finnic verb morphology, and claim that besides the phonological shape, the function of these forms is also reconstructable, as the function of the cognates is similar enough in the daughter languages to warrant the reconstruction of function in the protolanguage. That is, on the basis of morphological reconstruction they are able to assume that PBF had nonfinite subordination and passive voice.

However, the reconstruction of finite subordination is not that straightforward, as there is no such morphological marker that would be unique to this category; quite the contrary, main and subordinate finite clauses can differ in the presence vs. absence of certain morphological features, that is, finite subordinate clauses can

6. It must be mentioned that this observation is not restricted to nonfinite subordination.

be characterized by the lack of certain morphological features (compared to finite main clauses). As for elements linking a subordinate clause, pronouns that appear in finite relative clauses (that is, relative pronouns) are often indeterminate in the sense that they have an interrogative and/or indefinite reading in the appropriate context; adverbial clauses can be marked with elements that have an interrogative function as well. On top of all this, the set of conjunctions is a category relatively open to renewal both due to grammaticalization and to borrowing (as borrowing of conjunctions can happen already under minor structural influence, see Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 80), and, as mentioned before, finite subordination can also be asyndetic.[7] Therefore, one is less likely to find cognate subordinators than cognate markers of nonfinite verb forms.

In what follows, we will describe Surgut Khanty subordinate clauses on the basis of the approach developed in Cristofaro (2005). Applying a functional definition of subordination,[8] Cristofaro's cross-linguistic comparison of the different types of subordinate relations relies on two features, the form of the verb and the coding of the participants in the dependent clause. The verb in the subordinate clause may be balanced or deranked; a verb form is classified as deranked if it cannot appear in independent main clauses taken in isolation. Deranking may involve different patterns of expressing tense, aspect, mood and person agreement distinctions, including the lack of these distinctions.

Arguments may get a different morphological encoding in a subordinate clause than they would get in an independent clause, or they may not appear overtly at all.[9] The comparison of subordination types on the basis of these criteria shows that the morphosyntactic realization of subordination relations reflects the degree of semantic integration of the two states of affairs and the predetermination of the semantic features of the subordinate clause.[10] That is, there are certain types of subordination which are more likely to be less deranked, and this is where we would expect finite subordination to appear – if there is any.[11]

7. And, though rarely, nonfinite subordination can also be syndetic, as in (12).
8. "By subordination will be meant a situation whereby a cognitive asymmetry is established between linked SoAs [= state of affairs], such that the profile of one of the two (henceforth, the main SoA) overrides that of the other (henceforth, the dependent SoA)" (Cristofaro 2005: 33).
9. This however will not play much role in the following discussion: as mentioned above, this is not characteristic of Surgut Khanty.
10. More precisely, semantic features of both the dependent clause and the main clause may be predetermined, but the investigation is based on the features of the subordinate clause (Cristofaro 2005: 116).
11. Cf. Noonan (2007: 122): "Since all languages have ways of presenting direct quotes, all languages use s-like complements with utterance predicates, though other complement types can occur with predicates in this class for indirect discourse. There are, in fact, languages that use true s-like complements only with direct quotes [...]"

5. Finite subordination in modern Surgut Khanty

5.1. Complement clauses

According to the classic definition of complement clauses, these function as arguments of a main predicate. Cristofaro compares those types of verbs that can have clausal arguments, and provides the following implicational hierarchy of deranking:[12]

> Modals, Phasals > Desideratives, Manipulatives ('make', 'order') > Perception > Knowledge, Propositional attitude, Utterance (Cristofaro 2005: 125).

The hierarchy in this case is to be read as follows: if a given language expresses a given subordination type by using a deranked verb form, it will also apply a deranked verb form for all types left of the given type. The overview of the subtypes of Surgut Khanty complementation relations will focus on the question of whether balanced forms appear at all in any of these subordination types, and if they do appear, whether they follow the same order from left to right.

Modal and **phasal** predicates do not seem to appear with finite subordination. In fact, it is also questionable whether these structures should be considered monoclausal or biclausal in Surgut Khanty, as they display some features that would not be characteristic of clausal subordination: passive case alignment of the arguments with the passive marked on the main verb (7), and object agreement on the main verb with the dependent clause object (8). These features suggest strong desententialization (cross-clausal agreement), but it is not the subordinate clause that is desententialized. Instead, it is the matrix verb that is grammaticalized (as an auxiliary) to some extent, – that is, these are either two closely integrated clauses, or already cases of grammaticalized main verbs in a monoclausal construction.

(7) *łüw-nə* *panə* *tʻi* *čemotan* *jăɣłi-taɣə* *tʻi* *wär-i.* (Chr 76)
3SG-LOC and this trunk prod-INF EMPH make-PST.3SG.PASS
'She began to prod that trunk.'

(8) *ənəł* *nŏw* *owti-j-a* *quŋət* *panə*
big branch top-EP-LAT climb.PST.3SG and
tʻi *nŏw* *äwət-ta* *wär-təɣ.* (SMB 88)
this branch cut-INF do-PST.3SG>SG
'He climbed on a big branch and began to cut it.'

12. As our main aspect to see the presence or absence of finite and nonfinite variants of the given types, we will focus on the deranking hierarchies (whereas Cristofaro also provides hierarchies on the basis of arguments and the two aspects combined).

In Surgut Khanty, the most natural way to express a **desiderative** relationship between two states of affairs is a possessive construction, in which the wishing itself is expressed either with the noun *kač* 'wish' and the transitive verb *tăj-* 'have' (9a), or with the possessive-marked form of the same noun and the existential verb (9b). The situation wished for appears as a relative clause modifying the noun 'wish'. There is a third possibility, however, in which the verb *łăŋq-* 'want, like' has an infinitival phrase as its complement (9c; Csepregi 2015).

(9a) *låpka-nam* *mən-tə* *kač* *tăj-ł-əm.*
shop-APR go-PTC.PRS wish have-PRS-1SG

(9b) *ma* *låpka-nam* *mən-tə* *kič-əm* *wăł-ł.*
1SG shop-APR go-PTC.PRS wish-1SG be-PRS.3SG

(9c) *låpka-γ-a* *mən-taγə* *łăŋq-ł-əm.*
shop-EP-LAT go-INF want-PRS-1SG
'I want to/wish to go to the shop.'

According to Cristofaro, the class of **manipulative** predicates consists of two subgroups. One of these express causation, which directly implies the realization of the dependent clause. This type of construction can also be expressed through affixes,[13] and this is a possible strategy in Khanty, too. The second subgroup consists of predicates expressing a request which lack such an implication. The verb *part-* 'order' can be used both to express syntactic causation and a request, and it occurs with an infinitival complement, as in (10a) and (10b).

(10a) *aŋki* *ma* *ťeťope-m* *järnas* *jånt-taγə* *part-əł.* (LNK)
mother 1SG aunt-1SG dress sew-INF order-PRS.3SG
'Mother is making my aunt sew a dress for her.'

(10b) *ťi* *qyrγ-əm* *imi-nə* *iłə* *tini-ta* *pirt-i.* (LJA 198)
this sack-1SG woman-LOC away sell-INF order-PST.PASS.3SG
'My sack was ordered by the woman to be sold.'

Infinitival phrases in desiderative and manipulative constructions can also appear postverbally (11). It is important to note that there is an example in which the postposed infinitival phrase is introduced with the Russian subordinator *štoby* 'in order to' (12); we will return to this later.

13. Cross-linguistically, this also applies to phasal and modal predicates (Cristofaro 2005: 101, 103).

(11) *ma* *łüwat* *küč* *lŏwməłtəγł-əm* *mant*
ISG 3SG.ACC PTCL ask.FREQ-PST.ISG ISG.ACC
wăγ-at *mə-ta.* (PD 1042)
money-INSF give-INF
'I kept asking him/her to give me money.'

(12) *əseγ* *ŏt-əw-nə* *pirt-oj-mən,*
old thing-IPL-LOC suggest-PASS-PST.IDU,
štoby *tem* *məγ-a* *jü-tayə.* (LJA 23)
so.that this land-LAT come-INF
'Our old relative asked us to move to this land.'

Perception verbs are the first on the scale that can occur both with nonfinite and finite complements. In the previously discussed types of subordination, nonfinite was equivalent to the infinitive. In this case, however, the verb in the nonfinite subject (13) and object (14) complement clause appears as a participle. Cristofaro (2005: 105) notes that a perception relation may also be encoded in a way that the subject of the dependent clause appears as the object of the main clause (it is the object of the perception), and the perceived event is encoded in the form of a verbal adjective modifying this object. However, the Khanty structure suggests a different interpretation, as the nonfinite verb is not an adjective-like modifier of the noun (e.g. the interpretation of (14) cannot be that 'I don't see the going-up myself'). The participles in this case rather function as action nominals, and the subject of the nominalized verb appears as its possessor triggering person agreement on the verb ('I don't see my elevation'); it seems that the perceived state of affairs itself is conceptualized as an object.

(13) *kåł* *juγ* *nŏwət* *tåγ-t-ał* *set'-əł.* (Chr 108)
thick tree branch crack-PTC.PRS-3SG sound-PRS.3SG
'The cracking of thick tree branches is audible.'

(14) *num* *tŏrəm* *mən-m-am* *əntə* *wuj-əm.* (Chr 72)
upper sky go-PTC.PST-ISG NEG see-PST.ISG
'I didn't see myself going to the upper sky.'

Finite complement clauses do not have overt complementizers, and they occur after the perception verb (15).

(15) *wu-ł-təγ:* *temi* *juγ-nə* *åməs-l* *t'u* *karəs* *iki.* (Csepregi 2011: 12)
see-PRS-3SG>SG DET tree-LOC sit-PRS.3SG DET eagle man
'(S)he sees: the eagle-man sits on this tree.'

Knowledge verbs display the same patterns, that is, their complement can be either finite (16) or nonfinite (17). It needs to be investigated further whether it is a general phenomenon that matrix verbs appear in the objective conjugation (cf. 15).

(16) *it ma tŏŋəmt-em: müw sys wŏł-ən*
now I understand-PST.1SG>SG what time live-PST.2SG
– t'u sys pərγi əntə jŏγət-ł. (PVO 23)
that time back not come-PRS.3SG
'Now I understood: the time you lived will never come back.'

(17) *ma əntə wu-ł-em, qŏłnam mən-ta.* (Razg 57)
1SG NEG know-PRS-1SG>SG where go-INF
'I don't know where to go.'

Verbs expressing **propositional attitude** seem to be rare in the written sources, but those rare instances are mostly finite (cf. 18 and 19).

(18) *năməksə-ł-əm, sar jăŋq-ł-əm.* (Chr 60)
think-PRS-1SG quickly go-PRS-1SG
'I thought I would return quickly.'

(19) *panə qułməł-tayə nŏməqsə-ł.* (Chr 86)
and spend_night-INF think-PRS.3SG
'And he thinks he would stay the night.'

Utterance verbs may appear either with direct (20) or indirect (21) quotations, and both may contain or lack a conjunction (cf. 21a and 21b). The conjunction appearing here may be an instance of pattern borrowing from Russian (< *мол*).

(20) *łüw jast-əł, məttə: "ləγəł-tə såγət əj păjłaŋ pälk-əm*
s/he say-PRS.3SG, PTCL fly-PTC.PRS as one wing half-1SG
yłtə järkəntəγəł-ł-əm". (Chr 68)
down line-PRS-1SG
'S/he says that: "As I am flying, I'll draw a line with one of my wings down there".'

(21a) *jåγ jastə-ł-ət ma jəm juw wär-tə*
people say-PRS-PL I good wood do-PTC.PRS
mastər wăł-ł-əm. (Chr 56)
master be-PRS-1SG
'People say I am good at carving wood.'

(21b) *miša jastə-γ, məttə łüw qŏltayił*
Misha say-PST.3SG PTCL 3SG tomorrow
wåč-nam mən-əł. (Csepregi 2017: 209)
town-APR go-PRS.3SG
'Misha said he would go to town tomorrow.'

The conjunction originating in utterance clauses may start to spread to other types of verbal complement clauses. In the example below, it is found in the complement clause of a propositional attitude predicate (22).

(22) *ma* *čåpəŋqa* *äwłə-m,* *məttə* *t'et'aŋke-m*
ISG really believe-PST.ISG PTCL grandmother-ISG
naj-nat *ńăwəm-tə* *qŏl* *wuj.* (PVO 28)
fire-COM talk-PTC.PRS ability know.PST.3SG
'I really believed that my grandmother could speak to fire.'

All in all, the distribution of finite and nonfinite constructions among complement relation types does seem to follow the deranking hierarchy in that the left side of the hierarchy (modals, phasals, manipulatives, desideratives) seem to allow mostly (if not only) nonfinite subordination, while the rightward endpoint of the hierarchy (propositional attitude and utterance verbs) are almost exclusively finite. In between (perception and knowledge verbs), both variations are possible.

5.2. Adverbial relations

In adverbial subordination, the dependent state of affairs specifies some aspect of the circumstances of the main state of affairs. As opposed to complement clauses, it is not the main clause predicate that determines the semantic features of the relationship of the main and the dependent clause, but the adverbial relation itself (Cristofaro 2005: 155–156). However, the same aspects that served as the basis of comparison of complementation types (the form of the verb and encoding of arguments) is applicable to adverbial subordination as well, and the resulting hierarchies are also explicable on a semantic basis, which in this case means the semantic characteristics of the different types of adverbial relation themselves (Cristofaro ibid.). A cross-linguistic comparison of adverbial subordination types with respect to verb forms results in the following implicational hierarchy (Cristofaro 2005: 168).

Purpose > Before, After, When > Reality condition, Reason

Purposive subordination in Surgut Khanty appears almost exclusively with nonfinite forms: either with an infinitive (3) or with a case-marked participle (23). Presumably, this is again a pattern in which the deranked verb form is used as an action nominal, and the dependent state of affairs is conceptualized as an object (Cristofaro 2005: 175–177).

(23) *qŏqqə-nam* *wu-t-ał-at* *miša*
far-APR see-PTC.PRS-3SG-INSF Misha
juɣ *ŏɣti-j-a* *quŋət.* (Csepregi 2017: 175)
tree top-EP-LAT climb.PST.3SG
'In order to see far away, Misha climbed to the top of the tree.'

The highly sporadic examples of purposive clauses in which there is a Russian conjunction all have an independent overt subject. It is also interesting to observe that in the example with a finite purposive subordinate clause (24), negation is not expressed with the standard negator but with the prohibitive particle, though the verb is in the passive, which cannot be anything else but indicative.

(24) *tüwət mustəm såγit juγ-at pan-təγ,*
fire necessary as fire-INSF put-PST.3SG>SG
štoby ńewrəm-əł ał put-i. (Csepregi & Sosa 2009: 204–5)
so.that child-3SG PROH freeze-PST.3SG.PASS
'She put a lot of wood on the fire so that her small child would not freeze.'

The available patterns for expressing the different types of **temporal relationship** are clearly abundant, and these can be encoded both through finite and nonfinite subordination. In the case of the latter, it is predominantly the case marker/adposition combining with the participle that expresses relative tense (posteriority, anteriority, overlap).

(25) *łitot=quł łiw-m-ał pyrnə pǎγ-əł-nam ńǎwmił-əł.* (Chr 108)
food=fish eat-PTC.PST-3SG after son-3SG-APR say-PRS.3SG
'Having eaten, she says to his son.'

The converb may also appear in order to express temporal relationship,[14] but its use is restricted to same-subject constructions and the exact nature of the temporal relationship is probably inferred from the context (26).

(26) *qåt-a łǎγ-min, łüw t'et'i ŏjaγt-əγ.* (LNK)
house-LAT enter-CVB s/he grandfather find-PST.3SG
'Entering the house, s/he found his/her grandfather.'

Finally, temporal relationships can be expressed with finite subordination using a conjunction. In the case of one characteristic type, namely that expressing contigiuous anteriority (27), the conjunction is not a Russian loan (Sauer 1999) but a Khanty element appearing in the immediately preverbal position. This conjunction has a further function of encoding concessive relationship.

(27) *kem küč łiwət-ł-ən, ma t'i jŏwət-ł-əm.* (Chr 82)
out as.soon.as run-PRS-2SG I EMPH come-PRS-1SG
'As soon as you run outside, behold, I come.'

Still, occurrences of finite subordination featuring a Russian pattern or matter borrowing (Sakel 2007) are also observable. On the one hand, there are instances of the use of *quntə* 'when' appearing in clause-initial position. On the other hand, posteriority can also be expressed with a finite subordinate clause introduced by the borrowed conjunction *poka* 'until'.

14. More typically, the converb encodes manner relationship.

There are also several patterns, both nonfinite and finite, to express **condition**.[15] As for nonfinite conditional clauses, they either appear with a present participle and the clitic *-ka* (of Komi origin, DEWOS 583–585; Example 28), or with the conditional nonfinite form (29).

(28) *t'umint* *süj-əł* *łirti* *pit-t-ał-ka...* (Chr 92)
that.kind.of noise-3SG clear fall-PTC.PRS-3SG-COND
'[You should run out,] if that noise arises.'

(29) *mantem* *metałek-kə* *jek-ŋ-a,* *jeɣ-a!* (Honti 1978: 132)
1SG.DAT something-TRA become-COND-2SG become-IMP.2SG
'If you become something for me, become!'

However, the nonfinite conditional form is infrequent, and Karjalainen (Karjalainen & Vértes 1964: 269)[16] mentions in his grammar sketches that his language instructor preferred to use a structure with a finite verb and *quntə* 'when' (30). The source of the conjunction is the question word *quntə* 'when', instantiating a typical grammaticalization process, and it is placed regularly after the finite verb of the subordinate clause, a position which is almost only characteristic of adverbial subordinators in head-final languages (Dryer 2007).

(30) *mät-ən* *quntə,* *ałint-a!* (Chr 74)
tire-PST.2SG if lay.down-IMP.2SG
'If you are tired, lay down!'

Finally, **reason clauses** pattern with temporals in that they have both finite and nonfinite variants, and the nonfinite form in this case is either a case-marked participle or a participle + postposition construction. The case marker or postposition is the same as the one encoding purposive relationship (31). However, finite reason clauses have a special feature in that the main clause may contain a pronominal element encoding the reason relationship, and this may appear either pre- or postverbally (32).

(31) *uɣ-əm* *kəčə* *wŏł-m-ał-at,* *ma* *lekar-nam* *mən-əm.* (LNK)
head-1SG sick be-PTC.PST-3SG-INSF 1SG doctor-APR go-PST.1SG
'As I had a headache, I went to the doctor.'

(32) *juɣ* *ŏntnam* *mən-ət* *t'i* *pətan,*
forest into go-PST.3PL this for
łüwănta *jăqən* *wăł-ta* *łăŋk-ł-ət.* (Chr 56)
perhaps home live-INF want-PRS-3PL
'They went into the forest for this: they perhaps wanted to live at home.'

15. Due to space limitations, we limit ourselves here to discussing only reality conditions, as this was also the type discussed in Cristofaro's study.
16. Karjalainen's fieldwork took place between 1898 and 1902, this is the period when he collected material for his (partly posthumously) published works.

In general, the subtypes of adverbial relationship pattern similarly to the cross-linguistic hierarchy established by Cristofaro in that while purpose clauses are almost exclusively nonfinite (deranked), temporal and conditional clauses can be both balanced and deranked. Conditionals, however, differ from temporals in that the finite structure displays a conjunction that does not show either matter or pattern borrowing, and this applies to concessives as well. These adverbial relationship types are predominantly expressed through finite subordination, and if there was a change in this respect among conditionals, then the spread of finite conditional clauses must have taken place prior to the beginning of the 20th century. Reason clauses, however, are higher on the deranking hierarchy than conditional clauses in Surgut Khanty, as these appear both with finite and nonfinite patterns, whereas conditional clauses are predominantly finite. The fact that all adverbial relations except condition can be encoded through nominalized verbs + postpositions or case markers is in harmony with Cristofaro's claim (2005: 175–177) that certain subordination types can have special properties as they can be construed as objects, whereas condition cannot.

5.3. Relative clauses

In relative relations, the dependent state of affairs specifies the referent of a participant of the main state of affairs through providing another event in which it is involved in (Cristofaro 2005: 195). There is no semantic integration at all between the two SoAs, they are only linked through the shared participant. Therefore, the parameters used to distinguish the types of complement or adverbial clauses do not distinguish the types of relative clauses. Still, these types too can be ordered with respect to argument encoding and deranking of the verb cross-linguistically, but those hierarchies are based on the Accessibility Hierarchy of Relativization established by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

However, types of relative clauses seem to pattern uniformly in Surgut Khanty in that they display nonfinite forms applying the gap strategy, and this construction is available even with roles at the end of the Relative Deranking Hierarchy (A, S > O > Indirect Object, Oblique, see (33); Cristofaro 2005: 203). The newly emerging finite relative clauses[17] are investigated in detail in Csepregi (2012) and Dékány et al. (2020).

(33) *säm-a* *pit-m-am* *puγəł* (Csepregi 2012: 70)
eye-LAT fall-PTC.PST-1SG village
'The village where I was born'

17. Instances of which can be elicited, but they seem to occur rarely in published texts so far.

6. Finite subordination in Paasonen's collection

Unfortunately, the corpus for examining Surgut Khanty at the beginning of the 20th century is extremely small: it consists of four tales collected by Heikki Paasonen in 1901, so it only enables us to observe what kind of structures existed, but it is an absolutely insufficient basis for claiming any lack of certain patterns. Moreover, it cannot be said that this is a language sample free of interference phenomena: contacts with speakers of Russian had started in the 16th century, well before the time of the first collections among the Ob-Ugric peoples. Still, these tales antedate the massive Russian influence, so it can be instructive to compare it with modern texts. Below we only summarize the instances of finite subordination in order to see whether this variant was available for more or fewer types of subordinating constructions than in present-day Khanty.

Quotations are almost without exception direct,[18] and these cannot be anything other than finite (34).

(34) *aŋki-ł* *jast-əł:* *păγ,* *łăw-nat* *mən-a!* (PV: 20)
mother-3SG say-PRS.3SG son horse-COM go-IMP.2SG
'His mother says: "Son, go on horseback!"'

There is only one instance of a verb expressing propositional attitude, but it also has a finite clause as its complement (35).

(35) *ma* *năməqsə-l-əm,* *ńyči* *os* *wăł-ł.* (PV: 52)
1SG think-PRS-1SG perhaps still be-PRS.3SG
'I think perhaps there is some more.'

Finally, perception predicates allow both finite and nonfinite complements (36).

(36) *əj* *łat-nə* *pupi* *qołənt-əł:*
one time-LOC bear listen-PRS.3SG
ŏrt-əł *wiγ-t-ał* *set'-əł.* (PV: 22)
hero-3SG shout-PTC.PRS-3SG be.audible-PRS.3SG
'Once the bear listens: the cries of the hero are audible.'

From among adverbial clauses, conditional clauses can be nonfinite, asyndetic finite (37) and syndetic finite (38).

(37) *səm-a* *wăł-ł-i,* *qåt* *tŏm* *pălək-a* *jăŋqił-a!* (PV: 70)
heart-2SG kill-PRS-PASS.3SG house DET half-LAT walk-IMP.2SG
'(If) you are hungry, go to the other side of the house!'

18. The only instance of indirect quotation, however, appears in the form of an infinitive.
qŏłtayəł *mə-tayə* *jastə-ł.* (PV: 20)
tomorrow give-INF say-PRS.3SG
'He said he would give it tomorrow.'

(38) *kat* *köt-γən-nat* *quntə* *katəł-ł-əm,*
two hand-DU-COM if grab-PRS-1SG
kat *t'örəs-γən* *put* *ałəm-ł-əm.* (PV: 50)
two thousand-DU pot lift-PRS-1SG
'If I grab it with both hands, I can lift two thousand pots.'

From among temporal relations, contiguous anteriority is also encoded with the subordinator *küč* in a finite clause (39). However, there are no instances of finite relative clauses.[19]

(39) *jăqə* *łăŋ-taγə* *küč* *raŋəp-əs,* *owpi*
inside step-INF as start-PST.3SG door
jäčə-γa *qγn-əm* *məγ=wŏŋk-a* *körγə-s.* (PV: 96)
middle-LAT dig-PTC.PST earth=pit-LAT fall-PST.3SG
'As soon as he stepped inside, he fell into the pit dug at the middle of the entrance.'

These data suggest that in the case of complement and adverbial clauses there does not seem to be a significant shift towards finite subordination: those types that allow finite realization in modern Khanty seem to have allowed it at least from the times of the earliest collection. However, change is evident in the marking of subordination. On the one hand, there emerged a complementizer that seems to have acquired this new function through pattern borrowing: the particle *məttə* is present in the Paasonen tales as well, but it does not appear in quotative constructions, whereas this is one of its characteristic functions in modern texts – and moreover it may have started to spread into other subtypes of complement clauses.[20] On the other hand, there appeared borrowed conjunctions (e.g. *štoby* 'in order to').

Does the appearance and spread of conjunctions instantiate significant structural change? Cristofaro argues that patterns that apply a balanced verb form in both of the linked clauses, and the only difference between them is the presence or absence of a conjunction, "are in fact two sides of the same strategy, one in which the structure of both the linked clauses is kept intact with respect to that of the corresponding independent clause" (2005: 55). As the new conjunctions mark structures that had already been present (in the form of asyndetic subordination), it seems to be the case that the growing intensity of contact is not reflected in the intensity of change.

19. Still, there are some instances of correlatives, e.g.:
čewər *qŏt* *ŏjaγtəstə-γ,* *tŏt* *jəm* *ułəm* *wär-s-əγən* *čewər-nat.* (PV: 24)
rabbit where notice-PST.3SG there good dream do-PST-3DU rabbit-COM
'He took leave of the rabbit where he found him.'

20. It remains to be seen whether this spread follows a structured pattern.

7. Conclusions

Speakers of Surgut Khanty are generally bilingual, and nonfinite subordination is present in Surgut Khanty. In certain cases, particularly in the case of the newly emerging finite relative clauses, it can be safely assumed that this is an interference phenomenon due to bilingualism. Still, there are other subtypes of subordination (among complement clauses, perception, propositional attitude and utterance verbs; among adverbial clauses, conditional and concessive clauses) in the case of which it is less likely that finite subordination would be the result of language contact, as a) these are types of subordinating clauses that cross-linguistically rank low on the hierarchies based on the deranking of the verb form; b) these finite subordinate clauses are attested from the time of the earliest sources, that is, prior to the most intensive phases of russification, and c) the shift among the conditionals from nonfinite to finite (also predating intensive Russian contact) does not reflect borrowing either in the form of the subordinator or in its placement.

However, if the tales collected by Paasonen had been lost, finite complementation as such could be thought of as a result of contact-induced change. Going further back in time, this could apply to Proto-Uralic as well, even more so because, as Cristofaro observes, languages that have two sets of verb forms such that one of these can only be used in independent clauses, while the other only in dependent clauses, are in fact extremely rare (2005: 54). Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that Proto-Uralic was not such an atypical language either, and certain subtypes of subordination could have been expressed though finite subordination. Consequently, although the contact-induced spread of finite subordination is attested in many of the Uralic languages, the presence of finite subordination as a category can hardly be the result of contact in these languages.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
APR	approximative case
COM	comitative case
COND	conditional
CVB	converbum
DAT	dative case
DET	determiner
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic particle
EP	ephentetic vowel
FREQ	frequentative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSF	instructive-final case
LAT	lative case
LOC	locative case
NEG	negative
PASS	passive
PTCL	particle
PL	plural
PRS	present
PROH	prohibitive
PST	past
PTC.PRS	present participle
PTC.PST	past participle
SG	singular
TRA	translative case

Abbreviations of data sources

Chr	Csepregi 1998
DEWOS	Steinitz 1966–1993
LNK	Lyudmila Kayukova (personal communication)
LJA	Pesikova & Volkova 2013
PD	Paasonen & Donner 1926
PV	Paasonen & Vértes 2001
PVO	Pesikova & Volkova 2010
Razg	Pokačeva & Pesikova 2006
SMB	Handybina 2011
VJM	Koškarëva & Pesikova 2006

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