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PASSIVE IN KAZYM KHANTY AND THE INTERACTION OF GIVENNESS, TOPICALITY AND ANIMACY*

Abstract. This paper concerns the active/passive voice alternation in Kazym Khanty. According to the existing literature, the use of passive in Khanty is conditioned by information structure. Kazym dialect data, however, suggest that there are other parameters such as givenness and animacy that affect the choice of voice. Thus, the aim of this study was to explore the relevant parameters and highlight the ways they interact. The study reveals that in all-new contexts with no established topic speakers choose the voice construction based on animacy, while givenness and topicality play a decisive role on later stages of the discourse.

Keywords: Khanty, passive, voice, morphosyntax, animacy, topicality, givenness.

Introduction

Passive voice in Northern Khanty is an inflectional voice category which is said to be closely related to information structure. As stated in Nikolaeva 2001 : 2: "Passive construction arises when the topic [---] does not correspond to the semantic role of agent". Compared to the Active construction it can be described as promoting a topical non-A participant to Subject position while demoting a non-topical A participant. However, a closer look at Kazym Khanty data reveals that in addition to information structure the choice between Active and Passive is conditioned by a number of other parameters. Thus, the main objective of this study is to present a systematic description of these parameters and to highlight the ways they interact. This study is mainly based on the elicited data collected in the field in Kazym village 2021, Russia, and during online sessions with Kazym speakers, but also uses some corpus data from unpublished Northern Khanty corpus collected by Egor Kashkin (2012–2014) and a collection of Kazym texts from the field. The study shows that in contexts with no established topic speakers choose the voice construction based on animacy and givenness of the participants. The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 presents an overview of Passive voice in Kazym Khanty, section 2 discusses the relevant parameters, section 3 focuses on the interaction of these param-

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eters, section 4 discusses the findings of the study in a broader perspective.

1. Passive in Kazym Khanty

Kazym Khanty possesses an inflectional Passive, see Koshkareva 2002; Kaksin 2010 on Kazym dialect data as well as more general discussion in Kulonen 1989; Черемисина, Соловар 1991; Nikolaeva 2001; Мырина 2005; É. Kiss 2019 and a series of papers by A. Filchenko on Eastern dialects (2005; 2011; 2012). In Active, as in example (1) below, both agent and non-agent appear in the form of unmarked full noun phrases, while personal pronouns in the object position receive accusative marking. Passive voice, as in (2), has a special marking on the verb with *-a(j)/-i(j)-* suffix which appears after the stem and before the pronominal markers (Kaksin 2010 : 112–114). The non-agent in Passive is unmarked, while the agent is often omitted but can be expressed in an oblique noun phrase marked with locative, cf. *maša-j-en-ən* below.

- (1) *maša-j-en* *waša-j-en* *λ a p t-ə s*
 Masha-EP-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG feed-PST[3SG]
 'Masha fed Vasya'
- (2) *waša-j-en* *maša-j-en-ən* *λ a p ə t-s-a*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG Masha-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Vasya was fed by Masha'

According Kulonen 1989 and Nikolaeva 2001, the main function of passivization in Khanty is demotion of the A-argument which does not match the primary topic role and promotion of another more topical participant in its place. This can be illustrated with the following sentences where the patient *Vasya* is the current topic whereas the agent is either unknown/unimportant (3) or is new information and therefore not sufficiently activated (4).

- (3) *waša-j-en* *λ a p ə t-s-a*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 {What about Vasya?} 'Vasya was fed'
- (4) *waša-j-en* *pe'ta-j-en-ən* *λ a p ə t-s-a*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG Petya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 {Who fed Vasya?} 'Petya fed Vasya'

A remarkable feature of Passive in Khanty as well as in other Ob-Ugric languages is that it promotes a wide range of non-subject participants including not only patient and theme but also recipient (5), beneficiary (6) and location (7), see Kulonen 1989 for an extensive discussion.

- (5) *wen-jɔx-λ-aλ-ən* *mört-a* *m ə j λ ə-s-i j-ə t*
 son-in-law-people-PL-POSS.3SG-LOC measure-LAT donate-PST-PASS-3PL
 'They were donated abundantly by their son-in-law's family' (Kulonen 1989 : 229)
- (6) *maw-ən* *pāsan-ən, sör-ən* *pāsan-ən* *w e r-s-a j-ə t*
 honey-ADJ tavle-LOC beer-ADJ table-LOC make-PST-PASS-3PL
 'A nourishing table with honey was laid for them' (Kulonen 1989 : 220)

- (7) *mǔw šiw-ən ɔ m ə s - λ - a*
 earth mist-LOC sit.down-NPST-PASS[3SG]
 'The weather is misty' (Kulonen 1989 : 185)

The passivized verb needs not be transitive. It can be ambitransitive as *mǔsti* 'sit, set' in (7), proper intransitive as *jǔχǔtti* 'come' in (8) and impersonal intransitive as *pǔtłǔti* 'get dark' as in (9). The only necessary condition is the promoted participant be topical and affected by the event.

- (8) *sət xqj-əp λaλ-ən ki j ǔ χ ə t - λ - a j - ə w*
 100 man-ADJ army-LOC if come-PST-PASS-1PL
 'If an army with a hundred men come against us' (Kulonen 1989 : 165)
- (9) *lǔw śǎta p ǎ t ł ə - s - i* (Соловар 2010 : 92)
 she there get.dark-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'It got dark on her there'

Certain verbs can be classified as deponential, or *passiva tantum*, i. e. they lack Active forms altogether. These include e. g. *wuśǎrti* 'water (about eyes)', *šǔwemǔti* 'get dizzy', *lǔp omǔsti* 'get stuffy (about nose)', *səχǎrmǔti* 'get hungry', *wujǔmti* 'fall asleep', *maŋǔnmǔti* 'doze off', *mǎremǔti* 'get bored', *wotti* 'turn grey', *kǔtǎrlǔti* 'get burnt', *lǔp χǔtsǔti* 'fall silent', see examples (10), (11) below and Соловар 2010 for a broader list and discussion.

- (10) *maša-j-en m a η ə n m ə - s - i*
 Masha-EP-POSS.2SG doze.off-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Masha dozed off.'
- (11) *nǔλ-εm lǔp o m ə s - s - a*
 nose-POSS.1SG tightly sit.down-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'I have a stuffy nose.'

In general, Passive in Kazym Khanty structurally resembles typical personal passives, as e. g. in many Indo-European languages. However, as has been shown above its grammatical behavior diverges from what is expected for a passive construction and thus requires a more detailed consideration. In what follows we will discuss the properties of Khanty Passive against the typological background.

2. Passive or inverse?

Passives are very widespread and diverse across languages and have been widely investigated in typology (see Shibatani 1988; Passivization and Typology 2006; Zúñiga, Kittilä 2019). Many of the studies provide typological definitions and criteria for identifying passive constructions, such as a definition of the passive prototype in (Shibatani 1985 : 837) presented in (12) below.

- (12) a. Primary pragmatic function: Defocusing of agent
 b. Semantic properties:
 1. Semantic valence: Predicate (agent, patient)
 2. Subject is affected
 c. Syntactic properties:
 1. Syntactic encoding: agent → (not encoded); patient → subject
 2. Valence of P[redicate]: Active = P/n; Passive = P/n-1
 d. Morphological property: Active = P; Passive = P[+passive]

Passive construction in Kazym Khanty meets most of the above criteria. It has a special morphological marking on the verb (12d) and marks non-agent as the subject often leaving agent unencoded (12c1). Yet, the agent often appears as a locative oblique which also makes the idea of valence decrease (12c2) at least questionable. Besides, it can even increase the valence of the predicate as we have seen earlier in examples (8) and (9). Concerning semantic (12b) and pragmatic properties (12a) Khanty Passive does often demote the agent of a transitive verb and promote its affected non-agent. However, we have already observed that passivization also applies to intransitive verbs (see examples (8), (9)) and the agent can even appear in focus (example (4)).

Since Passive in Kazym Khanty diverges from the passive prototype, a reasonable step is to compare it with other voice categories, which may be closer equivalents to what we see in Khanty. One such grammatical category functionally close to passive is inverse, cf. examples of Direct (13) and Inverse (14) in a Tanoan language Southern Tiwa very similar to Active and Passive in Khanty.

(13) Southern Tiwa: *Seuanide ti-m ɥ - b a n*
 man 1SG.II(A)-see-PST
 'I saw him (the man)' (Klaiman 1993 : 364)

(14) Southern Tiwa: *Seuanide-ba te-m ɥ - c h e - b a n*
 man-OBL 1SG.I-see-PASS-PST
 'He (the man) saw me' (Klaiman 1993 : 364)

Inverse voice is primarily a feature of languages with hierarchical systems where core participants are indexed on the verb according to their relative positions on the person-animacy hierarchy (Zúñiga 2006). It indicates that the non-A participant is hierarchically higher than the A participant. However, there are many instances of voice categories in non-hierarchical languages that have also been labeled inverses, which raised discussions on their comparison with passives. C. Thompson (1984 : 62) suggested several typological criteria for inverses listed in (15) below.

(15) The following structural clues may be indicative of an inverse construction:

1. the inverse morphology is obligatory when there is a third person subject and speech act participant object
 2. the case marking remains the same as it would in the corresponding direct/active clause
 3. the verb remains transitive and active
 4. other non-agents besides patients may be affected
 5. there is a special morpheme for the direct as well as for the inverse
- Each of these structural diagnostics may be violated in a particular language, however.

The functional diagnostics of an inverse are:

1. the agent is not suppressed
2. the non-agent is more topical than a typical non-agent in a direct clause

According to the above criteria, structurally Passive in Kazym Khanty is far from the inverse prototype. Although it keeps the verb transitive and active and promotes non-patient participants, it still marks agents as obliques and there is no corresponding morpheme for the direct form. However, it

fully meets the functional criteria. It does not normally suppress agents, and the non-agent is higher in topicality than it is in Active. One more informal criterion which is not on this list but is used by several authors in "Voice and Inversion" (1994) is frequency in texts, and Kazym Khanty Passive does appear in texts far more often than would be expected of passives.

The situation with speech act participants as opposed to third person deserves special attention.

Elicited data suggest that in direct SAP>3 contexts Active is the only option (16a), while Passive cannot be formed due to absence of locative pronominal forms (16b). This is compatible with the idea of Active functioning as direct voice.

- (16) a. *ma waśa-j-en χăťśə-s-əm*
 I Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG hit-PST-1SG
 'I hit Vasya'
- b. **waśa-j-en "măñeməñ" χăťśə-s-i*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG I.LOC¹ hit-PST-PASS [3SG]
 'Vasya was hit by me'

Yet, in inverse 3>SAP contexts Passive does not show clear preference over Active as would be expected from an inverse: it does appear as a default option (17a) but Active remains fully grammatical (17b).

- (17) a. *ma waśa-j-en-ən χăťśə-s-ij-əm*
 I Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC hit-PST-PASS-1SG
 'I was hit by Vasya'
- b. *waśa-j-en măñətti χăťśə-s*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG I.ACC hit-PST[3SG]
 'Vasya hit me'

This preference is however observable in text data where Passive in such contexts is much more frequent than Active, see table 1 below.

Table 1

Kazym text data on the use of Active and Passive
 in direct and inverse configurations

	SAP>3	3>SAP	Total
Active	159	6	165
Passive	—	59	59
Total	159	65	283

Viewing Kazym Khanty Passive as an instance of inverse suggests looking not only at person distinctions but at other hierarchical parameters which determine the relative ranking of A and P, such as definiteness/specificity and animacy (Zúñiga 2006 : 48), and Passive in Kazym Khanty does appear sensitive to them. The effect of definiteness/specificity on the choice between Active and Passive is shown in (18)–(20) below. In (18), A-argument 'boy' is specific indefinite whereas the P-argument 'cup' is definite, hence the obligatory use of Passive, as in (18b), cf. ungrammaticality of Active (18a).

¹ A non-existent form.

- (18) a. **mǔlsər* *aj_iki* *tām an-en* *š ŭ k ə t - ə s*
 what.INDEF boy DEM cup-POSS.2SG break-PST[3SG]
 Exp.: 'Some boy broke the cup'
- b. *tām an-en* *mǔlsər* *aj_iki-j-ən* *š ŭ k ə t - s - a*
 DEM cup-POSS.2SG what.INDE boy -EP-LOC break-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'The cup was broken by some boy'

A-argument can be unexpressed due to its being generic, unknown, or irrelevant, as in (19), (20). In this case Passive again is the only option available.

- (19) *an* *š ŭ k ə t - s - a* / **šŭkət-s-ət*
 cup break-PST-PASS[3SG] / break-PST-3PL
 {What happened?} 'The cup was broken'
- (20) *tāta išne-t* *at* *keša t ɔ χ ə r - λ - a j - ə t* / **tɔχər-λ-ət*
 here window-PL night for close-PST-PASS-3PL / close-PST-3PL
 'Here they close windows for the night'

Animacy also appears to play a crucial role. Passive obligatorily occurs in contexts where the A-argument is inanimate, cf. 'wind' acting over *Masha* in (21). When animate non-human A is acting over Human P Passive is also preferred over Active.

- (21) a. *maša-j-en* *wət-ən* *i λ* *p ǎ w ə t - s - a*
 Masha-EP-POSS.2SG wind-LOC down drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Masha was dropped down by the wind'
- b. **wət-en* *maša-j-en* *i λ* *p ǎ w t - ə s*
 wind-POSS.2SG Masha-EP-POSS.2SG down drop-PST[3SG]
 'The wind dropped Masha down'

Other important parameters include discreteness and, to a lesser degree, also number, cf. preference for Passive with A-participant 'people' and 'girl' in (22).

- (22) a. *aj_iki joχ-ən* / *ewe-t-ən* *λ a p ə t - s - a*
 boy people-LOC / girl-PL-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A boy was fed by the people / girls'
- b. **joχ* / *%ewe-t²* *aj_iki* *λ a p t - ə s*
 people / girl-PL boy feed-PST[3SG]
 Exp.: 'People / girls fed the boy.'

As we can see from all the above examples, on structural terms Passive in Kazym Khanty can be considered a passive, but its application is wider than just transitive contexts with affectedness of P and defocusing of A, and it does not necessarily decrease the verbal valency. On the other hand, it appears to be functionally close to inverse which does not suppress agents, is used with highly topical non-agents, and is sensitive to various hierarchical parameters such as animacy and definiteness/specificity.

3. Parameters and their interaction

A critical idea behind the analysis which follows is that the abovementioned parameters are of different nature. While animacy and person are constant properties of referents, givenness and topicality change over time: normally what is discourse-new later becomes given and what is focused later becomes

² % stands for "acceptable for some of the speakers".

topical. Thus, for a proper understanding of how the appropriate voice construction is chosen, it seems necessary to look at the active/passive distinction in a dynamic discourse perspective. For this purpose, a single discourse episode was presented to the speakers in several versions with respect to givenness and topicality of the two core participants. Givenness is understood in terms of Krifka 2008 as the information present in the immediate common ground of the speech act participants and will be controlled here by means of (not) mentioning a participant in the pretext and additionally by the choice of a proper or a common noun for naming the referent in question. In a way, it is similar to definiteness, although the latter notion includes more intricate cases of unique but not familiar referents which will not be discussed here (see Gundel, Hedberg, Zacharski 1993) for details. The notion of topicality is more complex, as it can be understood either in terms of aboutness relation between a constituent and the rest of the sentence (Lambrecht 1994) or in terms of centrality of a referent in the current discourse (Givón 1983). Here these two approaches are combined in a way that the participant introduced as a transitive subject and aboutness topic in the pretext becomes the center of attention in the following sentence.

Given that new referents cannot be salient and that a pair of one new and one given participant yields a straightforward choice of the voice construction, see example (18) above, we are left with the following four possible set-ups: (a) new A and P (section 3.1); (b) given A and P (section 3.2); (c) given A and P, topical A (section 3.3); (d) given A and P, topical P (section 3.4).

Within each set-up, A and P are presented in different combinations with respect to animacy along the scale of humans > higher animals > lower animals > inanimates. The questionnaire included words 'boy', 'girl', common nouns (*Vasya*, *Petya*, *Masha*) as examples of human referents, 'cat' and 'dog' as higher animals, 'bee' and 'mosquito' as lower animals, 'cup' as inanimate P and 'wind' as inanimate A. The pretext of each sentence was fully translated into the target language to ensure the proper understanding of the sentence.

3.1. Both participants are discourse-new

Let us first consider a context in which the speaker encounters some new event whose participants have not been prior introduced into the discourse by the speaker and are not familiar to the hearer. This is ensured by the context of entering the room or going outside the house which starts a brand-new discourse episode, and formally by the absence of 2SG and 3SG possessive marking appearing by default on definite noun phrases, see (Михайлов 2018). In a prototypically transitive setting with an animate A and an inanimate P, both Active (23a) and Passive (23b) are equally acceptable.

- (23) {When I entered the room} a. *aj_iki an š u k a t - ə s*
 boy cup break-PST[3SG]
 'A boy broke a cup'
 b. *an aj_ikij-ən š u k a t - s - a*
 cup boy-EP-LOC break-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A cup was broken by a boy'

In an opposite setting where an inanimate natural force acts on an animate entity, as in (24a, b) with a wind and a girl, only Passive is acceptable.

- (24) {When I came out} a. *ewi wot-ən iλ p a w ə t - s - a*
 girl wind-LOC down drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A girl was dropped by the wind'
 b. **wot ewi iλ p a w t - ə s*
 wind girl down drop-PST[3SG]
 Exp. 'The wind dropped a girl'

If both core participants are animate, the outcome depends on their relative ranking on the animacy hierarchy. Whenever A > P in animacy, as in (25a, b) where a human 'boy' acts on an animal 'bee', Active voice is either the only option or a preferred choice.

- (25) {When I entered the room} a. *aj_iki pos k a t λ - ə s*
 boy wasp catch-PST[3SG]
 'A boy caught a wasp'
 b. **pos aj_iki-j-ən katəλ-s-a*
 wasp boy-EP-LOC break-PST-PASS[3SG]
 Exp.: 'A wasp was caught by a boy'

In an opposite A < P setting, as in (26a, b) where an animal 'bee' acts on a human 'boy', Passive voice is favored.

- (26) {When I entered the room} a. *aj_iki pos-ən t ə χ ə m - s - a*
 boy wasp-EP-LOC sting-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A boy was stung by a bee'
 b. **pos aj_iki t ə χ m - ə s*
 wasp boy sting-PST[3SG]
 Exp.: 'A bee stung a boy'

If A and P are equal in animacy, as in (27a, b) with a girl and a boy, the two voice constructions are equally grammatical.

- (27) {When I entered the room} a. *ewi aj_iki λ a p t - ə s*
 girl boy feed-PST[3SG]
 'A girl was feeding a boy'
 b. *aj_iki ew-ij-ən λ a p ə t - s - a*
 boy girl-EP-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A boy was being fed by a girl'

Table 2 below summarizes the choice of voice construction in all possible combinations of animate participants in all-new contexts.

Table 2

The distribution of speakers' judgments of Active in Passive in all-new contexts

	P human		P higher animal		P lower animal	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
A human	+	+	+	%	+	-
A higher animal (dog, cat)	%	+	+	+	+	%
A lower animal (bee, mosquito)	-	+	%	+	+	+

Considering the above data, one may conclude that the only way to express a transitive event with both new participants and a less animate A is to use Passive. However, at least some verbs of physical contact, such as *χătśəti* 'hit'

and *təχəmti* 'bite', *künšəməti* 'capture', *katəłti* 'catch', *χəjti* 'touch' can instead employ a case-marking alternation in Active, as in example (28).

- (28) *pos a j _ i k i - j - a / *a j _ i k i t ə x m - ə s*
 wasp boy-EP-DAT / boy sting-PST[3SG]
 'A wasp stung a boy'

Such verbs normally code P with Accusative but can use Dative whenever an event diverges from the transitive prototype, and particularly when A < P in animacy. The distribution of ACC and DAT is shown in table 3 below.

Table 3

The distribution of speakers' judgments of accusative and dative
 in all-new contexts

	P human	P higher animal	P lower animal
A human	DAT, ACC	DAT, ACC	DAT, ACC
A higher animal (dog, cat)	DAT, %ACC	DAT, ACC	DAT, ACC
A lower animal (bee, mosquito)	DAT, *ACC	DAT, %ACC	DAT, ACC

Overall, in all-new contexts the data show a clear hierarchical pattern in terms of animacy. A > P contexts favor Active voice, A < P contexts favor Passive voice. The only exception is a prototypically transitive combination of animate A and inanimate P where both options are equally acceptable. A possible explanation is that two animate participants always compete for topichood and therefore must be grammatically differentiated. If the participants show a clear contrast in animacy, no such differentiation is necessary.

3.2. Both participants are discourse-given, none is topical

Now let us turn to a context where the speaker has just introduced both participants to the hearer by just mentioning their presence in the room. This means that these participants were new in the preceding context, and become given in the target sentence, but none of them have yet taken a topic role in the current discourse. The givenness of the participants here in comparison to all-new contexts is reflected in a change of morphological form, as both noun phrases appear with a definite possessive marking or a demonstrative determiner. For the prototypical transitive animate A > inanimate P setting and the reverse inanimate A > animate P setting no changes in speakers' judgments are observed. In the former again both Active and Passive are acceptable, in the latter only Passive is grammatical. If both A and P are animate there is a shift in the distribution of Active and Passive compared to all-new contexts. In A = P settings the situation stays the same with no preference between the two voice constructions. In A > P settings, as in (29) where a human 'boy' acts on an animal 'bee', Passive voice (b) becomes fully grammatical along with Active (a).

- (29) {Vasya was sitting in the room and a bee was flying nearby}
 a. *waśa-j-en śi pos-əł k a t λ - ə s - λ e*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG DEM wasp-POSS.3SG catch-PST-3SG.SO
 'Vasya caught the bee'
 b. *śi pos-en waśa-j-en-ən k a t ə λ - s - a*
 DEM wasp-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC catch-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'The bee was caught by Vasya'

In an opposite setting $A < P$, as in (30) where an animal 'bee' acts on a human 'boy', Active voice (b) becomes acceptable by certain speakers while Passive voice (a) remains the preferred alternative.

(30) {Vasya was sitting in the room and a bee was flying nearby}

- a. *waśa-j-en* *śi* *pos-en* *t θ x ə m - s - a*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG DEM wasp-LOC sting-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Vasya was stung by the bee'
- b. *%śi* *pos-en* *waśa-j-əλ* *t θ x ə m - s - ə λ λ e*
 DEM wasp-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.3SG sting-PST-3SG.SO
 Exp.: 'The bee stung Vasya'

Table 4 summarizes the choice of voice construction in all possible combinations of animate participants in contexts with both given participants.

Table 4

The distribution of speakers' judgments of Active and Passive in both-given contexts

	P human		P higher animal		P lower animal	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
A human	+	+	+	%	+	+
A higher animal (dog, cat)	%	+	+	+	+	+
A lower animal (bee, mosquito)	%	+	+	+	+	+

Importantly, access to subject position also depends on whether a participant was introduced in a privileged or a peripheral syntactic position in the preceding context. In contrast to Vasya, the dog in (31) and (32) is not in focus of attention, it is introduced in the oblique position under the preposition *piła* 'with'. Consequently, in the target sentence it cannot occupy the subject slot.

(31) {Vasya sat with a dog, and then}

- a. (*waśa-j-en*) *amp-əλ* *λ a p t - ə s*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG feed-PST[3SG]
 '(Vasya) fed the dog'
- b. **amp-en* *waśa-j-əλ-ən* *λ a p ə t - s - a*
 dog-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.3SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 Exp. 'The dog was fed by Vasya'

(32) {Vasya sat with a dog, and then}

- a. (*waśa-j-en*) *amp-əλ-ən* *t θ χ ə m - s - a*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG-LOC bite-PST-PASS[3SG]
 '(Vasya) was bit by the dog'
- b. **amp-en* *waśa-j-əλ* *t θ χ m - ə s*
 dog-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.3SG bite-PST[3SG]
 Exp.: 'The dog bit Vasya'

The above examples show that compared to all-new contexts here we see a partial neutralization of the Active/Passive opposition. This means that givenness significantly increases the chance of the Subject position being occupied by a participant low in animacy. Yet, in contexts of animals acting on humans, Passive remains a preferred alternative.

3.3. Both participants are discourse-given, A is topical

Consider now yet another context in which both participants are discourse-given, and one of them has just performed some action which set them as the current topic. Its topical role is carried over to the following sentence, where it takes part as an agent. In this case, any A > P setting results in the use of Active, as in (33a), while Passive appears ungrammatical (33b).

(33) {Vasya washed the dog, sometime later}

- a. *waśa-j-en amp-əλ λ a p ə t-s-ə λ λ e*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG feed-PST-3SG.SO
 'Vasya fed the dog'
- b. **amp-en waśa-j-en-ən λ a p ə t-s-a*
 dog-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
 Exp.: 'The dog was fed by Vasya'

The only exception is a setting with both human A and P. Here both participants are equally good candidates for the topic role and the preference for Active voice loosens to a certain degree.

(34) {Petya fed Vasya, sometime later}

- a. (*pet a-j-en waśa-j-əλ χ ă t ś ə-s-λ e*)
 Petya-EP-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.3SG hit-PST-3SG.SO
 'Vasya hit Petya'
- b. %*waśa-j-en pet a-j-əλ-ən χ ă t ś ə-s-i*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG Petya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC hit-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Petya was hit by Vasya'

Table 5 summarizes the choice of voice construction in all possible combinations of animate participants in contexts where both participants are given, and A is the topic of the previous discourse.

Table 5

The distribution of speakers' judgments of Active and Passive in A-topical contexts

	P human		P higher animal		P lower animal	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
A human	+	%	+	-	+	-
A higher animal (dog, cat)	+	-	+	-	+	-
A lower animal (bee, mosquito)	+	-	+	-	+	-

Contexts with topical but Inanimate A, as in (35), still favor Passive (a) because in general, such participants are poor candidates for topics, but Active becomes acceptable by some speakers (b) which shows that being a topic in the preceding discourse still increases the chances of keeping the topic role. The only fully acceptable way of stressing the topicality of the wind, however, is keeping the verb in passive but placing the inanimate A sentence-initially, as in (c).

(35) {the wind is so strong today}

- a. *ewi wot-ən iλ p a w ə t-s-a*
 girl wind-LOC down drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A girl was dropped by the wind'

- b. *%wot-en ewi iλ paw t ə s*
 wind-POSS.2SG girl down drop-PST[3SG]
 'The wind dropped a girl'
- c. *wot-ən ewi iλ paw ə t - s - a*
 wind-LOC girl down drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'A girl was dropped by the wind'

On the whole, topical status of an animate A in the previous discourse grants it full access to the Subject position irrespective of its position on the animacy hierarchy, hence invariable use of Active voice. With inanimate A Passive remains a preferred option though some speakers also judge Active as grammatical.

3.4. Both participants are discourse-given, P is topical

Now let us turn to the contexts of role switch in which again one of the participants has just performed some action which set them as the current topic, but it participates as a patient in the following sentence. If A and P are equal in animacy and are either people or higher animates, both are good candidates for the topic role, and thus both voice constructions can be used, as shown in (36a, b). In this case Passive maintains the previous topic while the use of Active indicates a topic shift.

(36) {Petya fed Vasya, sometime later}

- a. *waśa-j-en pet'a-j-əλ χ ǎ t ś ə - s - λ e*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG Petya-EP-POSS.3SG hit-PST-3SG.SO
 'Vasya hit Petya'
- b. *(pet'a-j-en) waśa-j-əλ-ən χ ǎ t ś ə - s - i*
 Petya-EP-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC hit-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'Petya was hit by Vasya'

More often, however, Passive appears to be the preferred alternative, which is the case in (37). This suggests that in case of role switch previous topics are preferably maintained, and Passive is used for this very purpose. Topic shift in turn requires special conditions, at least both participants should be equally high in animacy.

(37) {The bee stung Vasya, sometime later}

- a. *śi pos-en waśa-j-en-ən k a t ə λ - s - a*
 DEM wasp-POSS.2SG Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG-LOC catch-PST-PASS[3SG]
 'This bee was caught by Vasya'
- b. *%waśa-j-en śi pos-əλ k a t λ - ə s - λ e*
 Vasya-EP-POSS.2SG DEM wasp-POSS.3SG catch-PST-3SG.SO
 'Vasya caught this bee'

Table 6 summarizes the choice of voice construction in all possible combinations of animate participants in contexts where both participants are given, and P is the topic of the previous discourse.

In sum, whenever a topic is set, a subsequent role switch induces a use of Passive voice which is a default topic maintaining device. Although the scenario of topic shift using Active in this context is not completely ruled out, it is possible only when A and P are equally high in animacy.

Table 6

**The distribution of speakers' judgments of Active in Passive
in P-topical contexts**

	P human		P higher animal		P lower animal	
	Active	Passive	Active	Passive	Active	Passive
A human	+	+	%	+	%	+
A higher animal (dog, cat)	%	+	+	+	%	+
A lower animal (bee, mosquito)	%	+	%	+	%	+

3.5. Summary

As we can see, the three stages under discussion show different results. On stage (a), when the scene is just set, the choice of voice primarily depends on the animacy of the participants. On stages (b) and (c), when both participants are given, it is topicality and syntactic position of the participants in the preceding discourse that takes over. Topicality thus appears to be the strongest among all the parameters. When it comes into play, it neutralizes givenness and animacy distinctions. In other words, givenness and animacy can be considered preliminary cues for the identification of the discourse topic.

4. Outlook

The two questions we would like to address now are (a) what voice constructions can Passive in Kazym Khanty be compared to cross-linguistically, and (b) are there any typological parallels to the way the parameters under analysis interact. Concerning the first question, we have already observed that passives and inverses have much in common and have no clear boundary in-between. Therefore, the situation in Khanty where the passive is structurally a passive and functionally an inverse is not unusual. Similar intermediate categories called passive inverses (cf. passive inverse and remapping inverse in Zúñiga 2006 : 64) are found in many languages, such as Chamorro (Austronesian), Southern Tiwa, Arizona Tiwa and Picurís (Tanoan, North America), Nootka (Wakashan, North America). Functionally, the inverse constructions in all these languages are clear examples of inverses. They are sensitive to the person-animacy hierarchy promoting various topical non-agent participants and do not suppress agents. Structurally though they vary from more passive-like constructions to less passive-like. Consider now the structural properties of passive inverses in the above languages.

The closest parallel to Khanty are the two passives in Chamorro (Cooreman 1984): the *ma*-passive and the *in*-passive. Both constructions function as inverses but show a clear structural affinity with passives. They have a specialized morpheme on the verb and intransitive non-agent indexing suggesting both non-agent promotion and detransitivization, the agent is demoted to oblique, and the predicate is stativized. The main difference is that the more passive-like *ma*-form, as in (38), appears mostly with plural agents or without an overt agent, and the *in*-passive, as in (39), appears mostly with overt singular agents.

(38) Chamorro: *todu i taotao ni man-gaige Guam guihi na tiempo*
 all the people REL PL-be Guam there link time
m a n - m a - t a k p a n g i
 PL-PASS-baptize

'All the people who were in Guam at that time were baptized' (Cooreman 1984 : 401)

- (39) Chamorro: *si nana-hu c h-i n-a t g e gias tata-hu*
 p.n. mother1SG.POSS PASS-smile at OBL.father-1SG.POSS
 'My mother was smiled at by my father / My father smiled at my mother' (Cooreman 1984 : 401)

Slightly farther away from passives are inverse constructions in three Tanoan languages of North America: Picurís, Arizona Tewa and Southern Tiwa (Klaiman 1993). In all these languages inverses index non-agents on the verb but compared to Chamorro and Khanty have no special morpheme on the verb. Instead, inverse set-up is signalled by means of agreement sets and oblique agent marking. Picurís inverse is the closest to being a passive: it uses intransitive agreement which suggests detransitivization, see examples (40)–(42) below; in Southern Tiwa the situation is similar but intransitive set almost coincides with the transitive set, AT uses yet another set for passives, different from transitive-direct and intransitive. According to (Klaiman 1993), no construction in these three languages shows any signs of predicate stativization.

- (40) Picurís: *sənene t i-m ρ n-'q n*
 man 1SG:IIA-see-PST
 'I saw the man' (direct) (Klaiman 1993 : 359)
- (41) Picurís: *t a-m ρ n-m i a-'q n sənene-pa*
 1SG:I-see-INV-PST man-OBL
 'The man saw me' (inverse) (Klaiman 1993 : 359)
- (42) Picurís: *Ta-me-'q n*
 1SG:I-go-INV-PST
 'I went' (intransitive) (Klaiman 1993 : 359)

The least passive-like among passive inverses appears to be Nootka Inverse (Nakayama 1997). It resembles a passive in that there is a specialized morpheme on the verb, non-agent is indexed, and the agent can be marked as oblique. However, the oblique agent marking is not obligatory and the non-agent apart from verb indexing does not show any signs of syntactic promotion. No detransitivization or stativization is detected.

- (43) Nootka: *q a h-s a-p-'a t muwič ʔúuh-'at Bill*
 die-MOM.CAUS-'AT deer being.he-'AT Bill
 'The deer was killed by Bill' (Nakayama 1997 : 414)
- (44) Nootka: *či-ši(λ)-čip-ʔa:qλ-'at-(y)i:-s Linda*
 cut-MOM-for-FUT-'AT-INDEF-1SG Linda
 'It's for me Linda will cut' (Nakayama 1997 : 418)

Zúñiga (2006 : 41) provides a structural typology of passive and inverse constructions based on the morphosyntactic coding of the core participants and verb aspect, see table 6 below. Here all passive constructions involve A demotion and predicate stativization, and two of three passive types feature O promotion. In contrast, inverse types do show signs of either promotion or demotion but in a special way: "Remapping" type demotes A to object position, while Argument manipulating type promotes O to subject position but with limited subject properties as indicated by an asterisk.

Table 7

Structural properties of constructions

	A ⇒ ∅	A ⇒ Obl	A ⇒ Obj	O ⇒ S*	O ⇒ S	stativization
Active	-	-	-	-	-	-
Passive ₁	+	-	-	-	+	+
Passive ₂	-	+	-	-	+	+
Passive ₃	+	-	-	-	-	+
Argument-manipulating	-	-	-	+	-	-
"Remapping"	-	-	+	-	-	-

Now consider the structural properties of Kazym Khanty Passive in comparison to other abovementioned passive inverses, summarized in table 7 with two additional properties: detransitivization and specialized verbal marking. Chamorro *ma-* and *in-* passives fit in passive types 1 and 2 respectively. A similar picture is observed in Kazym Khanty (Passive₂ in Zúñiga's terms) but without detransitivization and stativization of the predicate. Close to Kazym Khanty appear Arizona Tewa (AT), Southern Tiwa (ST), and Picurís (also Passive₂) showing some signs of detransitivization but employing agreement sets instead of a specialized morpheme on the verb. Only Nootka construction can be classified as full-fledged inverse allowing passive-like A-to-oblique demotion but otherwise combining A-to-object demotion characteristic of "remapping" inverse constructions and partial O-to-subject promotion typical of argument-manipulating inverse constructions.

Table 8

Structural properties of passive inverses

	A ⇒ ∅	A ⇒ Obl	A ⇒ Obj	O ⇒ S*	O ⇒ S	stativization	detransitivization	specialized verbal marking
Chamorro <i>ma-</i> passiv	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Chamorro <i>in-</i> passiv	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Kazym Khanty	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
ST, AT, Picurís	-	+	-	-	+	-	+/-	-
Nootka	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+

The second question concerns the interaction of parameters. A somewhat similar case to Kazym Khanty is found in Kutenai where the absence of a topical (proximate) participant yields animacy- and definiteness-based choice.

- (45) Kutenai: *mityax-ni niʔ-s naʔutiʔ-s. tin ʔupskit*
 chase-IND the-OBV girl-OBV SUPPOS ASP
qa hutakʔ-ni niʔ tkamu
 NEG fully.grown-IND the child
 'He [PROX] took after the girl [OBV]. The child [PROX] was not yet fully grown' (Dryer 1994 : 87–88)

This supports our observation that topicality being the strongest among all the parameters neutralizes definiteness and animacy distinctions which serve rather secondary cues of what can become a topic in subsequent discourse. Note however that this observation relates to not mentioning the topical participants from the prior discourse rather than not yet having any topical participants. The impact of this difference in Kazym Khanty remains an open question.

Another parallel to Kazym Khanty are the passives in Chamorro. Cooreman (1984) observes that Passive is used in certain contexts of role-shift where the two participants are topical, and the agent of the previous clause becomes the patient of the current clause. In this case, the verb is obligatorily passivized leaving the participant in question in the subject slot.

- (46) Chamorro: *sen malago' si Joaquin para u-kuentusi si Maria lao*
 very want Joaquin IRR IRR.3SG-talk to Maria but
ti ni-na'i gue' chansa.a
 neg PASS-give A.3SG chance
 'Joaquin very much wanted to talk to Maria, but she didn't
 give him a chance' (Cooreman 1984 : 420)

This looks very similar to the picture in Kazym Khanty. Yet, the nature of apparent exceptions, namely the use of active with two human or two higher animal participants to mark a topic shift, remains unclear. It could be that the rule for the clearly equal protagonists is weaker than for participants which differ in their ontological or discourse properties. Another possibility is an influence of Russian where the subject of the subsequent clause in a narrative is most likely its agent.

In sum, passive inverses such as the one in Kazym Khanty seem to loosen the principle of agent suppression to include cases where the agent is not extremely low but relatively lower with respect to certain parameters than the non-agent. If such a system happens to be pragmatically oriented whereby passive inverse serves the means of topic maintenance, then it automatically includes at least some of the configurations in which the non-agent is higher in animacy because a participant low in animacy is prototypically also low in topicality. As we see in Kazym Khanty, this ranking reflects a natural speakers' bias towards definite and animate subjects (Cooreman 1984 : 418–419) and hints at a potential subsequent topic.

The picture of active/passive choice in Kazym Khanty sketched in this study is an important step towards a proper understanding of how Khanty voice system functions. Still, there is a lot more to be considered. One possible direction is to elaborate the current picture by varying syntactic positions of the participants in the pretext and adding more parameters, e. g. discreteness, uniqueness, and number as well as finer information statuses, such as semiactive. Another direction is to analyze text data both qualitatively using the parameters from this study, and quantitatively using measures of referential distance and persistence introduced in (Givón 1983).

Conclusion

This paper examined the parameters governing the choice between Active and Passive voice in Kazym Khanty. In comparison to the previous research, it was shown that this choice is conditioned not only by topicality but also by givenness, animacy, and several other parameters. To capture the interaction between these parameters, a dynamic model was proposed, which divides a discourse episode into all-new, all-given, and A- or P-topical stages. Throughout these stages, the model shows a fading impact of animacy and the increasing importance of givenness and topicality of the referent.

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Abbreviations

A — agent, ACC — accusative, ADJ — adjectivizer, ASP — aspect, CAUS — causative, DAT — dative, DEM — demonstrative, EP — epenthetic, FUT — future, IND — indicative, INDEF — indefinite, INV — inverse, IRR — irrealis, LAT — lative, LOC — locative, MOM — momentative, NEG — negation, NPST — nonpast, OBL — oblique, OBV — obviative, PASS — passive, PL — plural, POSS — possessive, PROX — proximate, PST — past, REL — relativizer, SG — singular, SO — subject—object agreement, SUPPOS — suppositional, I—II — agreement sets, 1—3 person.

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НИКИТА МУРАВЬЕВ (Москва)

КАЗЫМСКИЙ ПАССИВ И ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЕ АКТИВИРОВАННОСТИ, ТОПИКАЛЬНОСТИ И ОДУШЕВЛЕННОСТИ

В статье рассматривается противопоставление активного и пассивного залога в казымском диалекте хантыйского языка. В существующей литературе принципиальная роль в выборе залога отводится информационной структуре, тогда как, по казымским данным, на выбор влияют и другие параметры, такие как активированность и одушевленность. Цель исследования — проанализировать влияние данных параметров и их взаимодействие. В ходе исследования было установлено, что в контексте двух новых участников залог выбирается исходя из их одушевленности, тогда как на поздних стадиях дискурса определяющую роль играют активированность и топикальность.

NIKITA MURAVJOV (Moskva)

HANDI KEELE KAZÕMI MURDE PASSIIV NING TUNTUSE, TOPIKAALSUSE JA ELUSUSE VASTASTIKUNE MÕJU

Artiklis käsitletakse handi keele Kazõmi murde aktiivi ja passiivi kasutamist. Tegumoe valikut mõjutavad peale infostruktuuri ka muud parameetrid, nagu tuntus ja elusus. Kõigepealt lähtutakse tegumoe valikul elususest, aga diskursuse hilisemates etappides tuntusest ja topikaalsusest.