The quasi-copula *oməs-* in the Synya dialect of the Khanty language

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**ABSTRACT**

Introduction: in spite of the universal physical experience regarding the basic postures sitting, standing and lying, languages do not exploit the possibilities related to the verbs expressing these three postures. Semantic changes resulting in secondary and tertiary meanings, figurative uses, grammaticalizational processes are all influenced by language-internal and language-external factors. This is why it is important to describe the quasi-copula use of languages belonging to various language families, areas, and cultural regions.

Objective: to identify the specific features of the use of the quasi-copula use in the Synya dialect of the Khanty language.

Research materials: the linguistic material used in this article is represented by the units extracted from a multimedia corpus of field research collected among the Synya Khanty people.

Results and novelty of the research: the study reveals multiple patterns of use of the quasi-copula *oməs-* ‘sit’. It can be used with objects of different sizes. A marked horizontal expansion of usage is expressed with the quasi-copula * öl-* ‘lie’. The position of the background compared to eye level and the ratio of height to width are of little importance. As for big objects, such as furniture, the presence of a leg (table, chair, stand) does not preclude the choice of the unit *oməs-* ‘sit’. Positions in which the Figure cannot perform its function (e.g. container turned on its side) cannot be expressed with *oməs-* ‘sit’, they require *öl-* ‘lie’. The use of *oməs-* ‘sit’ is tied to a person’s area of activity. The use of *oməs-* ‘sit’ in reference to vehicles implies a position without movement, in contrast to the use of *loj-* ‘stand’, which expresses a temporary halt and contrasts with movement.

**Key words**: posture verbs, quasi-copula, locative sentence, Khanty language, Synya dialect

Acknowledgements: the research is carried out with the financial support of the RFBR within the framework of the scientific project No. 21-512-23006/22 “Ways of expressing spatial relations on the material of the Russian and Ugric languages”.

Вестник угроведения. Т. 12, № 4 (51). 2022.

Цель: выявить специфические особенности употребления квазикопулы в сыском диалекте хантыйского языка.

Материалы исследования: лингвистический материал представлен единицами, извлечёнными из мультимедийной базы данных полевых исследований, собранных среди сынских хантов.


Ключевые слова: глаголы положения, квазикопула, локативное предложение, хантыйский язык, сынский диалект

Благодарности: исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках научного проекта №21-512-23006/22 «Способы выражения пространственных отношений на материале русского и угорских языков».


Introduction

To the background

One of the verbal elements of locative sentences in the northern Khanty language is described in detail. The work of G. L. Nakhračeva [13] is devoted to the semantics and functioning of Khanty verbs expressing destruction. The structural and semantic features of Ob-Ugric verbs with different preverbs, the change in the valency system of verbs in combination with preverbs, as well as the modification of their semantics while maintaining the system of valency are studied by V. N. Solovar [24; 25]. Some verbs in question, in particular, the semantics of Khanty positional predicates, are described by E. V. Kaškin. His research is carried out within the framework of lexical typology, and focuses on verbs describing the position of the subject of prominent vertical orientation, as well as verbs with the semantics of functional position (prototypically for subjects not stretched vertically) [11].

The present paper aims to describe the use of the quasi-copula oməs-, that goes back to the posture verb ‘sit’, on the basis of the Synya dialect of the Khanty language.

Theoretically, the verbs ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ provide the speakers of every language with the same meaning, metaphorisational, and grammaticalizational possibilities. Besides the diverse spatial and dimensional experience they evoke, the three states can be maintained with different kind and amount of physical control [12], which is also a universal experience for every language user. However, despite the similar conditions, the world’s languages do not exploit these possibilities in the same way, which makes it important to describe the practice of languages belonging to various areas and cultures.

Posture verbs belong to the set of verbs expressing basic actions. Each denotes a posture without referring to its mode or any further circumstance [17, 81]. E. g. the English verb sit belongs to this set, however, the verbs ride or huddle do not. Generally, each basic posture is expressed by one verb, e. g. English sit, stand, lie, Hungarian ül ‘sit’, áll ‘stand’, fekszik ‘lie’. However, there are languages in which more than one verb denote the same posture [28].

It is typical that posture verbs have further meanings, which can be metaphorical (Hungarian Magasan állt a tejszínhab a torta tetején ‘The whipped cream stood high on the top of the cake’, metonymic (English sit on a board ‘be a member of a board), or idiomatic (Hungarian Könny ül a szemében; ‘There are tears sitting in his/her eyes’. In addition, they often have further functions due to grammaticalization. According to the results of [9], the verbs ‘stand’ and ‘lie’ often serve as a starting point to grammaticalization during which various elements marking continuity, durativity etc., as well as quasi-copulas come into being. Furthermore, the verb ‘sit’ can be a source of habitual markers [10, 322, 325].

On the basis of Newman’s introduction [16], the particular importance of the verbs ‘sit’, ‘stand’, and ‘lie’ can be proved with the following facts. These are the posture verbs that, in basic meaning, are used most frequently. These are the posture verbs that make a source for quasi-copulas in locative and existential sentences. It is also typical that these three verbs become markers of tense or aspect. They may also serve as a source of markers of nominal classes [15, 31–34].
The significance of posture verbs in relation to the locative sentences was exhibited by a monograph discussing them considering the English language [15]. Later, in Max Planck Institute, the typology of quasi-copulas used in locative sentences was elaborated [1]. This research rests on a set of photographs that makes a uniform base for processing the locative structures in various languages [2]. The descriptions of the individual languages revealed the diversity of locative sentences considering the quasi-copula use in them. With his co-author, Ameka set up several groups on the basis of the number of quasi-copulas the given language tends to use in locative sentences [1].

It is important to note that it is not only quasi-copulas that can serve as verbal elements in locative sentences. In this function, languages often use neutral verbs, situational verbs, as well. Furthermore, locative sentences can also employ motion verbs as verbal elements, which results in locative sentences expressing fictive motion. In addition, the verbal element of the clause is sometimes a resultative construction, indicating that the present situation is a result of some kind of human action [4], e. g. Hungarian (Hol van a létra?) – A falnak van támasztva ‘(Where is the ladder?) – It is / has been put against the wall.’ This is why it is a complex task to describe the whole repertoire and rules of the use of verbal elements in the locative and existential sentences, even in the case of stylistically neutral texts.

**Locative and existential sentences**

The quasi-copulas, as opposed to the copulas, are not semantically bleached elements.

According to numerous case studies, two thirds of the languages use the same set of copulas and quasi-copulas in the locative and existential sentences [5]. This must be related to the fact that these two types of sentences are quite similar concerning their constituents, viz. Figure, Background, and a verbal element. A locative sentence defines the location of the Figure, which has already been mentioned in the course of the conversation, in other words, the Figure is the topic of the given sentence. In turn, in an existential sentence, it is the Figure that has not been mentioned earlier and is introduced as a new element. In a locative sentence, the locative element is obligatory as it gives an answer to the question Where is X? In existential sentences, the locative element may be missing from the sentence. In these cases, the Background may have been known from the conversation, it can be evident in the given situation, or it can belong to our common knowledge [5; 6]. In the present paper, locative sentences are preferred to existential ones.

**Copulas and quasi-copulas**

Pustet’s definition of copulas is: «A copula is a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when they function as predicate nucleus. A copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in» [19, 5]. However, as she emphasises, copulas, unlike copulas, do add meaning to the predicate phrases to which they belong. At the same time, they cannot function as a predicate independently, which differentiates them from lexical verbs.

The most characteristic sources of copulas and quasi-copulas are verbs and pronouns, and in some cases, the starting point of the grammaticalisation was a prepositional phrase. Quasi-copulas typically derive from verbs like «do/make/build”, “happen/occur”, “go/turn into/come–/become”, and “act (like)”» [26, 92]. In numerous Indo-European languages, the copula is homo–nymous with the verb ‘be, exist’.

The diversity in the outcome of the metaphorizational and grammaticalizational processes regarding posture verbs is due to both linguistic and extralinguistic reasons, not to mention the unpredictability factor of language change. To illustrate this point, let us see an example of the verb ‘sit’ in several languages. One would assume that sitting is a state or activity having positive associations, e. g. rest, comfort, calmness etc. However, if sitting takes more time than had been planned, it will evoke inactivity, waste of time, resulting in negative connotations. According to the investigations of Vidaković-Erdeljić, in the English, German, and Croatian languages, when the verb ‘sit’ is used with [–live] subjects, it will definitely imply inactivity [29]. At the same time, there have been described a lot of languages in which the verb ‘sit’ is also used with [–live] objects in locative

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1 It is evident that the interpretation of the statement 'There is no milk' depends on whether we are standing in front of the fridge at home or just meeting a neighbour at the entrance of a supermarket, as the Background is determined by the given situation. In the case of the existential sentences like There is a God, the Background is the whole world, or the universe.

2 E. g. Mandarin Chinese shi.
sentences, i.e. as a quasi-copula, e. g. Goemai [9], Trumai [8], Seri [18], Khanty [21], Mansi [14].

In the Introduction to his monograph, Newman presents further illustrative differences in the ways languages operate with quasi-copulas. The translation of the Hungarian sentence *A számítógép nálunk az asztalon áll* results in a weird sentence in English? *The Computer stands on a desk in our house* because neither the vertical extension of a computer is prominent, nor does a computer have legs. In the English language, whether the object, e. g. a piece of furniture, has parts that can be construed as legs seems an important aspect when choosing the quasi-copula ‘stand’. Finally, in French, posture verbs are used exclusively with animate subjects [15].

**Geometrical characteristics of the Figure**

The rules governing the use of the quasi-copula that go back to posture verbs are generally connected to the spatial and geometrical characteristics of the given object [15; 1]. Although this is a natural consequence of the origin of the verbal elements in question, they are still not predictable. There has been described a language³ in which the quasi-copula going back to the verb ‘lie’ can be used with, among other things, balls «which lack any differentiation in terms of vertical or horizontal shape on the ground (earth)>> [3].

**The size of the Figure**

The preference for a quasi-copula can also be determined by the size of the Figure. According to Lemmens, in Dutch, the sentence expressing the location of a large ball contains the quasi-copula ‘stand’ [12, 122]. In turn, in Gurene, size has no significance in this regard, i. e. if the object does not have a prominent extension, its location can be expressed with the quasi-copula ‘lie’ [3, 192].

**Background-related rules**

There can be restrictions connected to the Background. In Gurene, the quasi-copula ‘lie’ can only be used with inanimate subjects if the location described by the sentence is at or near floor-level [3, 193]. In turn, in the German language, the verbs *sitten* and *setzen* are reported to be used in case of a location that can be found somewhere high, i. e. it is not the features of the Figure that count but certain characteristics of the background [7, 137–138].

**Function and position**

Among other things, the preference for a certain quasi-copula can also be influenced by the relation of the object’s function to the object’s actual position. In the German language, it is the quasi-copula *stehen* that is used when the object has a functional part and it is positioned in the right direction; even if the form of the object in itself would not require it, e. g. server, ashray [7, 137–138].

**Earlier results**

The use of the quasi-copula ‘sit’ has been analysed on the basis of the linguistic material collected two decades ago by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián [20]. This is a language material consisting of semi-spontaneous texts that explain the meaning and use of all the Synya Khanty stems that are listed in Steinitz’ dictionary [27]. As the explanations are primarily of describing character, numerous locative (and existential) sentences can be found among them. This research revealed that in this dialect, the verb *omas*- ‘sit’ has deep significance in the locative sentences. The paper listed numerous sentences containing the quasi-copula *omas-* as well as presented a list of objects that trigger the use of the quasi-copula in question. However, the material was not suitable for exhibiting the whole range of its use or revealing all the rules governing its use [21]. As far as Kazym Khanty is concerned, on the basis of the language of schoolbooks and further publications, we can assume that similar rules work in that dialect concerning the quasi-copula use in locative and existential sentences [22; 23]. In addition, the Mansi language also seems to follow a similar practice [14].

**Objectives**

In spite of the universal experience, the rules and restrictions connected to the use of the quasi-copula going back to posture verbs are diverse across languages. Consequently, the description of them proves to be very important regarding every language. The present paper aims to describe the [basic rules of the use of *omas-* in the Synya Khanty dialect.

**Materials and methods**

Materials are based on those collected by E. Ruttkay-Miklián [20]. Linguistic materials collected in different periods (1995–2000) among the Synya have also been involved.

To achieve the stated goal, along with a comprehensive study of the use of Khanty quasi-copula *omas-*, a complex approach is used. The material is investigated using the functional

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³ Gurene [3].
method, which makes it possible to identify the functional significance of the verbal element in question, and its semantic potential; a special kind of system, involving the interaction of grammatical form, vocabulary and context, as well as a set of patterns and rules of the use of this language means are revealed.

Results
The semantics of the Sinya Khanty quasi-copula oməs-

Size
In general, small, compact objects that have no prominent extension, trigger the use of the quasi-copula ‘sit’ in locative and existential sentences (1) (2) (3):

(1) χŭl paŋka nŭm nŏrəm-ən oməs-əl.4
fish can top shelf-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘The fish can is on the top shelf.’

(2) jontəs-ti jiŋl-em śŭŋ-ən oməs-əl.
sew-PTCP.PRS box-1SG corner-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘My handwork box is in the corner.’

(3) sakkar an păsan-ən oməs-əl.
sugar bowl table-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘The sugarbowl is on the table.’

The location of various tabby cups, mugs, bowls, pots, and casseroles are also given with a sentence containing oməs- as a verbal element (4) (5) (6):

(4) pŏşχ-ije-m an păsan-ən oməs-əł.6
son-DIM-1SG cup table-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘My little son’s cup is on the table.’

(5) aśe-m kurška năŋ an-en pŭŋəłən oməs-əł.7
father-1SG mug 2SG cup-2DU next_to sit-PRS.3SG
‘My father’s mug is next to your cup.’

(6) šaj pŭt-em kur lŏŋələn oməs-əl
tea pot-1SG stove on_top_of sit-PRS.3SG
‘My teapot is on the stove.’

Not only small tools and dishes but also fair-sized objects trigger the use of oməs-, (7) (8):

(7) ňāń an păsan-ən oməs-əl.
bread container table-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘The bread container is on the table.’

(8) šaj laraś-ew rat-χăr pŭŋəłən oməs-əł.
tea case-1PL fire-place near sit-PRS.3SG
‘Our cupboard is situated near the fireplace.’

Similarly, the location of houses, villages, and towns are also expressed with the quasi-copula in question (9) (10) (11):

4 Or: xŭl paŋka nŭm nŏrəmən (zero copula).
5 Although the verb oməs- could be glossed as ‘be’, we decided to exhibit the original verbal meaning. As it is the quasi-copula function that is discussed in this paper all along, this way allows us to present the examples in a reader-friendly way.
6 Or: pŏşχijem an păsanən (zero copula).
7 Or: aśem kurška nin anan pŭŋəln (zero copula).
First, it is important to draw the line between the uses of the quasi-copulas ‘sit’ and ‘lie’. When the Figure has a prominent extension, and it is parallel with the Ground, it is typical to use the quasi-copula \( \text{oł-} \) ‘lie’ (13) (14) (15) (16):

(9) \text{jaras} \ χot lapka \text{pũŋəłən oməs-əl}.\footnote{Or: \text{jaras} χot lapka \text{pũŋəłən ul} (be.PRS.3SG). Or: \text{jaras} hot lapka \text{pũŋəłən} (zero copula).}

Gerasim house shop next_to sit-PRS.3SG
‘Gerasim’s house is (sitting) next to the shop.’

(10) ma kurt-em šāňa jōɣan pitar-ən oməs-əl.\footnote{Or: ma kurtem šāňa jōɣan pitar-ən ul (be.PRS.3SG). Or: ma kurt-em šāňa jōɣan pitar-ən (zero copula).}

1SG village-1SG Synya river bank-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘My village is at the bank of Synya River.’

(11) un juš jōχart šāšən un woš oməs-əl.\footnote{Or: un juš jōχart šāšən un woš (zero copula).}

big way bend behind big town sit-PRS.3SG
‘Behind the bend of the wide road there is a big city.’

In addition, the location of a mountain range can also be given by the help of the quasi-copula \( \text{oməs-} \) (12):

(12) kew ur as šāš pelak-ən oməs-əl.\footnote{Or: kew ur as šāš pеlək-ən (zero copula).}

Ural ridge Ob back side-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘The Ural Mountains are situated over the Ob River.’

Axis

First, it is important to draw the line between the uses of the quasi-copulas ‘sit’ and ‘lie’. When the Figure has a prominent extension, and it is parallel with the Ground, it is typical to use the quasi-copula \( \text{oł-} \) ‘lie’ (13) (14) (15) (16):

(13) nepek păsan-ən ōl-əl

book table-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
‘The book is (lying) on the table.’

(14) ōpe-m elti jōɣt-əm pis’ma păsan-ən ōl-əl

sister-1SG from arrive-PTCP.PRS letter table-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
‘The letter from my sister is (lying) on the table.’

(15) ŋāš-ti jūg păsan-ən ōl-əl.

write-PTCP.PRS wood table-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
‘The pencil lies on the table.’

(16) keši păsan-ən ōl-əl.

knife table-LOC lie-PRS.3SG
‘The knife is on the table.’

Similarly, a noose or an iron-trap etc. lie on a surface.

Height: height and width ratio, immobility

When trying to establish how spatial properties determine the use of the quasi-copula ‘sit’, it is not easy to distinguish the aspect height from the ratio of height and width.

(17) an păsan-ən oməs-əl.

cup table-loc sit-PRS.3SG
‘The cup is on the table.’

Talking about small objects of various height situated on the same surface, if they have a base providing stability, the height and width ratio does not seem to be crucial. Cups, glasses and wine bottles unanimously take the quasi-copula ‘sit’ (17) (18) (19):
In the centre of the town, there is a Puškin memorial. Similarly, the location of a common Khanty (log)house is expressed with the quasi-copula ‘sit’ (24). In turn, if it is a two-, three, or ten-storey building, ‘stand’ will be used as a verbal element (25):

(20) tăm  pâl  āškap  lapka  šūŋ-ən  oməs-l.
this  high  wardrobe  shop  corner-LOC  sit-PRS.3SG
‘This high wardrobe is (standing) in the corner of the shop.’

(21) tăm  pâl  ɣolod’iřik-ew  kuyñaį-ən  ipuša  šūŋ-ən
this  high  fridge-1PL  kitchen-LOC  always  corner-LOC  sit-PRS.3SG
‘The multi-storey house is situated in the middle of the town.’

In general, with sizable and immobile objects, although both the copula ul- and the quasi-copula loj- ‘stand’ can be used, it is oməs- that is most naturally employed (22):

(22) budapešt  woš-n  šek  ar  uməș  pamjatnić  oməs-l.12
Bp.  town-LOC  SUPL  many  beautiful  monument  sit-PRS.3SG
‘There are a good deal of beautiful monuments in Budapest.’

However, when the memorial we are talking about is extremely high but relatively narrow, the quasi-copula will be loj- ‘stand’.13 If an average sculpture stands on an average pedestal, the quasi-copula used with it is normally oməs- (23):

(23) woš  kütap-n  puškin  pamjatnić  oməs-l
town  middle-LOC  P.  memorial  sit-PRS.3SG
‘In the centre of the town, there is a Puškin memorial.’

Similarly, the location of a common Khanty (log)house is expressed with the quasi-copula ‘sit’ (24). In turn, if it is a two-, three, or ten-storey building, loj- ‘stand’ will be used as a verbal element (25):

(24) ma  ɣot-em  stantsija  pūŋələn  oməs-l.14
1SG  house-1SG  station  next_to  sit-PRS.3SG
‘My house is (situated) next to the station.’

(25) ar  jăt-pi  ɣot  woš  kütap-n  loj-l.15
numerous  part-ADJ  house  town  middle-LOC  stand-PRS.3SG
‘The multi-storey house is situated in the middle of the town.’

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12 Or: ul (be.PRS.3SG) / loj-l (stand-PRS.3SG).
13 The subject of the picture that made it clear was the Washington Monument near the White House.
14 Or: ul (be.PRS.3SG). However, loj- is not acceptable.
15 Or: ar jăt-pi ɣot woš kütap ul (be-PRS.3SG).
Legs

In Synya Khanty, in contrast with many other languages, the fact that an object has legs does not prevent the use of the quasi-copula ‘sit’. Even a “labaz”, which is a high, loghouse-like wooden building standing on four legs, primarily for preserving food, is used with oməs-. cf. also chairs and tables as Figures of locative sentences (26) (27):

(26) šukaləm ulas išni pūŋələn oməs-l.
broken chair window next_to sit-PRS.3SG
‘The broken chair is/stands at the window.’

(27) păsan in kamәn, sūmәt jūχ ilpijn oməs-l.
table now outside birch tree below sit-PRS.3SG
‘Now the table is outside, below the birch tree.’

In addition, a photo of three flowerstands having long and thin iron legs also helped elicit a sentence with oməs- as a verbal element. The pieces of furniture in question, following minimalist design patterns, not only have extremely long legs but also lack a compact part serving as a container. They practically consist of three iron legs, the only solid part is exhibited by the flower pots in them (28):

(28) χuləm pal kūr-әŋ jaləp lipət potstavka jôn oməs-lat.
three high leg-ADJ new flower stand at_home sit-PRS.3SG
‘The three high-legged, new flower stands are (standing) at home/inside.’

Sledges have runners, and they behave similarly to chairs and tables in determining the choice of oməs- in locative sentences (29):

(29) үли χøt pūŋələn aše-m uzәl oməs-əl.
reindeer house next_to father-1SG sledge sit-PRS.3SG
‘Next to the čum, there is my father’s sledge standing.’

In the sentences presented above, the location of a wide range of objects having legs are expressed with sentences containing the quasi-copula ‘sit’. This points to the fact that the construction of the object is not of primary importance in defining the verbal element in a locative sentence.

Eye-level, function

If a cup is standing on an untypical surface, or below the level required by its normal use, e. g. in the grass, it will not change its general preference for oməs- (30) (31):

(30) ši ăstakan χøtyar-әn oməs-l.
that glass floor-LOC sit-PRS.3SG
‘This/the glass is on the floor.’

(31) an-en tŏrən elti oməs-l.
cup-2SG grass on sit-PRS.3SG
‘Your cup / the cup is in the grass.’

16 Only if the broken chair can stand in its normal position.
17 Or: păsan in kamәn, sūmәt jūχ ilpijn. In other words, this sentence is also grammatical with a zero copula.
Discussion and conclusions

Our paper aimed to present the typical use of the quasi-copula ‘sit’ in the Synya dialect of the Khanty language. During the work, it was considerable value that the elicitation and interpretation of the data was based on the native Khanty competence of one of the co-authors, as well as further excellent speakers of Khanty.

The investigations revealed that, in northern Khanty, the quasi-copula going back to the posture verb oməs-‘sit’ plays an essential role among the possible verbal elements of locative and existential sentences. In other words, its high frequency is salient compared to the verbal elements that have similar functions.

However, its use is excluded if the prominent extension of the Figure is horizontal (e.g. pencil, knife, letter, book). In such cases, it is the quasi-copula ol-‘lie’ that is required.

The quasi-copula oməs- can be used with small and larger mobile objects, various dishes and containers, as well as with immobile ones (monuments, houses, buildings, settlements). In addition, the location of a mountain range can also be expressed with this element. On this basis one can conclude that oməs- can be used with objects of any size or form, and the ratio of width and height has no significance as this quasi-copula cooccurs with e.g. high objects of small bottom area (e.g. refrigerator).

However, with the choice between quasi-copulas ‘sit’ and ‘stand’, the Khanty language can express the contrast between the zone of human activity and the space above it (one-storey house, multi-storey building). In other words, the semantics of oməs- implies that the sentence is about an object that can, in some way or other, be reached for average people. This is why oməs- is used even in the case of prominent verticality (refrigerator). Evidently, if the object is extremely high and narrow, the quasi-copula ‘stand’ is preferred (obelisk).

In addition, this makes it clear why, as opposed to many other languages, it is not evident to use the quasi-copula ‘stand’ in sentences in which Figures have legs (chair, table, flower stand).

Furthermore, similarly to many other languages, the quasi-copula can express the relation of position and function. If the Figure is in an atypical position in which it is impossible to fulfill its task (i.e. to contain something, e.g. a bowl lying on its side), oməs- cannot be used in the sentence.

Besides, among its numerous functions, oməs- can also express inactivity. If a vehicle is not ready
for starting (e. g. a boat on land, a sleigh without harnessed reindeer), its location can be given with a sentence containing *omas* as a verbal element. In turn, it is the quasi-copula *loe* ‘stand’ that has to be used if we want to contrast it with moving or transport, i. e. if it is in a condition suitable for starting.

Naturally, there are a great number of questions concerning the rules governing the use of *omas*-, as well as the division of tasks among the quasi-copulas originating in the three basic posture verbs, furthermore, the rules concerning optional and compulsory uses, etc. These questions can only be answered by means of further investigations, based on photos and questionnaires.

References


20. Список источников и литературы

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