A wooden oar is shown floating on a body of blue water. The oar is positioned diagonally from the upper right towards the lower left. The water surface is covered in numerous concentric ripples, suggesting recent movement or disturbance. The lighting is soft, creating a calm and serene atmosphere. The oar's shadow is visible in the water below it.

**WHY PROMOTE A
PERIPHERAL ARGUMENT
TO SUBJECT POSITION:
MOTION PASSIVE IN
KAZYM KHANTY**

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INTRODUCTION

- Northern Khanty < Khanty < Ob-Ugric < Ugric < Finno-Ugric < Uralic
- Kazym variety, data from fieldwork in Kazym (summer expedition 2019), elicitation
- RSCF project, no. 19-78-10139 "Argument structure, voice and valency in the languages of Western Siberia"
- Argument expression in passive clauses with verbs of motion
- A cognitive-functional account in the framework of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987, 1991) and Croft's (2012) force-dynamic theory of argument realization

INTRODUCTION

Passive form in *-a(j)-/-i(j)-*

- One of the three core inflectional verbal forms along with subjective (S-agreement) and objective conjugation (AO-agreement)
- VERB STEM + TENSE + **VOICE** + AGREEMENT
- Allomorphs: *-a(j)-* after consonant stems, *-i(j)-* after vowel stems, *j* appears before agreement markers
- Promotes various arguments to subject/topic position, e.g. patient, recipient/benefactive, location, goal, and temporal (Kulonen 1989)
- A basic topic maintaining device, cf. Nikolaeva (1999: 30), and Koshkaryova (2002: 35)

INTRODUCTION

- **Subjective conjugation:** intransitive verb (1) & transitive verb with a focal O 'dog' (2)

(1) *maša-jen* *juχt-əs*
Masha-POSS.2SG come-PST[3SG]
'Masha came.'

(2) *maša-jen* *amp* *läpt-əs*
Masha-POSS.3SG dog feed-PST[3SG]
'Masha fed a dog.'

- **Objective conjugation:** transitive verb with a topical O 'Masha'

(3) *aηki* *maša-jəλ* *läpət-s-əλλe*
mother Masha-POSS.3SG feed-PST-3SG.SG
'Mother fed Masha.'

- **Passive:** transitive verb with a topical O 'Masha' promoted to S

(4) *maša-jen* (*aηke-λ-ən*) *läpət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG mother-POSS.3SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed by her mother.'

INTRODUCTION

- Adversative uses of passive with verbs denoting physical, physiological, emotional, mental state or change of state (Solovar 2010):

- **1. one-argument frame** $N^{OB}_{NOM} V_{PASS}$: *pirśeməti* 'get old', *wojəmti* 'fall asleep', *săŋkəmti* 'sweat', *χcsəmti* 'get warm', *śó,ŋχiti* 'burn', *jełəmti* 'be shy', *mařeməti* 'miss smb', *χařŋajətti* 'rust' etc.

(5) *pet´a-jen* *kutśə-s-i*
Petya-POSS.2SG get.drunk-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Petya got drunk.'

- **2. two-argument frame** $N^{OB}_{NOM} N^{FORCE}_{LOC} V_{PASS}$: transitive *leti* 'eat', *wuti* 'take', *to,ti* 'bring' etc. and intransitive *jəχətti* 'come', *etti* 'come out' etc.

(6) *amp-en* *ískij-ən* *pot-s-a*
dog-POSS.2SG cold-LOC freeze-PST-PASS[3SG]
'The dog got cold.'

INTRODUCTION

- Solovar's type 2 includes **motion verbs**, e.g. *jǒχətti* 'come' denoting:
 - **Encounter with an unidentified person:** *χǒj* 'who', *χǒjat* 'someone', *mǒłti* 'something', *nemχǒjat* 'nobody', *ǒt* 'thing'
mašajen χǒjat-ən jǒχət-s-a 'Masha was visited by someone' (Masha someone-LOC come-PST-PASS)
 - **Metaphorical "encounter" with some force:** *ńǎχ* 'laughter', *pǎłtap* 'fear', *lik* 'anger', *ǒj* 'happiness', *mǔləm* 'naughtiness'
mašajen ńǎχ-ən jǒχət-s-a 'Masha laughed' (laughter-LOC come-PST-PASS)
- Adversative passives are widely attested across languages, cf. e.g. (Shibatani 1990, Toyota 2008), though, to my knowledge, no special uses of such passives with motion verbs have been recorded



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MORPHOSYNTAX OF MOTION PASSIVES

- Transitive verb *lǎpətti* 'feed': DO 'Masha' promotes to S, while A 'mother' is omitted or demoted to a locative oblique position

(6) *maša-jen amp* *lǎpt-əs* ACTIVE, S-conj
mother Masha-POSS.3SG feed-PST[3SG]
'Masha fed a dog.'

(7) *aŋki* *maša-jəλ* *lǎpət-s-əλλe* ACTIVE, O-conj
mother Masha-POSS.3SG feed-PST-3SG.SG
'Mother fed Masha.'

(8) *maša-jen* (*aŋke-λ-ən*) *lǎpət-s-a* PASSIVE
Masha-POSS.2SG mother-POSS.3SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed by her mother.'

MORPHOSYNTAX OF MOTION PASSIVES

- Intransitive verb *juχətti* 'come': possessed Goal 'boy's house' promotes to S

(9) *aj_iki* *maša-jen* *χot-a* *juχt-əs* ACTIVE
little_man Masha-POSS.2SG house-DAT come-PST[3SG]
'A boy came to Masha's house.'

(10) *maša-jen* *χot* *aj_iki-jən* *juχət-s-a* PASSIVE
Masha-POSS.2SG house little_man-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha's house was visited by a boy.'

- Intransitive verb *juχətti* 'come': External possessor 'Masha' promotes to S (Goal is left implicit)

(11) *aj_iki* *maša-jen* *χośi* *juχt-əs* ACTIVE
little_man Masha-POSS.2SG at come-PST[3SG]
'A boy came to Masha.'

(12) *maša-jen* *aj_iki-jən* *juχət-s-a* PASSIVE
Masha-POSS.2SG little_man-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was visited by a boy.'

MORPHOSYNTAX OF MOTION PASSIVES

- Promotion of dative NPs to S is not a problem: e.g. ditransitive verbs can promote not only Theme 'bread' (14) but also Recipient 'Vasya' (15)

(13) *maša-jen* *waša-jen-a* *ńań* *mă-s*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.2SG-DAT bread give-PST[3SG]
'Masha gave bread to Vasya.'

(14) *tăm* *ńań-en* *maša-jen-ən* *waša-jen-a* *mă-s-i*
this bread-POSS.2SG Masha-POSS.2SG-LOC Vasya-POSS.2SG-DAT give-PST-PASS[3SG]
'This bread was given by Masha to Vasya.'

(15) *waša-jen* *maša-jen-ən* *ńań-ən* *mă-s-i*
Vasya-POSS.2SG Masha-POSS.2SG-LOC bread-LOC give-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Vasya was given bread by Masha.'

MORPHOSYNTAX OF MOTION PASSIVES

- Yet, recipients of ditransitive verbs can occur in the O position (= “dative shift”), as in (16). In this case the verb shows object agreement in number with the topical O

(16) *maša-jen* *waśa-jəλ* *ńań-ən* *mǎ-s-λε*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.3SG bread-LOC give-PST-3SG.SG
'Masha gave Vasya bread.'

- No such transitive use is available for *juχətti*:

(17) **maša-jen* *waśa-jəλ* *juχət-s-əλλε*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.3SG come-PST-3SG.SG
Exp.: 'Masha visited Vasya.'

(18) **maša-jen* *χot-ew* *juχət-s-əλλε*
Masha-POSS.2SG house-POSS.1PL come-PST-3SG.SG
Exp.: 'Masha visited our house.'



Transitive verbs

Verb = ACT, S- & O-conj

Verb = PASS

Agent = NOM

(Agent = LOC)

Patient/Theme = ACC

Patient/Theme = NOM

Motion verbs

Verb = ACT, S-conj only

Verb = PASS

Trajector = NOM

Trajector = LOC

Goal = DAT

Goal/Possessor = NOM

Possessor = Postp (*χοσί*)



MORPHOSYNTAX OF MOTION PASSIVES

Questions:

- **How can motion events passivize without ever having a direct object?**
- **What allows Possessor to promote to Subject?**
- **What is the role of Goal in the construction?**

Next:

- Overview of the motion event and its participants in motion passive
- Discussion of the data and analysis



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VERBS IN MOTION PASSIVES

- (Talmy 1985): two classes of motion verbs:
 - **Path verbs** such as *go, come, leave, move, approach* highlight Source, Path and/or Goal
 - **Manner verbs** such as *walk, run, fly, swim, crawl* highlight the manner of motion
- In Kazym Khanty (**attested with passive**):
 - Path verbs: *juxətti`come', luŋti`enter', ɛtti`come out, appear', pittti`fall', jiti`approach', mǎnti`go (dir.)', jǎŋχti`go (undir.)', wəχəλti`come down'*
 - Manner verbs: *šətši`walk', χəχəλti`run', χəŋχti`climb', wəستی`swim', pərləti`fly'*

VERBS IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Path verbs are compatible with passive (5 out of 8 verbs tested):

(19) *masa-jen* *χot* *χujat-ən* *λυη-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG house who.INDEF-LOC enter-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha's house was entered by someone.'

(20) *ma pɥri-jən* *jeśalt* *εt-s-aj-əm*
I bear-LOC opposite come.out-PST-PASS-1SG
'I had an encounter with a bear.'

- Manner verbs do not passivize:

(21) **maša-jen* *χujat-ən* *χəχəλ-s-a* / *wəś-s-a* / *pərlə-s-i*
Masha-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC run / swim / fly-PST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'Masha was run / swum / flown towards by someone.'

VERBS IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Path verbs *mǎnti* 'go (dir.)', *jǎŋχti* 'go (undir.)' and *wəχəλti* 'come down' do not passivize, probably because they do not highlight Goal of motion

(22) **maša-jen* *χujat-ən* *mǎn-s-a / wəχəλ-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC go / come.down-PST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'Masha was left / come down towards.'

- Path verb *jiti* 'approach' is only possible in the non-past with a progressive interpretation

(23) *maša-jen* *aj_ikij-ən* *ji-λ-i*
Masha-POSS.2SG little_man-LOC approach-NPST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha is being approached by a boy.'

(24) **maša-jen* *aj_ikij-ən* *ji-s-i*
Masha-POSS.2SG little_man-LOC approach-PST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'Masha was approached by a boy.'



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TRAJECTOR IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Unlike canonical passive, motion passive is sensitive to referentiality of the LOC-marked participant, cf. definite Agent (25) vs. Trajector (26) 'Vasya' and 'the boy':

(25) *maša-jen* *waša-jen-ən* / *aj_ik-en-ən* *läpət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.2SG / little_man-POSS.2SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed by Vasya / the boy.'

(26) **maša-jen* *waša-jen-ən* / *aj_ik-en-ən* *juχət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.2SG / little_man-POSS.2SG-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was visited by Vasya / the boy.'

- Indefinite Agent (27) vs. Trajector (28) 'friend' with a definite Possessor:

(27) *maša-jen* *luχs-əl-ən* *läpət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG friend-POSS.3SG-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed by her friend.'

(28) ?*maša-jen* *luχs-əl-ən* *juχət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG friend-POSS.3SG-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was visited by someone / a boy.'

TRAJECTOR IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Indefinite Agent (29) vs. Trajector (30) 'Vasya' and 'a boy':

(29) *maša-jen* *χujat-ən* / *aj_iki-jən* *läpət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC / little-man-LOC feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed by someone / a boy.'

(30) *maša-jen* *χujat-ən* / *aj_iki-jən* *juχət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC / little-man-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was visited by someone / a boy.'

- Cf. unknown, avoided or unimportant zero-expressed Agent (31) vs. Trajector (32):

(31) *maša-jen* *läpət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG feed-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha was fed.'

(32) **maša-jen* *juχət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG come-PST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'Masha was visited.'



TRAJECTOR IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Special case 1: a special use of *juχətti* with a non-specific Trajector $\chi\mu\lambda$ (33):

(33) *juχan-ew* $\chi\mu\lambda$ -*ən* *juχət-s-a*
river-POSS.1PL fish-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Our river filled with fish (lit. visited by fish).'

- Special case 2: *jiti* 'approach', definite Trajector *waśa* & SAP goal (34), cf. non-SAP goal (35):

(34) *ma* *waśa-jen-ən* *ji-λ-ij-əm*
I Vasya-POSS.2SG-LOC approach-NPST-PASS-1SG
'Vasya is coming towards me.'

(35) **maša-jen* *waśa-jen-ən* *ji-λ-i*
Masha-POSS.2SG Vasya-POSS.2SG-LOC approach-NPST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'Vasya is coming towards Masha.'



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POSSESSOR IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Only definite Possessor (36), cf. unacceptability of (37):

(36) *maša-jen* *ρηrij-ən* *jeśalt* *εt-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG bear-LOC across come.out-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha had an encounter with a bear.'

(37) *χujat* *ρηrij-ən* *jeśalt* *εt-s-a*
who.INDEF bear-LOC across come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Someone had an encounter with a bear.'

- Only animate human Possessor, cf. unacceptability with animals (38), inanimates (39):

(38) **amp-en* / **ρηρι-jen* *χujat-ən* *juχət-s-a*
dog-POSS.2SG / bear-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC come-PST-PASS-1SG
Exp.: 'The dog / bear was visited by someone.'

(39) **juχ-en* *χujat-ən* *juχət-s-a*
tree-POSS.2SG who.INDEF-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
Exp.: 'The tree was visited by someone.'

POSSESSOR IN MOTION PASSIVES

- Also Goal + obligatory definite Possessor:

(40) **(maša-jen) χot χujat-ən juχət-s-a*
Masha-POSS.2SG house who.INDEF-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Masha's house was visited by someone.'

(41) *wənt-ew / *wənt χujat-ən juχət-s-a*
forrest-POSS.1PL / forrest who.INDEF-LOC come-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Our forrest was visited by someone.'

- Highly affected Possessor: cf. neutral active context in (42), marked passive context (43):

(42) *maša-jen χot-a muλsar χanneχujat-ət λuη-s-ət*
Mahsa-POSS.2SG house-DAT what.INDEF person-PL enter-PST-3PL
'Some people entered Mary's house.' {^{OK}Masha was home / ^{OK}Masha was away}

(43) *maša-jen χot muλsar χanneχujat-ən λuη-s-a*
Mahsa-POSS.2SG house what.INDEF person-PL-LOC enter-PST-PASS[3SG]
'Mary's house was trespassed by some people.' {^{OK}Masha was away / ?Masha was home}

<i>Trajector</i>	<i>Possessor</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">❖ Overtly expressed❖ Indefinite❖ Animate or inanimate	<ul style="list-style-type: none">❖ Head/dependent in the Subject NP❖ Definite❖ Animate, human❖ Highly affected



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DISCUSSION

Summary of the facts:

- Directed motion frame includes Source, Path and Goal arguments
- Syntactically, motion events are intransitive: they do not allow unmarked O and objective conjugation
- Motion passive promotes Possessor or *obligatorily* possessed Goal to Subject position
- Possessor of the Goal is neither an original O, nor even a part of the motion frame,

Possible hypotheses:

- Benefactive (malefactive) applicativization?
- Topicalization of a human participant?
- Goal is just a location and thus not a real participant?
- Possessor and Goal are functionally different kinds of participants?

DISCUSSION

Benefactive (malefactive) applicativization?

- Cf. ger. *Man hat ihm den Arm gebrochen* 'They broke his arm (lit. him the hand)'
- fr. *Jean lui a cassé sa vaisselle* 'Jean broke his dishes (lit. himself his dishes)'
- The action is carried over an O, but the ultimate effect is produced on a Possessor as a final participant in the causal chain (Payne, Barshi 1999; Shibatani 2006: 241–242)
 - ✓ Explains, why motion passive promotes a peripheral human participant
 - ✗ Does not account for the absence of a transitive use
 - ✗ Does not account for the role of Goal in the motion event

DISCUSSION

Topicalization of a human participant?

- According to (Nikolaeva 2001: 35–39), topical possessors in the part-whole relation with the possessed entity can trigger object agreement on the verb despite O in focus!

(44) *mola xo:rpi e:wi? we:s-l a:t wa:nt-s-e:m / *wa:nt-s-əm lo:ln*
what kind girl face-3SG CONJ see-PAST-1SG.SG / see-PAST-1SG CONJ
'What sort of girl [is she]? If [only] I could see her face.' (Obdorsk dialect)

(45) *mola xo:rpi e:wi? xot-əl a:t wa:nt-s-əm / *wa:nt-s-e:m lo:ln*
what kind girl house-3SG CONJ see-PAST-1SG / see-PAST-1SG.SG CONJ
'What sort of girl [is she]? If [only] I could see her house.' (Obdorsk dialect)

- Passive could be another pure IS-managing device violating some of the syntactic requirements
 - ✓ Explains, why motion passive promotes a peripheral human participant
 - ✓ Accounts for the absence of a transitive use
 - ✗ Does not account for the role of Goal in the motion event
 - ✗ Requires admitting a completely non-syntactic nature of the passive

DISCUSSION

Goal is just a location and thus not a real participant?

- According to Langacker (2006: 116), the conceptualization of an event involves three kinds of entities: settings, locations and participants
- Participants constitute parts of the causal chain, locations do not
- Possessor = participant, Goal = location, thus Possessor (not Goal) is directly affected by the motion event, semantically acquires a core role in this event and gets promoted to Subject
- Morphosyntactically, though, the frame of the motion event stays intransitive
 - ✓ Explains, why motion passive promotes a peripheral human participant
 - ✓ Accounts for the absence of a transitive use
 - ✓ Brings Goal into the discussion
 - ✗ Removes Goal from the event structure altogether

DISCUSSION

Possessor and Goal are functionally different kinds of participants?

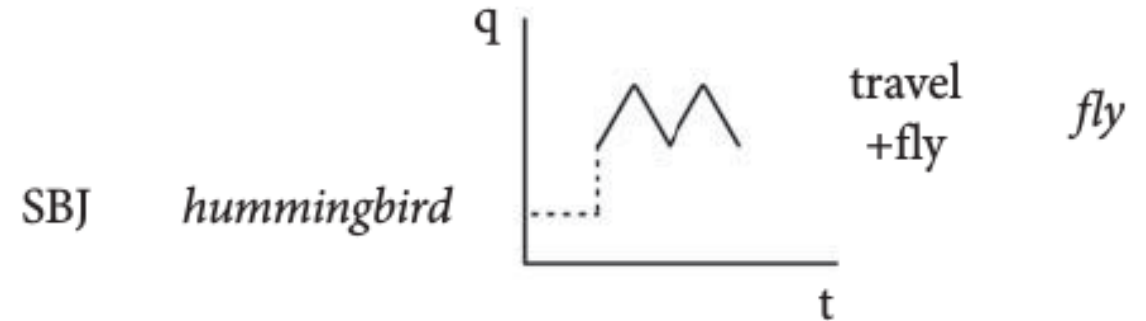
- In Croft's (2012) model, causal structure consists of subevents each having its own aktionsart and an associated participant
- Modelling motion passives requires the following three steps:
 - ❖ **Modelling motion:** directed motion (298–299) is the process of motion between existing points => 'travel' subevent (Trajector) + 'exist' subevents (Source, Path, Goal)
 - ❖ **Modelling benefit:** in the motion passive construction Possessor benefits (or loses) from the motion event => 'benefit' subevent
 - ❖ **Modelling passive:** passive clauses highlight the endpoint of the causal chain => 'benefit' subevent becomes profiled

DISCUSSION

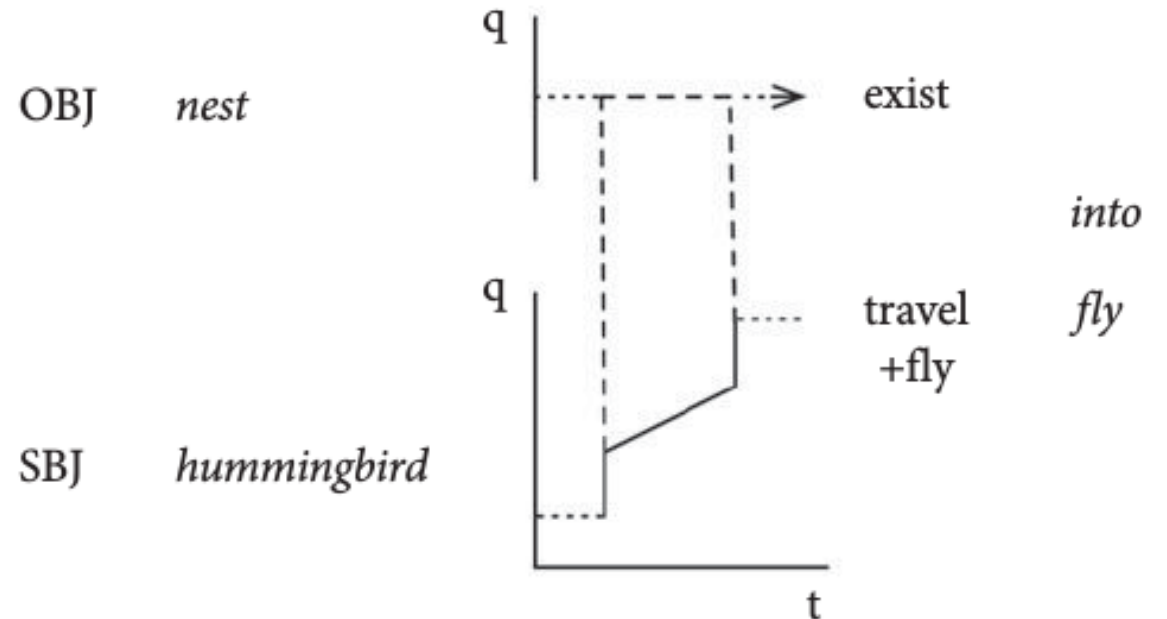
Motion in Croft's model:

- Undirected motion event 'fly' (a), a single subevent: 'travel'
- Directed motion event 'fly into' (b), two subevents: 'travel' and 'exist'
- The hummingbird travels and gradually approaches the final destination, the latter just exists and serves a spatio-temporal boundary
- NB: coming compared to flying is an instant event

a. The hummingbird flew (for a minute or so).



b. The hummingbird flew into its nest.

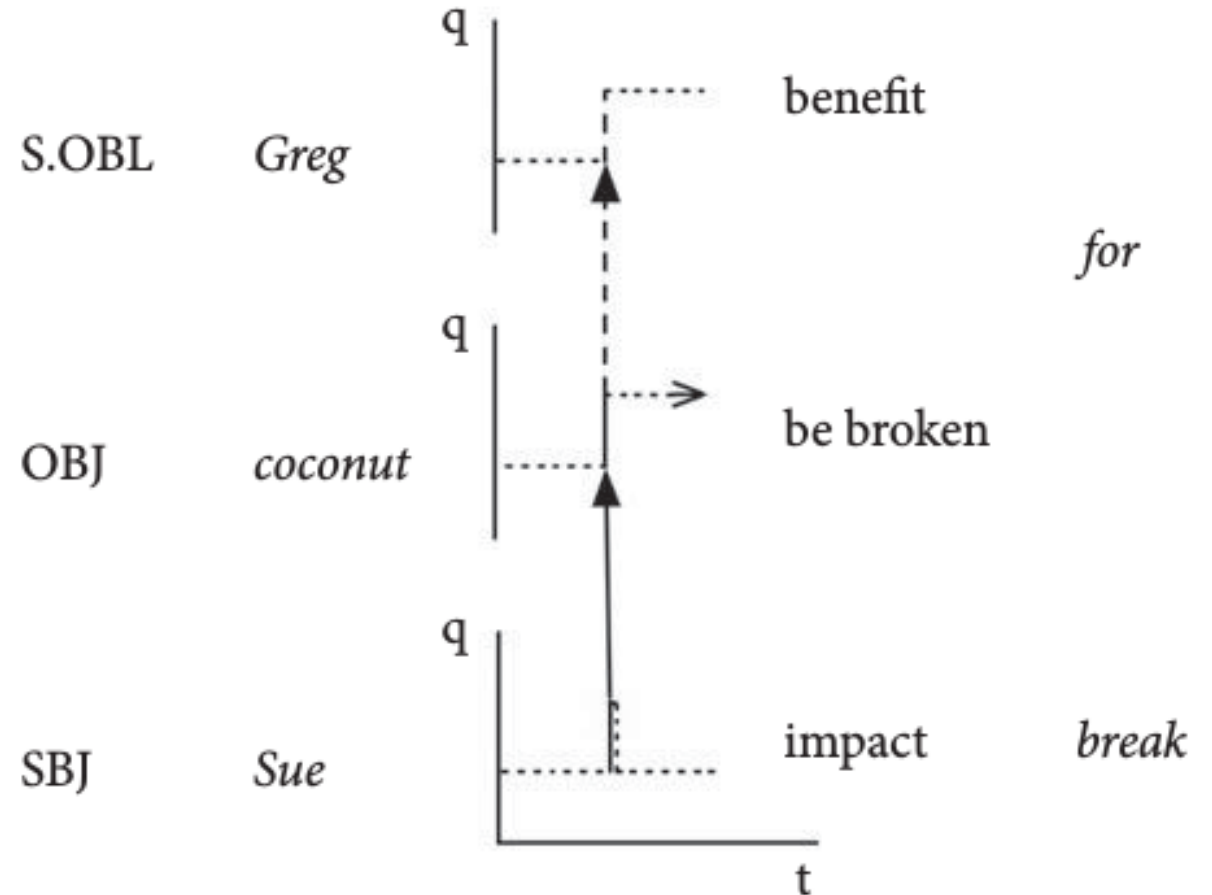


DISCUSSION

Beneficiary in Croft's model:

- Transitive event with a beneficiary 'break for smb.', three subevents: 'impact', 'be broken' and 'benefit'
- Sue makes an instant impact on the coconut (= breaks), the latter instantly changes its state (= becomes broken), Greg benefits from it

Sue broke the coconut for Greg.

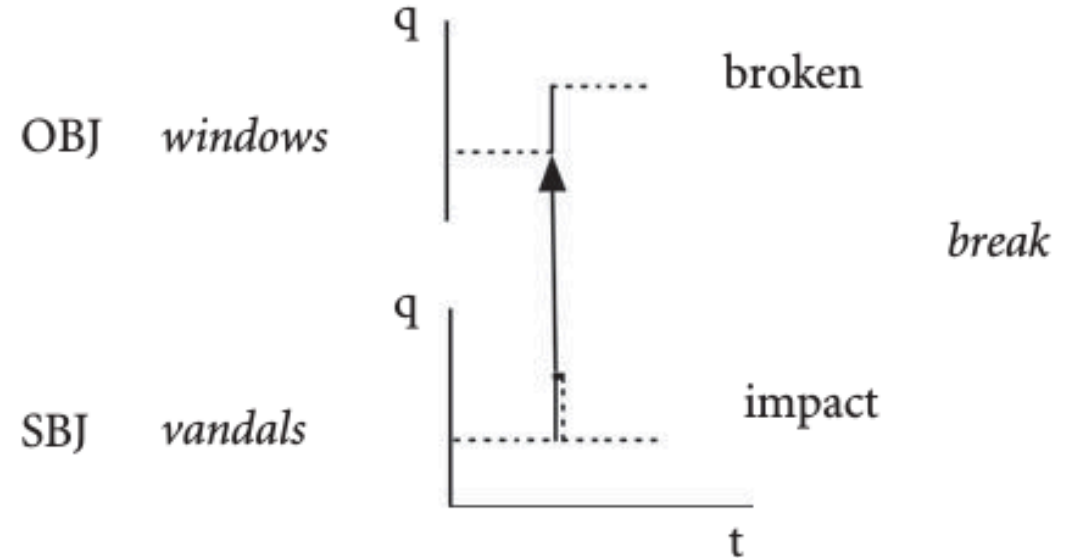


DISCUSSION

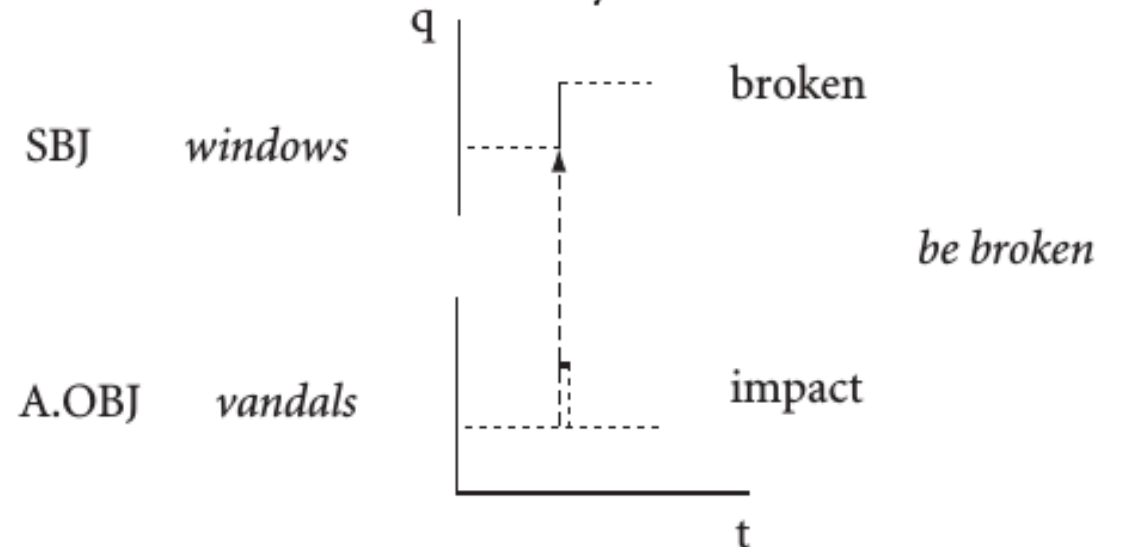
Passive in Croft's model:

- Transitive event 'break', two subevents: 'impact' and 'broken'
- Vandals make an instant impact on the windows (= break), the latter instantly change their state (= become broken)
- Active (a): both subevents profiled
- Passive (b): only the subevent 'broken' is profiled

a. Vandals broke the windows.



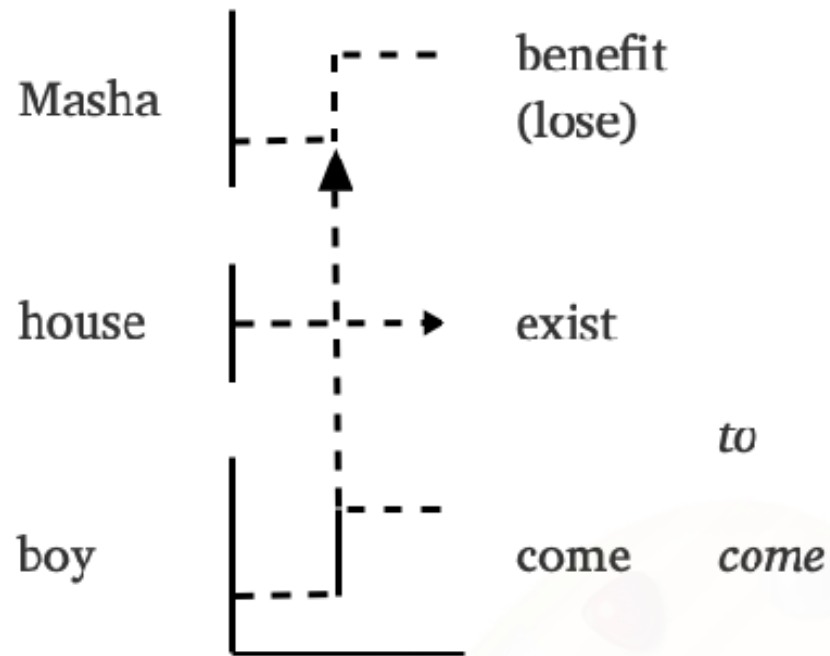
b. The windows were broken by vandals.



DISCUSSION

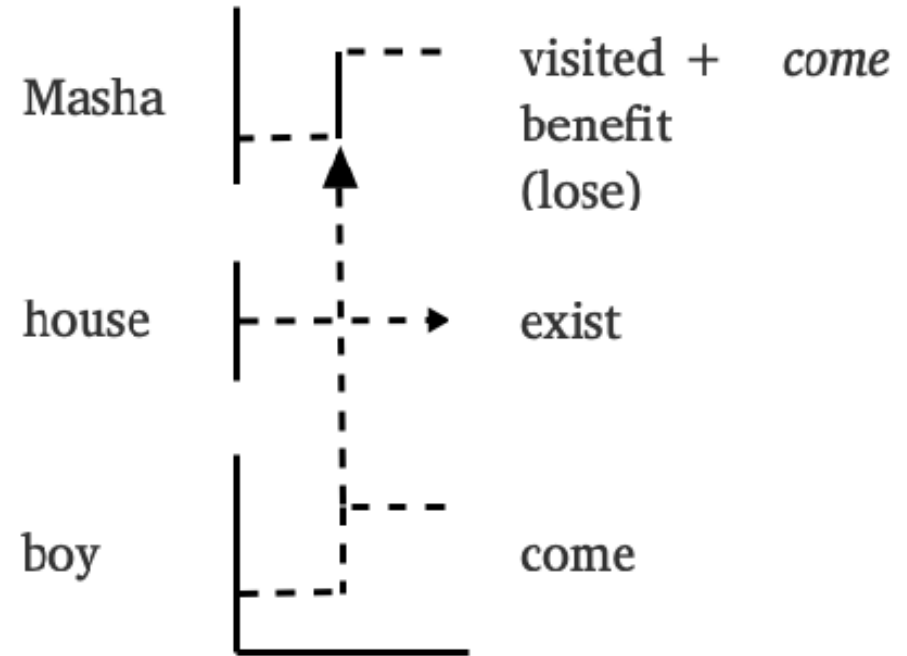
- The boy instantly reaches the state of having come
- Masha directly benefits or loses from it
- The house exists only as a boundary for coming

Active: the coming subevent is profiled



(a) *aj ikijen mašajen χota juχtəs*
 ‘A boy came to Masha’s house.’

Passive: the benefit subevent is profiled



(b) *mašajen χot aj ikijən juχətsa*
 ‘Masha’s house was visited by a boy.’

DISCUSSION

- Goal ('exist' subevent) is a part of the causal chain but neither affects anyone nor is affected
- It only sets terminal spatio-temporal boundary for the motion event, cf. manner verbs and the verb 'go' which do not highlight the goal point
- Thus, when Trajector ('travel' subevent) reaches its terminal boundary it directly affects Possessor of Goal, who benefits (or loses) from the completed 'travel' subevent
 - ✓ Explains, why motion passive promotes a peripheral human participant
 - ✓ Accounts for the absence of a transitive use
 - ✓ Assigns a boundary-setting function to Goal in the motion event
 - ✓ Additionally explains the ungrammaticality of manner verbs and the verb 'go'



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- Morphosyntax of motion passives
- Verbs in motion passives
- Trajector in motion passives
- Possessor in motion passives
- Discussion
- Conclusion

CONCLUSION

- Motion passive in Kazym Khanty is an instance of adversative passive with nontrivial properties:
 - Asymmetry of semantic and morphosyntactic behavior of motion verbs
 - Promotion of Possessor which is not part of the motion frame
 - Demotion of Trajector, yet leaving it overtly expressed
- Semantically can be analyzed as applicativization and topicalization of the human participant affected by motion
- Morphosyntactically Possessor promotion can be supported by a promotion of Goal, however no change in transitivity is observed
- Typological parallels are desirable

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

