Aleksandrs Berdicevskis & Alexander Piperski
WHAT DO WE REGULARIZE AND WHAT IS REGULAR: RUSSIAN VERBS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

One of the most notable and widespread long-term processes in language change is the regularization of morphological forms. It has been studied from various aspects, and questions that have been addressed include, for instance, *who* is most likely to eliminate irregularities, children or adults (Hudson Kam & Newport 2009), *when* irregularities are most likely to be eliminated, in what social circumstances (Berdichevskij 2012), *which* irregularities are most likely to be eliminated (Lieberman et al 2007, Carroll et al. 2012). In this paper, we deal with the latter question. We also show, however, that in order to get a reliable answer a more fundamental question has to be addressed first: *What* is regular for the speakers' minds? The answer is not always obvious.

In a well-known study where a neat correlation between the rate of regularization of irregular English verbs and the frequency of word usage was found, Lieberman et al. (2007) classify the *-ed* verbs as regular and all other verbs as irregular, which seems a logical thing to do. Studying the same process in German strong verbs, Carroll et al. (2012) also use a binary opposition, noting though that for German this decision presents certain problems. We perform a similar study on Russian verbs, which cannot be divided into two classes ("regular" and "irregular"). Of the 16 basic inflectional classes (Zaliznjak 1977), 5 are sometimes labelled "regular" and 11 "irregular", but they are in fact irregular to a different extent. Since binary notation is not an option, an understanding of what regularity actually is and how it should be operationalized is required.

We propose two metrics based on different intuitive understandings of what is regular. The first metric is form-based and answers the question about how different from each other the forms within one paradigm are. The second metric is based on type frequency and answers the question about how typical the inflectional pattern is in the given language (cf. Carroll et al. 2012: 163–165).

It is well-known that many Russian verbs have changed inflectional class, most often by means of a so-called "suffix shift" (Nesset & Kuznetsova 2011). It is typically believed that verbs tend to move into a more regular class. We compile a list of the verbs that at some point of the millenial history of written Russian have changed class or are currently in the process of changing it (ca. 60 verbs). We use then both metrics to measure the change in regularity. On the whole, the regularity increases, although for some of the verbs a pattern attested in Old Russian is more regular (under both understandings) than the one currently existing. We analyze the intricate relationship of the regularization rate with token frequency and some other factors identified by previous research. Finally, we attempt to estimate which of the two understandings can be more useful for a universal definition of regularity that would be applicable to different languages, and how the two metrics correlate with each other.

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Martina Björklund
Referential choice and viewpoint

In cognitive linguistic terms, a speaker construes expressions so that they reflect some subjective perspective, primarily that of the speaker her/himself. But a speaker may also choose to construe expressions with respect to the vantage point(s) of the hearer or some other individual (Langacker 1990). As I will argue, referential choice is one of the linguistic processes that are steered by type of subjective construal. So far viewpoint has been taken into account only marginally in most studies of referential choice and anaphora resolution. However, viewpoint (or perspective taking) "is among the most important directions in the further inquiry into discourse reference" (Kibrik 2011:489).

Most studies concentrate on grammatical constraints within the sentence and/or tendencies for the appearance of full NPs vs. unstressed pronouns or zero anaphora referring to one and the same entity/participant. Scales of phonological size (Givón 1983) and accessibility (Ariel 1990) have been proposed and tested. It has been demonstrated in numerous studies that among the most important discourse factors affecting the accessibility status of the referent, we find referential distance (in terms of intervening clauses), potential interference (in terms of competing referents), and episodic and other hierarchical organization. Thus the tendency for full NPs tend to be chosen increases with the number of intervening clauses/sentences, the appearance of competing referents, and at episodic and other hierarchical boundaries, i.e. more coding material is used for more inaccessible topics, whereas less coding material, unstressed pronouns or zero anaphora, will be chosen within one and the same hierarchical unit, when there are no or few intervening clauses, and no competing referents. These tendencies have been corroborated by statistical data and through computational modeling (e.g. Kibrik 2011). However, as the statistical data show, there are always exceptions to these tendencies. As demonstrated, inter alia, by Ariel (1990), Björklund (1993), and van Vliet (2008) such "exceptions" usually have to do with viewpoint, perceived interlocutor distance, and/or empathy.

Based on examples from Russian, my paper will present the outlines of a model of referential choice that can handle viewpoint and other subjective factors. In this model the prototypical tendencies of referential choice will be demonstrated to result from the construal of discourse from an external perspective (typically found in educated written, fairly simple, narrative or newspaper discourse). It will also be shown that the types of "exceptions" mentioned above are not counter-examples or divergences from appropriate accessibility marking, but result from the construal of discourse from internal viewpoints or other non-neutral vantage points (often found in oral discourse or artistic texts).

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Steven J. Clancy
Unpacking modality in Czech

Over the past 2 decades, several theoretical accounts have been proposed to capture amodality (Perkins 1983, Huddleston 1988, Sweetser 1990, Bybee et al. 1994, van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Palmer 2001, Hengeveld 2004, Nuyts 2006). Given the abstract nature of this concept and its dependence on a speaker's construal of a situation, it is unsurprising that linguists have not agreed on the number and nature of distinct modal types with Palmer (2001) proposing two types (event modality and propositional modality), Perkins (1983) suggesting three (dynamic, deontic and epistemic modality), and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) insisting on four (deontic, epistemic, participant-internal, and participant-external modality). There is also lack of unanimity as to the definitions and labels given to the different types of modality. For example, there are differing opinions in respect of the category of dynamic modality — although some linguists agree that it is a separate category (Perkins 1983), others label (some aspects of) it together with deontic modality, under such names as event modality (Palmer 2001), root modality (Hofmann 1976, Coates 1983, Sweetser 1990), or agent-oriented modality (Bybee et al. 1994) (Nuyts 2006: 7).

In this talk as part of the theme session, we present the results of a pilot study on Czech data that aims to shed light on the number and nature of modal categories and the roles of empirical data, quantitative methods, and visualization tools as objective viewpoints on previous intuitive analyses of modal types. We capture the way in which the different modality types as defined by Nuyts (2006) correlate with usage data by tracking the behavior of words in modal contexts. The dataset consists of 250 sentences for each of the following relatively frequent modal constructions, mostly verbal expressions, but also including some adverbial and adjectival predicative expressions:

Modal Concepts	Czech
NEED (NECESSITY)	*potřebovat třeba*
MUST (COMPULSION)	*muset*
OUGHT/SHOULD (DUTY)	*mít, měl bych*
WANT (VOLITION)	*chtít*
KNOW HOW (FACULTY)	*umět*
CAN/ABLE (ABILITY)	*moct*
MAY/ALLOWED NOT ALLOWED (PERMISSION)	*smět, možná nesmět*
POSSIBLE IMPOSSIBLE (POSSIBILITY)	*možné, lze nemožné, nelze*

The data are extracted from the Czech National Corpus (http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/english) and are annotated by for morphological, syntactic and semantic properties using the Behavioral Profiling approach (Divjak 2004; Divjak and Gries 2006). A number of statistical techniques are then used to quantify the intuitive clarity of the proposed classifications, to examine which types of modality cluster together and could be grouped under one heading, and to determine how different types of modality correlate with aspects of usage.

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Lindy Comstock

Cognitive-Based Strategies for Interpreting Meaning: Exploring the Context-Dependency of Russian Interjections "Aj" and "Oj"

The instrumental rather than additive conception of meaning posited in cognitive grammar and sign-based linguistics lends itself well to the study of interjections such as "aj" and "oj". When used as free-standing particles, these interjections are semantically under-defined in that they allow for a wide range of emotional interpretations of both a positive and negative valence (Kveselevich & Sasina, 1990; Shvedova et al., 2005; Vinogradov, 1960). Whether interjections lend themselves better to a "bleaching" or "fill-in" view of communication (Kirsner, 1993) stemming from the idea of elaboration or extension from a prototypical meaning (Langacker, 1988) or paired oppositions of a more abstracted nature (Diver, 1995), in either case meaning is context-dependent and must be determined through an interpretive process. This paper investigates what co-occurring signs may have relevance for the interpretation of a specified meaning in context, looking both at the sentence level and beyond. Interjections collected from the Russian National Corpus will be assessed according to placement within an utterance (turn-initial, non-turn-initial), grammatical completeness of the utterance (full sentence, increment), message type (informational or phatic speech, assessment, etc.), and position within the larger dialogue. In addition to insights from cognitive grammar, the Transactional Discourse Model (Yokoyama, 1986) will be utilized to assess speaker strategy in the deployment of the interjections "oj" and "aj".

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David S. Danaher
Metaphors for Ideology in the Writings of Václav Havel

While the role of conceptual metaphor *in* ideologies has received attention (Goatly 2007), the topic of metaphors *for* ideology remains unexplored. In this regard, the Czech writer and politician Václav Havel's metaphorization of ideology proves instructive.

From his pre-1989 essays to his post-1989 presidential speeches, Havel develops an account of ideology that eschews a dictionary definition (ideology as a system of political or economic beliefs) and relies almost exclusively on elaboration via conceptual metaphor. A partial listing of Havel's metaphors for ideology include: ideology as a *bridge;* as *gloves* that touch people at every step; as a *system of pulleys;* as a *low-rent home;* as *ritual;* as *secular religion;* as a form of *hypnosis* or *illusion;* as an *alibi;* as *rules of the game;* as *glue;* as *mental short-circuit;* as a set of *crutches;* and as a collection of *traffic or directional signals.* Ideology is associated with rigidity and fixity, with petrification and with closed systems; it turns us from "beings in question" into "beings in answer". While some of Havel's metaphors resonate culturally in a Czech-specific way (for example, the "bridge" and "home" images were key images in the Czech National Revival), all have universal experiential grounding.

The import of Havel's metaphorical treatment of ideology – in effect, his oeuvre- wide representation of ideology through a complex conceptual blend – has not been appreciated. Metaphors and blends are forms of appeal that prompt us to rethink the meaning of a given domain. Havel exploits metaphor's creative potential in order to radically reconceptualize our understanding of ideology as a force in the modern world.

First and foremost, metaphorization of the term shifts the conceptual focus from result to process. Ideology in Havel becomes less a matter of *what* and much more a matter of *how,* less a question of political dogma than a manner of relating self to world. Havel's concern is therefore not with ideology as a set of beliefs, but rather with ideologization as a form of human identity.

In the second place, conceptualizing ideology via metaphor allows Havel to mediate between forms of ideologization in the highly politicized societies of the totalitarian East as well as in nations of the democratic West. In this view, ideology did not end with the fall of the totalitarian regimes across Eastern Europe in 1989. Put another way, ideologization for Havel is not a matter of one political or historical -ism, but rather a feature of the modern human condition.

The paper represents a contribution both to the field of metaphor in political discourse and to Havelian scholarship. In terms of the former, we note that Havel's metaphors for ideology imply a view of meaning that is consistent with Mark Johnson's 2007 account of an aesthetics of human understanding. As for the latter, Havel's metaphorization of ideology – an existential-level understanding of it as a matter of one's identity – represents a cornerstone of Havel's thinking that has not been adequately understood by his commentators.

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Stephen M. Dickey
On Some Putative Cases of "Native Slavic" Biaspectuality:
Verbs of Motion and Communication

This paper draws attention to some issues concerning allegedly biaspectual verbs in Slavic that in my view have not received due consideration. In any discussion of biaspectuality, one must immediately draw a distinction between loan verbs (e.g., Russian *организовать* 'organize') and native Slavic verbs that have been considered to be biaspectual (e.g., Russian *бежать* 'flee', *казнить* 'execute'). Numbers are rarely given for the two types, but Čertkova and Chang (1998) observe that in Russian 90% of biaspectuals are foreign loans, and only 10% are native Russian (Slavic) verbs. Among the putative cases of native Slavic biaspectuality, verbs of motion and verbs of communication stand out, cf. the following cases from Russian and Czech:

	Russian	Czech
Verbs of Motion	*бежать* 'run'	Determinate VoM: *jít* 'go', etc.
Verbs of Communication	*велеть* 'order' *обещать* 'promise' *отвечать* 'answer'	*ptát se* 'ask'

Table 1: Putative Biaspectual Verbs of Motion and Communication

Native Slavic biaspectuality is rarely addressed in print (on the biaspectuality of Czech *jít* in the past tense, cf. Berger 2013), but at conferences such verbs are regularly assumed to be/have been biaspectual.

However, accepting these verbs as biaspectual is complicated by the fact that imperfective verbs are regularly used in sequences of events in the western periphery of Slavic (Czech, Sorbian, Slovak, Slovene, BCS), and the precursors of such verbs were regularly used in sequences of events across the Slavic languages in earlier stages of their development (cf. Ivančev 1961). (According to the data I have collected, the use of imperfective verbs in sequences of events has disappeared in East Slavic and Bulgarian only since the 17th century.)

This paper first discusses the case of Czech *jít* (and other determinate VoM). Beyond its use in sequences of events, there is little reason to argue for the biaspectuality of *jít*. Data are adduced showing that the derived imperfective *utíkat* 'run' as well as ordinary imperfective verbs when used as motion verbs (e.g., *mířit* 'aim", *mazat* 'smear') are likewise employed in sequences of events and form the same synthetic *po-* future. Such data undercut the idea that *jít* and other determinate verbs of motion are biaspectual. It is instead suggested that the patterning of *jít* should be taken at face value, and is part of a tendency for verbs of motion to occur with imperfective morphology in the past, regardless of the presence of sequences of events. Other examples are the conventionalized use of the imperfect of Upper Sorbian *hić*/Lower Sorbian *hyś* 'go' in sequences of events, and the "aoristic" use in Classical Greek of the imperfect form *ἤϊα* of *εἶμι* 'go' (cf. Kölligan 2007: 146). This patterning is very likely a consequence of the inherently goal-oriented nature of agentive motion, even when construed as an open-ended process. Russian *бежать* is explained in the same manner.

This paper then turns to verbs of communication, and draws largely on my recent statistical analysis of Russian *отвечать* 'answer' in 19th-century fiction [author reference], which shows that despite the predominance of the past tense of *отвечать* in various works of fiction, there was a system in place and that the past tense of *ответить* occurred when certain contextual factors were

present, such as [+sequence], [+end of exchange] and/or [+authority]. I argue here that the widespread use of imperfective verbs of communication in sequences of events in Slavic languages through the mid-19th century was not because these verbs were actually biaspectual, but because dialogues were generally not presented as coherent wholes, but utterance-by-utterance presentations of direct speech. With differences, Czech *ptát se* 'ask', which predominates in Němcová's fiction by a wide margin, despite the fact that various prefixed perfective correlates with the same meaning are attested since Old Czech, e.g., *vyptati sě, vzeptati sě, zeptati sě*. It is interesting that here too there is a parallel with Greek: in Attic *φημί* 'say' (which was used to relate direct speech) had no aorist, only an imperfect *ἔφην*, which was used "aoristically" (cf. Kölligan 2007: 146 and the references cited there); further, in Classical and New Testament Greek verbs of requesting (e.g., *ἐροτάω*) and commanding (e.g., *κελεύω*) often occur in the imperfect to indicate the mere utterance of a request or command as opposed asserting the compliance of the listener (cf. Blass, Delbrunner and Rehkopf 1984: 269–270). Thus, it appears that with verbs of communication there is likewise a tendency for imperfective categories to be employed in the past tense.

The overall conclusion is that there are even fewer truly biaspectual "native Slavic" verbs than is sometimes assumed, and that two classes of verbs, verbs of motion and verbs of communication, have tended to be misdiagnosed as biaspectual when they are imperfective. Data from Greek provide circumstantial evidence for this analysis.

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Dagmar Divjak & Nina Szymor & Anna Socha

Unpacking modality in Polish.

Over the past 2 decades, several theoretical accounts have been proposed to capture modality (Perkins 1983, Huddleston 1988, Sweetser 1990, Bybee et al. 1994, van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Palmer 2001, Hengeveld 2004, Nuyts 2006). Given the abstract nature of this concept, it is unsurprising that linguists do not agree on the number of modality types to distinguish, with Palmer (2001) proposing two types (*event* modality and *propositional* modality), Perkins (1983) suggesting three (*dynamic*, *deontic* and *epistemic* modality), and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) insisting on four (*deontic*, *epistemic*, *participant-internal*, and *participant-external* modality). There is also lack of unanimity as to the definitions and labels given to the different types of modality. For example, there are differing opinions in respect of the category of *dynamic* modality - although some linguists agree that it is a separate category (Perkins 1983), others label (some aspects of) it together with *deontic* modality, under such names as *event* modality (Palmer 2001), *root* modality (Hofmann 1976, Coates 1983, Sweetser 1990), or *agent-oriented* modality (Bybee et al. 1994) (Nuyts 2006: 7).

In this talk as part of the theme session, we present the results of a pilot study on Polish data that aims to shed light on the number and nature of modal categories and looks at the role empirical data, quantitative methods, and visualization tools can play as objective viewpoints on previous intuitive analyses of modal types.
Practically, the analysis aims to capture the way in which the different modality types as defined by Nuyts (2006) correlate with usage data by tracking the behavior of words in modal contexts. The dataset consists of 250 sentences for each of the following 6 relatively frequent modal adverbial and adjectival predicatives as well as verbs: można (can, may), móc (can, may), musieć (need to, must, have to), mieć (have to, must), powinien (should), wolno (one is allowed, one may).

The data are extracted from the NKJP and are annotated for morphological, syntactic and semantic properties using the Behavioral Profiling approach (Divjak 2004; Divjak and Gries 2006). A number of statistical techniques are then used to quantify the intuitive clarity of the proposed classifications, to examine which types of modality cluster together and could be grouped under one heading, and to determine how different types of modality correlate with aspects of usage.

Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij
Russian idioms: Conceptual structure and systematic variation

Recent studies have shown that idioms very typically display variation in their lexical structure. The use of large-scale text corpora has replaced the traditional notion that the lexical structure of idioms is rigidly fixed (cf. the familiar postulate of "idioms as long words") with a sense that variation in their structure is practically unlimited. The truth, of course, is somewhere in between. Certain idioms permit a wide range of variation, while others tend not to. Another important factor is that specific types of variation have different status.

To identify the fundamental features of phraseology as a subsystem of the lexicon, the analysis of so called <u>systematic variation</u> turns out to be more efficient than context-bound ad hoc modifications. Rosamund Moon [1998: 139-145] includes in this variation converse, causative, resultative, inchoative, etc. transformations. Cf.: *стоять на ушах – встать на уши – поставить на уши; сидеть/оказаться за решеткой – угодить за решетку – посадить за решетку*. Obviously, the ability of certain idioms to form such derivatives depends on their conceptual-semantic properties.

The present study based on extensive corpus data will present the findings of research on these properties, with attention focused on converse and causative transformations of Russian idioms (cf. also [Добровольский 2011]). To be subjected to converse transformations an idiom must have two active valencies. These valencies are usually filled by the Agent and Patient (*X дал по шее Y-у – Y получил по шее от X-а*), more seldom by the Agent and Addressee or Benefactor. To meet this condition, the idiom must represent a certain semantic type, which is why converse idioms are characteristic of some semantic fields and uncharacteristic (or even impossible) for others.

As for actant derivation (causativization), here as well the crucial factor is whether an idiom belongs to a certain conceptual-semantic area. To form causative pairs it is important that one of the members expresses a person's telic activity intended to cause a change in some state or to initiate some process; cf. *X оставил с носом Y-а – Y остался с носом*. If such conceptual-semantic features are present, i.e., if the opposition "self-induced vs. caused" is perceived to be natural, the formation of a causative pair is quite likely.

One more factor that is essential to conversion and actant derivation concerns the semantic analyzability of an idiom; cf. [Nunberg, Sag, Wasow 1994; Dobrovol'skij 2007]. In other words, the individual constituents of an idiom must possess a certain semantic autonomy. This is a rather obvious condition, since one part of the idiom (usually the verbal constituent) is responsible for transformation and, accordingly, varies, while the other part of the idiom remains unchanged. The idioms that are members of conversive and causative pairs, therefore, display entirely definite,

nonrandom differences in their lexical structure, and to these differences on the plane of expression there are regularly corresponding differences in semantics.

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Nina Dobrushina
Russian subjunctive in subordinate clauses

Subjunctive is sometimes defined as an irreal mood which is used in subordinate clauses. Russian subjunctive is widely used both in independent and subordinate clauses: in the sample from the National Russian corpus (subcorpus 1970 through 2011) 55% of all occurences of the particle *by / b* are used in the independent clauses or in the main part of complex clause:

(1) Otkazat's'a **bylo by** v dannom sluchae pozorom
(2) Jesli **by** on **otkazals'a**, eto bylo by pozorom

The usage of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses can be obligatory or optional depending on the type of clause. For example, certain types of predicates require the subjunctive in their complement clauses (3), while the relative clauses impose no requirements on the usage of the mood form (4a,b):

(3a) Xochu, chto**by** on **otkazals'a**
(3b) *Xochu, chto on otkazals'a / otkazhets'a

(4a) Net takogo cheloveka, kotoryj **by otkazals'a**
(4b) Net takogo cheloveka, kotoryj otkazhets'a

Russian subjunctive particle *by* is most often used with the past tense form (*otkazals'a by*), but it can also be used in the constructions that lack any finite verb form: constructions involving infinitives, predicative adverbs or adjectives, and nouns. While the combination of past tense form with the particle *by / b* is always considered as a subjunctive, the constructions with the non-finite forms are sometimes excluded from the subjunctive in the narrow sense (see for the discussion Isachenko 1965, Brecht 1979/1985: 112, Hansen 2010, Say, manuscript).

The aim of this paper is to test all types of Russian constructions involving the subjunctive particle for their ability to be used as a predicate of different subordinate clauses. The hypothesis is that the subjunctive with the past tense exhibits the highest level of compatibility with different types of subordinate clauses, while other subjunctive constructions have certain restrictions. For example, subjunctive predicatives are ungrammatical in many types of subordinate constructions. Infinitives are also partly restricted:

(5a) U nas net sotrudnika, bez kotorogo mozhno **bylo by** obojtis'.
(5b) *U nas net sotrudnika, bez kotorogo **mozhno by** obojtis'.
(5c) Bez etogo sotrudnika **mozhno by** obojtis'.
(5d) *U nas net sotrudnika, bez kotorogo by obojtis'.
(5e) **Obojtis' by** bez etogo sotrudnika.

The results help distinguishing between subordinate clauses where subjunctive is required grammatically, and those cases where it is not a syntactic device and does not differ from main clause uses, as in example (6)

(6) Ja dumaju, chto **mozhno by** obojtis' bez etogo sotrudnika.

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Saj S.S., manuscript. Nefinitnye formy soslagate

Hanne M. Eckhoff

Prefixation and verb classification in Old Church Slavonic

Janda et al. (2013) argue that modern Russian verb prefixes are verb classifiers. They classify unbounded simplex verbs into broad, semantically motivated classes of bounded verbs. This is also the case for "natural perfectives", i.e. prefixed perfectives that occur in pairs with simplex verbs also have semantically motivated classifier prefixes. OCS, as the earliest attestation of Slavic, may provide some answers as to the origins of this system.

There is very little agreement in the literature on early Slavic aspect as to the nature of the OCS aspect system. Does the past-tense distinction between aorist and imperfect express aspect? Do (incipient) verb pairs express aspect? And if so, which verbs are perfective and imperfective? How can we decide what constitutes a pair? Using OCS and Greek parallel data (Codex Marianus from the PROIEL corpus), we can conclude that

- the imperfect and the aorist express viewpoint aspect, since they follow the Greek distribution in over 90 % of the cases

- most OCS verbs have specialised with one aspect or another

- the specialisation is so robust that the verbs can express aspect on their own (compare with e.g. Greek infinitive, subjunctive); in particular, prefixed verbs are generally both telic and perfective

- we can identify aspectual pairs by looking at translations of individual Greek verbs

The Marianus is a small dataset, but we can still identify a number of verb pairs. The most stable pairs are specialised perfectives with derived partners (pristoǫpati/pristoǫpiti, načinati/načęti, ostavljati/ostaviti) (45 pairs). We can also identify 39 verb pairs where a simplex verb is partnered by a prefixed perfective verb. However, it is important to note that these pairs are far less stable than the specialised perfective pairs, in that the simplex verb in many of them is still aspectually neutral. Also, very few of these verb pairs involve natural perfectives in the sense of Janda et al. (2013) – most of the perfective partners are complex act perfectives: mostly ingressives, usually prefixed with vaza, and a few delimitatives, mostly with po. We only find 13 pairs where the simplex is partnered by a verb with completive/resultative semantics (tvoriti/satvoriti, učiti/naučiti). We may therefore conclude that in OCS, it is early days for the natural perfectives. Nonetheless, we find that the arguable natural perfectives in OCS are similar to the modern Russian ones in two important ways:

- They display a wide range of prefixes (10 different ones, all of which are also used for natural perfectives in modern Russian)

- The choice of prefix is not random, but motivated by association with specific semantic groups of verbs

However, verbal classifiers are not yet obligatory in order to convert an unbounded activity or state into an event in OCS. This can still to some extent be done by using the inflectional aspect system alone.

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Masako Fidler & Vaclav Cvrček
A usage-based "grammar" on the discourse level: A keyword analysis study of two 19th-century authors in Czech

The central idea of usage-based grammar is that acquisition of linguistic knowledge is "bottom-up": language use leads to extraction of schematic representation of the language (grammar). In other words, knowledge of language does not result from an innate grammar that is hard-wired from birth, but from exposure to each and individual expression, including those that conform to general patterns (Cf. Bybee 1995, 2010).

Language use, however, leads to expectations of not only patterns on the sentence level (grammar), but also on the discourse level. The latter could be called "grammar" of discourse and concerns anticipation of the property of text. As language usage patterns change over time, our "grammar" of discourse is also expected to change over time. This paper will examine one aspect of such a "grammar" of discourse: a set of anticipated topics serving as an overarching frame to interpret a text, which can be called "topic anticipation".

Our study will draw on keywords (KWs) as defined in corpus linguistics (Scott 1996, Baker and Ellece 2011). KWs are word forms that occur in a text more frequently than expected by chance alone and are often closely connected to what the text is about, i.e. topics. They are obtained by comparing a target text(s) (T-txt(s)) with a larger corpus that reflects widespread linguistic patterns of the language (the reference corpus, RefC). Keyword analysis software for Czech, which we will use, has been developed as part of a larger project (http://kwords.korpus.cz/); it extracts not only KWs, but also KW links and collocates of KWs. Its effectiveness has been demonstrated by our previous tests using political texts (Authors 2012ab).

As T-txts, we will use short stories (3,000-8,000 words) by two authors from nineteenth-century Czech literature: Karolína Světlá, whose texts are viewed as "having lost its attraction" for contemporary readers (Mešťan 1987: 97) and Božena Němcová, whose texts are still widely read now. As for RefCs, we will use two corpora that can be clearly delimited: Totalita (corpus reflecting official language use from 1952-1977) and SYN2010 (the corpus reflecting the most up-to-date language use). Our prediction is that analysis of Světlá's texts will show more variation in KWs and KWlinks across time than Němcová's texts. Examination of these KWs and KWlinks will inform us of what topics stay fresh and what topics do not, i.e. shifts in topic anticipation.

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Egbert Fortuin
The semantics of the Russian suffix -*ščina*

The topic of my presentation is the Russian suffix -*ščina* as it occurs in nouns like *derevenščina*, *Oblomovščina, Stalinščina, kitajščina, ponožovščina* or *Tambovščina*.

In the scholarly literature no good descriptions of the suffix -*ščina* exist. It is usually claimed that it expresses negative abstract or collective concepts, but the exact nature of the negative connotation and the actual semantics of the suffix remains unclear.

The goal of this paper is to provide a detailed semantic analysis of the suffix, and to show what the relation is between the base word (the form to which the suffix is attached) and the word containing the suffix -*ščina*, using insights from Construction Morphology. I use data from the Russian National Corpus, the Internet and various dictionaries.

My analysis shows that different uses of the suffix have to be distinguished, which often correlate with different base forms (noun, various types of proper names, adjectives, verbs, place names, etc.). Whereas some of these uses have a clear negative connotation, this is not true for all uses. Furthermore, the data suggest that the use of the suffix has changed in the nineteenth century (or earlier), possibly partly under the influence of the French suffix -*erie*, leading to an increase of uses that contain a negative connotation. At the same time, in some cases a weakening of the negative connotation of -*ščina* can be observed.

<div align="center">

Mirjam Fried
Speaker-centered interactional datives in Czech

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The so-called 'ethical datives' (ED) have received linguists' attention in various languages and through the prism of various theoretical approaches (e.g. Berman 1982, Authier & Reed 1992, Janda 1993, Dabrowska 1997, Evola & Raineri 2011), typically focusing on the 2nd pers. sg. variant. This bias perhaps stems from the most commonly encountered pragmatic properties of EDs, which is their inherent hearer-centered nature, and is also supported by ED distribution cross-linguistically, which is consistent with two referential hierarchies relevant in argument expression (referential types and sg/pl hierarchy, with discourse participant in sg being the highest ranking combination). The ED inventory is not universally restricted to only indexing the addressee, but the non-2nd pers. patterns are still rather poorly understood. The present study investigates the distribution and properties of one such typologically less expected pattern, namely 1st pers. plural interactional dative (ID) in conversational Czech. When tracking this pragmatic category in authentic usage, it becomes apparent that its true nature cannot be fully understood without taking into account *both* its interactional properties *and* the grammatical constraints on its usage. On the basis of qualitative and some frequency-based quantitative evidence from the *Czech National Corpus*, I argue for such a 'holistic' approach, applied to naturally occurring discourse material.

The central question of the study is the pragmatic and grammatical status of the 1st pl. pronoun of the kind shown in (1-2), which can be shown to be related to the semantic dative in (3). I argue that the tokens in (1-2) exemplify an interactional function of the pronoun, namely, a witness commentary drawing attention to something noteworthy in the present situation. Its relationship to (3), in which the dative marks an event participant, remains somewhat fluid, but a close analysis reveals that each usage is systematically associated with a different cluster of prototypical properties (grammatical, prosodic, discoursal, semantic) and that there are various tests that help establish the difference. I also develop a hypothesis concerning the plural form of the ID tokens, which has implications for the typology of interactional datives (as a quintessentially dialogical category) vis-à-vis the standard animacy hierarchy and referential hierarchies.

The analysis shows that the production and reception of IDs in actual discourse involves conventional expectations about their form, meaning, and function, on a par with any other piece of grammatical knowledge speakers must share in order to use and interpret these items with a native-like fluency. I make use of the multidimensional nature of grammatical constructions, in order to represent IDs as a piece of conventional linguistic knowledge and to demonstrate how the cognitive, interactional, and grammatical aspects of linguistic structure can be integrated in a single, fomalizable representation.

(1) *Tak se podíváme, co **nám**$_{DAT}$ ta zemlbába dělá!*
    'So, let's take a peek at the bread pudding, [to see] how it's doing, **we-all**.'
(2) *A nerudni **nám**$_{DAT}$ tady.*   'And don't turn red **on us** here [as we all see] .'
(3) *Na vejletě **nám**$_{DAT}$ pršelo.*   '**We** had rain on the trip.'

Jelena Golubovic & Charlotte Gooskens
How well can Serbian speakers understand other Slavic languages?

Receptive multilingualism is a way of communication where speakers interact by each using their respective native languages. If the languages are closely related, receptive multilingualism is a viable alternative to using English as a lingua franca, as demonstrated in Scandinavia, with speakers of Danish, Swedish and Norwegan (Maurud, 1976; Bø 1978; Lundin and Zola Christenssen, 2001). However, not much is known about the level of mutual intelligibility between Slavic languages and the potential for using receptive multilingualism as a way of communicating in the Slavic language area. In most of literature, the focus is on Czech and Slovak (Budovičová, 1987a, Nábělková, 2007), and the effect of the breakup of Czechoslovakia on mutual intelligibility between the two languages, whereas there is only anecdotal evidence available for other Slavic languages. Therefore, we decided to fill that gap by investigating how intelligible different West Slavic (Czech, Slovak, Polish) and south Slavic (Slovene and Bulgarian) languages are to the speakers of Serbian. Native speakers of Serbian were particularly suitable for the first study of this kind since they can read both Cyrillic and Latin alphabet, thus it was possible to administer both written and spoken tasks in all the test languages. The data was collected through a web application and over a 1000 Serbian speakers took part in the experiment.

The level of intelligibility of both text and speech was measured using three different methods pertaining to the intelligibility on the word level (word translation task), sentence level (cloze test) and discourse level (picture task). In the word translation task, the participants were asked to translate individual words they have read or heard from one of the test languages into Serbian. In cloze test, the participants read or listened to a text where some of the words have been omitted or replaced by a beep and their task was to place the them back into correct gaps. In the picture task, the participants read or listened to a text and were asked to choose a picture that best described it. We also measured linguistic distances between the native and the test language of the participants on orthographic, phonetic, lexical, morphological and syntactic level, as well as the attitudes of the participants to various Slavic languages and their amount of contact with them.

We argue that: 1) There is a relatively high degree of intelligibility on the discourse level across all language combinations; 2) the level of intelligibility can be predicted by looking at linguistic factors (phonetic, orthographic, lexical, morphological and syntactic distances between language pairs) and extralinguistic factors (the amount of exposure and the attitudes to the test language) and 3) the genetic division into West Slavic and South Slavic languages is reflected in the intelligibility results across all tasks.

In conclusion, this paper sheds new light on mutual intelligibility in the Slavic language area by examining it empirically. Therefore, the results have implications not only for the field of Slavic language teaching but also for translation studies and policy making within the Slavic language area.

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Svetlana Gorokhova
The frequency effect in the production of grammatical agreement:
A corpus-based analysis of Russian speech errors

Modern theories of grammatical agreement are mostly neutral on the role of the frequency effect in adult agreement production although some recent studies suggest that number agreement may be computed based on the speaker's linguistic experience (Thornton and MacDonald 2003; Haskell et al. 2010). This paper aims to find out whether case agreement computation may be affected by the frequency of occurrence of Adj-N constructions. I used frequency data from the disambiguated part of the Russian National Corpus to examine Adj-N case agreement errors made by native speakers of Russian. The errors (commonly referred to as "slips of the tongue") were collected by tape-recording and digitally recording everyday conversations, telephone conversations, and live TV and radio programs such as talk shows and interviews.

The analysis involved 292 naturally produced "reversed agreement" errors in modifier-head [Adj+N] constructions, when a speaker selects an irrelevant noun case form based on the case-ambiguous pre-modifier adjective form instead of computing the adjective case form based on the head noun form e.g.

(1) [TARGET] **PL.LOC** → [ERROR] **PL.GEN**

na	et-**IX**	forum-**AX**
at	this-PL.**GEN/LOC**	document-PL.**LOC**

→

na	et-**IX**	forum-**OV**
at	this-PL.**GEN /LOC**	document-PL.**GEN**

(Ja zalezla na vsjakie internet-forumy, i) na etix forumax…
(I visited different Internet forums and) at these forums…

(2) [TARGET] **F.SG.GEN** → [ERROR] **F.SG.DAT/LOC**

svo-**EJ**	star-**OJ**	kvartir-**Y**
own-SG.F.**GEN/DAT/INS/LOC**	old-SG.F.**GEN/DAT/INS/LOC**	apartment-SG.F.**GEN**

→

svo-**EJ**	star-**OJ**	kvartir-**E**
own-SG.F.**GEN/DAT/INS/LOC**	old-SG.F.**GEN/DAT/INS/LOC**	apartment-SG.F.**DAT/LOC**

(Prinosila dogovor prodaži) svoej staroj kvartiry…
(I brought them the contract of sale) of my old apartment…

The examples suggest that processing the adjective with ambiguous (e.g. GEN/LOC) case inflection markers, the production system has to choose one of the several alternative Adj-N constructions, which may cause agreement computation to derail.

I compared the frequencies of occurrence of target and error modifier-head [Adj+N] constructions in the disambiguated part of the Russian National Corpus. The comparison reveals the tendency for speakers to substitute more frequent constructions for less frequent constructions (p (292) < 0.001).

The result indicates that agreement production may be regarded as a lexical choice in which alternative agreeing forms compete for selection. The production mechanism makes use of distributional patterns of relevant modifier-head constructions stored in long-term memory. The error construction seems to be a well-entrenched recurrent pattern, which a speaker, based on their linguistic experience, tends to use as a default schema instead of using more generalized constructional schemas.

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Enrique Gutiérrez Rubio

Stereotypes in Czech Phraseology – Nations and Ethnic Groups

The starting point for this study is that (the majority of) idioms are conceptual in nature and that they somehow record and preserve the knowledge and even the worldview of diverse cultures (Kövecses 2002; Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005; Bartmiński 2009). The aim of this paper is to examine whether it is true not just that phraseology preserves the way a given culture understands the world (or understood it in the past), but if it works the other way round, i.e., if people using/knowing idioms involving stereotypes – in this case, Czech idioms regarding nations and ethnic groups – tend to extend these stereotypes and attitudes beyond the linguistic sphere.

For this purpose a survey questionnaire was created, by means of which the stereotypes underlying a varied sample of 13 Czech phraseological units were related to the prejudices of the respondents.

A key concept for "extracting" the stereotypes underlying the phraseological units in the most systematic way possible is the so-called *cognitive focus*. From all the stereotypes that a given cultural community connects (or has connected in its history) with a specific concept – in this case a nation or ethnic group – only some of them are phraseologized. Mostly, just one mapping between the shared stereotypes and the idiom occurs. In my theory this mapping, this activated prototypical characteristic, is called the *cognitive focus*.

After analyzing the data obtained from hundreds of surveys, it can be concluded that people using an idiomatic expression more frequently (or at least are more familiar with it) tend to connect the nation or ethnic group with the underlying stereotype more frequently than people who use or know it less.

In addition, some remarks on how cognitive focuses change with time will be made.

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Alina Israeli
Repetition as a qualifying device in Russian

Among a very large number of repetitions (reduplications and tautologies) in Russian, there are several types that describe the quality of the noun (N) or event (X) through the repetition.

First, these are constructions similar to and quasi-homonymous on the construction level to the adversative constructions which indicate limitation and juxtaposition [N^{Nom} N^{Ins}, a] and which will not be part of this talk.

If we unite the various constructions described below as RN, the essence of their use is that the subject N_1 is equated to N, and is described as RN. Semantically these types represent the range from 'very bad' to 'very good'. Each type warrants a detailed discussion:

1. Negative quality: [N^{Nom} N^{Ins}], typically for negative N. The rare positive Ns carry some negative quality or outcome. N can be a metaphor for N_1 (бревно) or capitalizing on one feature (дура) of N_1.

Ирочка (N_1) лежала **бревно бревном** [после автокатастрофы]. (В. Токарева. Я есть. Ты есть. Он есть)

А я (N_1) тогда ничего не понимала, **дура дурой**. (И. Грекова. Вдовий пароход)

2. Ordinariness: [N^{Nom} **как** N^{Nom}], ordinary N_1, not different from any other N.

А каким он был, Крещатик (N_1)… Скажем прямо, глядя сейчас на довоенные открытки, в особый восторг не приходишь — **улица как улица**, ну, чуть пошире других, **дома как дома**, четырехэтажные, зелень довольно жалкая, посредине трамвай… (В. Некрасов. Записки зеваки)

3. Neutral: [(**ну**) N^{Nom} **и** N^{Nom}]. 'Some might find something unusual about N, yet I say it is just an ordinary N (or ordinary or N_1)'.

Парасюк. А я, представьте себе, даже ничего такого странного не замечаю. **Ну Парасюк и Парасюк**. Обыкновенная украинская фамилия (N_1). (В. Катаев. Миллион терзаний)

4. Neutral: [N^{Nom} **и** N^{Nom}]. Identity (or equality) of N_1 and N while in reality N is a metaphor for N_1.

Лицо (N_1) ее сегодня было расплющенным: **грелка и грелка**. Разве что не булькало. (И. Варламова. Мнимая жизнь)

5. Positive and perfect: [(уж / вот) X **так** (уж) X] an exceptional quality of X.
This type allows both nouns and verbs, both finite and infinitive forms. With respect to N it means 'a perfect N' with a positive N; with respect to V it means 'if one does V, it should be done well/perfectly' or 'if he/she does V, he/she does it as well as could be (perfectly to the best of his/her abilities)'. This perfection is possible even in cases where the semantics of V by itself is not positive.

А я слыхал, как ты ее (N₁) зовешь. Белка! … **Вот уж белка так белка**! Пусть сюда почаще приходит, попрыгает, а то Ирина не по годам серьезная. (В. Розов. Вечно живые)

Спешить было не в его характере. **Делать так уж делать**. Основательно. (В. Буковский. "И возвращается ветер…")

Все прыснули со смеху, одновременно изумившись. Уж он **скажет так скажет**! (Ю. Трифонов. Дом на набережной)

6. Ideal, a model for other N's: [(**всем/и**) $N^{Dat\ pl}\ N^{Nom\ sg}$]
   Typically N is positive, but it does not have to be, since it is N's outstanding quality that is highlighted.

А с деньгами дурак, так это **всем дуракам дурак**. Сами по себе деньги еще никого не делают дураком, они только выставляют дурака напоказ. (Ю. Никитин. Княжеский пир)

7. Exceptional quality of N
   a. Only positive: [$N^{Nom\ sg}\ N^{Gen\ pl}$]

Что ты делаешь с великим русским языком? Это же **святыня святынь**! На нем разговаривал сам Пушкин! (В. Железников. Жизнь и приключение чудака)

   b. Negative and positive [$N^{Nom\ sg}$ **из** $N^{Gen\ pl}$]

А потом, Руслан — это такая собака, **изо всех собак собака**! — ведет его в сквер. (Л. Ленч. Человек лежит на земле, в кн.: Душевная травма)

All of the above constructions deal with **one** entity and are all predicates. There are also constructions that deal with **multiple** entities:

8. Proliferation of negative N's or irony towards the proliferation:
   [N^{Nom} **на** N^{Prep}] with a variant [N^{Nom} **на** N^{Prep} **сидит/едет и** N^{Ins} **погоняет**]
9. Different N's: [$N^{Nom\ sg}\ N^{Dat\ sg}$ **рознь**] — contrary to common wisdom, not all N's are alike
10. Difference of types of N: (N either plural or abstract singular):
    [**есть** $N^{Nom\ sg\ abstr}$ **и** $N^{Nom\ sg\ abstr}$] , [**есть** $N^{Nom\ pl}$ **и** $N^{Nom\ pl}$]
11. Difference of types of actions [**можно** V_{inf} **и** V_{inf}]
12. Extreme proximity of two N's: [N^{Nom} **в** N^{Acc}]
13. Similarity either of two N's or of the response to two N's: [что N₁ что N₂], the case of N₁ что N₂ is the same.

Laura A. Janda & Anna Endresen
"Marginal words in Russian: Transparent, but not acceptable"

The cognitive approach has facilitated fruitful insights in the domain of word-formation (Booij 2010; Janda 1986, 2011; Nesset 2010; Onysko & Michel 2010). However, newly generated words that are possible for some speakers but not acceptable to others are hard to account for.

We present the results of a psycholinguistic experiment comparing the acceptability of marginal words in Russian both with words that are highly frequent and well-established and with nonce words. We define a marginal word as one that
- is attested at least once in the Russian National Corpus;
- is not established in standard language (not listed in dictionaries);
- is a spontaneous creation generated on the fly, on a certain occasion;
- is generated on the basis of a productive morphological pattern;
- is analyzable and semantically transparent.

The morphological pattern that we target in this study is the formation of factitive verbs with the prefixes *o-* or *y-* and the suffix *-ить*. Here are two examples of such marginal verbs from the Russian National Corpus, *уконкретить* 'concretize' and *овнешнить* 'externalize':

1) Но тем не менее **уконкретим** технические параметры — для понимающих читателей и для множества нынешних школьников, которые просто доки в том, что касается процессоров и частот… [Компьютеры будут новые (2003) // «Встреча» (Дубна), 2003.02.26]
2)   Фильмы о чудовищах, мутантах и маньяках выполняют, что ни говори, несут и определенную терапевтическую миссию: они позволяют зрителю как минимум отреагировать подавляемый проблемный материал — экстериоризировать, «**овнешнить**» проблемы в форме кинообразов, перенести их из себя в безопасное пространство — на экран, а затем испытать конкретные эмоции (страх, избавление от страха и эйфорию по этому поводу). [Александр Каменецкий. США как объект психотерапии (2003) // «Лебедь» (Бостон), 2003.06.23]

Our experiment tested three groups of verbs, all presented in context:
Group 1 stimuli: Standard words (highly frequent in RNC, <199 attestations)
Объяснить, облегчить, ослабить, округлить, обогатить, ожесточить, осложнить, оголить, осчастливить, освежить;
Уточнить, уменьшить, ускорить, улучшить, упростить, укоротить, усложнить, утеплить, уплотнить, ухудшить
Group 2 stimuli: Marginal words (rare in RNC, 1-8 attestations)
Омеждународить, опохабить, оприличить, осерьезнить, остеклянить, оржавить, осуровить, обытовить, овнешнить, омузыкалить;
Увкуснить, умедлить, украсивить, усерьезнить, уконкретить, усовременить, устрожить, уцеломудрить, упрозрачить, удорожить
Group 3 stimuli: Nonce words (not attested)
Осурить, отовить, одуктить, огабить, окочлить, ошаклить, очавить, облусить, обномить, обмомлить;
*Усаглить, утулить, удамлить, угузвить, укампить, ушадрить, учопить, улоприть, унокрить, умарвить*

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The experiment was conducted via an online questionnaire:
http://surveys.questionpro.com/a/t/AJ5SEZPVbR
All stimuli were presented in a full-sentence context. There were 121 participants in the experiement. The most remarkable finding was that the marginal words (which are semantically transparent) were rated much closer to the nonce words (which have no associated meanings) than to the standard words, as shown in the figure.
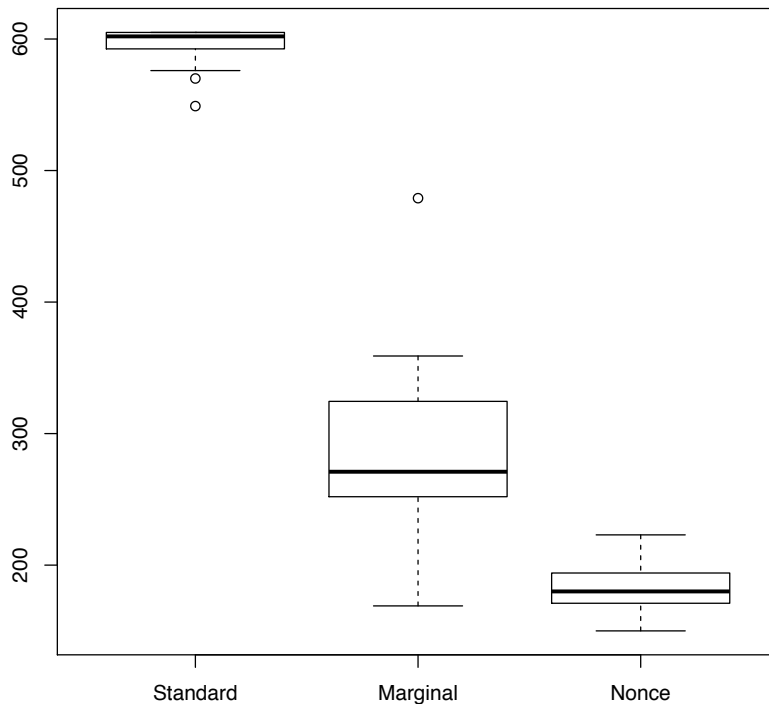
We propose that productive patterns of derivation consist of core prototypical examples shared by all members of a linguistic community, while newly generated words have an ambivalent nature. Words formed *ad hoc* exemplify the productivity of the pattern but nevertheless belong to the periphery of linguistic competence and are not accepted by all speakers.

Our empirical findings shed light on what happens in the gap between actual and possible words (Bauer 2012) and show how this transitional zone of grammar can be captured within cognitive linguistics.

Core prototypical examples: *osložnit'*

Ad hoc derivatives: *ovnešnit', ukonkretit'*
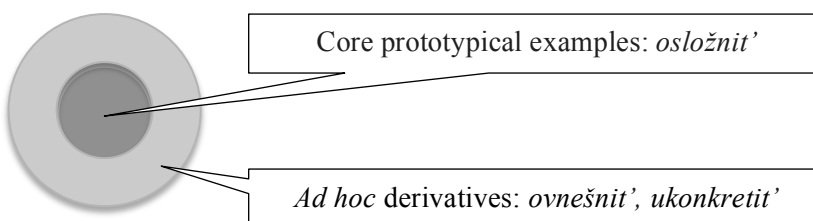
Jaap Kamphuis

The Verbal Aspect System in Old Church Slavonic: how agnostic should we be?

The first comprehensive study of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) is by Dostál (1954), who sets himself the task of determining the position of all attested verbs in OCS within the grammatical aspect system, which, he presupposes, exists in OCS. However, subsequent studies have suggested that one should take one step further back and ask the question whether the morphological similarities between the OCS or, for example, the Old Russian verbal system and the modern Slavic verbal systems indeed mean that such an aspect system is already in place in the older stages of Slavic. Nørgård-Sørensen (1997), for example, comes to the conclusion that there is no grammatical aspect system in Old Russian.

The question which criteria should be used to determine when we can speak of grammatical aspect, however, remains difficult to answer. And tests to determine the aspectual relation between verbs, like the well-know test in Russian to change a past tense narration into a historical present, are not possible for these older stages of Slavic, since no informants are available.

Eckhoff & Janda (2013) use a quantitative method to establish possibly existing aspectual differences between verbs in OCS. This method, grammatical profiling, has already been employed by Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) to determine difference in aspectual behavior between imperfective and perfective verbs in modern Russian. Simply put, there is no longer need for establishing the aspectual behavior of a verb form by interpreting examples of usage; we can now determine differences between verbs by comparing the relative frequency distribution of the forms in which a verb is attested, viz. the grammatical profile of the verb, with that of other verbs. In applying this method to OCS, Eckhoff & Janda discover the existence of two groups of verbs that largely coincide with the classification in perfective an imperfective by Dostál (1954), which is reminiscent of the situation we find in modern Slavic languages.

However, the "agnostic" stance Eckhoff & Janda (2013: 2) take, does not take into account the most typical characteristic of Slavic verbal aspect, namely the fact that aspect is morphologically expressed. They acknowledge this problem indirectly when they remark that "virtually all of these recurring outliers are unprefixed, suggesting that simplex verbs are over-represented among verbs with unstable aspectual behavior" (Eckhoff & Janda 2013: 26).

In the present paper, the approach to verbal aspect in OCS is similar to that of Eckhoff & Janda (2013) in that it uses the grammatical profile of verbs to establish possible aspectual differences. However, it differs from that approach by beforehand grouping verbs based on morphological characteristics of which we know that they are relevant for the aspectual behavior of verbs in the modern Slavic languages (prefix and suffix). The profiles of the individual verbs in each group are conflated into a group profile, which is then compared to the profiles of the other groups. This method leads to a final classification in three overall groups, perfective, imperfective and anaspectual, rather than a classification in two groups, perfective and imperfective.

The anaspectual group consists of verbs that carry no morphological indicators of aspect, simplex verbs with no suffixed partner. In this group the lexical content of the verb influences the grammatical profile to a higher degree than in verbs that are "restricted" by grammatical aspect. Since it includes a broad range of verbs with different lexical aspectual properties, like *sěděti* 'sit' and *ležati* 'lie', *plakati* 'cry' *pěti* 'sing' and *viděti* 'see', the grammatical profiles differ more within this group than in groups of verbs that do carry morphological indicators of aspect, which makes the group hard to detect when these verbs are not beforehand grouped together. However, the conflated profile of the anaspectual verbs differs significantly from the profiles of perfective and imperfective verbs.

This means that in OCS we do not only have a system in which imperfective and perfective verbs can be discerned, but also that prefixation and suffixation play a decisive role in that system. Further research of examples of usage is necessary to verify how closely the functions of the various groups resemble the system that we know from the various modern Slavic languages.

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Vsevolod M Kapatsinski

Multimodel inference: A solution to the idiolect problem

Cognitive Linguistics has been committed to the idea of developing psychologically realistic, I-Language grammars (e.g., Bybee 1985 argues for a network representation of morphology with redundant storage of fully compositional structures based in part on what we know about the brain). However, much recent work provides support for substantial individual differences in grammar within a speech community (e.g., Barlow 2010, Dąbrowska 2012, Misyak & Christiansen 2010, Yu 2010), substantiating the traditional idea of an idiolect (Bloch 1948). The existence of idiolects problematizes the state-of-the-art practice of inferring grammar from a corpus of utterances produced by multiple speakers, even if they all come from the same speech community, at least if we care about psychological reality of the result.

In this talk, I describe a possible solution to the problem of idiolects that does not involve abandoning psychological reality. The approach involves recognizing that grammar is conventionalized at the level of the community (Weinreich et al. 1968) and that this conventionalization is conventionalization of behavior, rather than of mental representation. Mental representations, not being directly observable, are free to vary as long as they can generate the same behavior. Idiolectal variation arises from the fact that multiple mental grammars can produce the same behavior.

We make the further empiricist assumption that a grammar is learned to the extent that it is supported by the linguistic data. With these assumptions, we can use multimodel inference techniques to infer the ensemble of grammars that generates linguistic behavior of a community represented by a corpus. Thus, the outcome of this analysis is the set of I-Language grammars that can generate the conventionalized linguistic behavior characteristic of a speech community represented by a corpus, where each grammar is weighted by its believablility given the corpus. Instead of selecting a single best model (here, the single best grammar) to predict future data, multimodel inference takes all models (grammars) that can account for the observed data to some extent and weights them by their relative believabilities. In this way, multimodel inference takes into account the fact that no sample of data can uniquely identify the true model, and that data are often quite ambiguous with respect to the identity of the true model. In the case of grammar, we propose that this ambiguity comes about because the observed behavior (a corpus of utterances) is generated by a whole ensemble of models that can be inferred from it. Multimodel inference techniques based on multiple regression (Burnham & Anderson 2002, Bartoń 2013) and conditional inference trees (random forests, Strobl et al. 2008) will be demonstrated and applied to data on adversative conjunction choice in Russian (da vs. *no* vs. *odnako)* drawn from the Russian National Corpus.

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John Korba
The Actional Imperfective in Czech: Processual, General Factual, or a Distinct Category?

One of the main topics of research within the recent literature on Slavic aspect is the Imperfective General Factual. Dickey (2000: 59) defines the Imperfective General-Factual as the use of a "past-tense verb form simply to confirm the occurrence of an action, without reference to specific circumstances." Questions concerning which uses of the imperfective constitute Imperfective General-Factual, and the semantic and pragmatic factors that motivate this classification remain contentious issues. Aspectologists of Russian distinguish between the (Existential) Imperfective General-Factual in (1) and the Actional Imperfective (henceforth Actional Imperfective) in (2):

(1)   Kluku, Ty nevíš o čem píšes. Už jsi někdy **vyzkoušel**[i] nějaky jiný produkt než od
       MS?   (Czech)
       'Man, you don't know what you're talking (=writing) about. Have you ever tried a product
       other than (something) from Microsoft?'

(2)   Mám stejnej (sic) motor, kde jsi **kupoval**[i] ten snímač?   (Czech)
       'I have the same motor, where did you buy[i] that sensor?'

In (1), the speaker is asking whether the interlocutor performed the action (to completion), while in (2), the speaker is concerned with the circumstances in which the action took place, because the speaker wishes to perform the same action.

Aspectologists have devoted detailed discussion to the Imperfective General-Factual in Russian, but the Imperfective General-Factual in the other Slavic languages has received relatively little attention. Recent scholarship demonstrates a difference of opinion on whether the Actional Imperfective should be classified as a subtype of the Imperfective General-Factual. Dickey (forthcoming) notes that, while the Actional Imperfective is attested in all the Slavic languages, attestations of Imperfective General-Factual are restricted—especially in Czech—when compared to Russian. The only study devoted to the Imperfective General-Factual in Czech is Cummins (1987), who often conflates Imperfective General-Factual and Actional Imperfective.

In my paper, I will present evidence from a psycholinguistic experiment. A test set was created that contained 18 target sentences, with three sub-tests containing six sentences each of the Processual Imperfective, Actional Imperfective, and Imperfective General-Factual uses of an imperfective verb. Seventy-five filler sentences were also created. The set was used in a memory test conducted on DMDX. Subjects were presented with a sentence, a blank screen, and then a single lexical item. They then had to decide if the lexical item was in the preceding sentence by indicating their choice on a keyboard. Responses (incorrect acceptances versus correct rejections) and corresponding reaction times were recorded.

A binomial analysis of reactions suggests a statistically significant (p=.02) difference between reactions after Processual Imperfective and Imperfective General-Factual, while the difference between Processual Imperfective and Actional Imperfective was not significant (p=.109). These results suggest that the Actional Imperfective is conceptualized more similarly to the Processual Imperfective than the Imperfective General-Factual. However, a linear mixed-effects model analysis (Baayen et al. 2008) of reaction times for incorrect acceptances (e.g., the subject stating that the perfective form was in the sentence) demonstrates a statistically significant (p=.0246) difference between reaction times to stimuli following sentences of

Actional Imperfective and Processual Imperfective use. This suggests that, for those sentences in which the Actional Imperfective is processed differently from a Processual Imperfective.

On the basis of this data, it is argued that Czech speakers conceptualize the Imperfective General-Factual distinctly from the Processual Imperfective, with the Actional Imperfective forming a transitional category.

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Julia Kuznetsova

Prefix stacking in Russian verbs: evidence from hapax legomena

In addition to perfectives formed using a single prefix, Russian allows perfective verbs to be formed using multiple prefixes (such as **povycarapyvat'** 'scratch out for a while'). Ramchand 2004, Romanova 2004, 2006, Svenonius 2004 acknowledge only formations with two perfectives and propose a simple rule for all such verbs: "[W]hen two prefixes stack, a lexical prefix is always the inner one" (Romanova 2006: 62), assuming that a lexical prefix has spatial meaning (like *vy-* 'out' in the example above), while a superlexical prefix refers to internal temporal structure of the situation (like delimitative *po-* 'for a while'). Tatevosov 2009 presents perfectives with three prefixes, such as **poperezapisyvat'** 'rerecord for a while'. Tatevosov divides the superlexical prefixes into two classes[1]: selectionally-bounded prefixes (delimitative *po-*, cumulative *na-*, distributive *pere-*, inceptive *za-*) and positionally-bounded prefixes (completive *do-*, repetitive *pere-*, attenuative *pod-*). The former can be attached only to imperfective bases, while the latter do not have this restriction.

I investigate the phenomenon of prefix stacking using hapax legomena in the Russian National Corpus (RNC). A hapax legomenon is a word that occurs only once in a corpus. Hapax legomena (a.k.a. "hapaxes") usually populate between 40% and 60% of any corpus and serve as evidence for the productivity of word-formational phenomena. If a word is very rare, but is recognizable by a native speaker, this means that it is most likely produced via a productive pattern in a language. The relative frequencies of various morphological patterns can show us which processes produce neologisms more frequently, and as a result which processes are more active at the current state of a language's development. In this study I use category-conditioned degree of productivity ($\mathcal{P}^*$) defined by Baayen (1993) as the relation of the number of hapaxes belonging to a given morphological category to the total number of hapaxes in the corpus, irrespective to their morphological constituency.

Hapaxes with prefix stacking give evidence against some of the previous claims about this phenomenon. First, prefix stacking of two superlexical prefixes is indeed possible, and in such formations many superlexical prefixes serve as inner prefixes. Second, prefix stacking of the same prefix is attested, as in *popodavat' (sovety)* 'give some advice for a while', which contradicts the previous assumptions of strict prefix hierarchy in a stack. Third, while verbs with two-prefix stacking form 10% of all verbal hapaxes in the RNC, no verbs with three stacked prefixes are attested in the RNC, which indicates that while two-prefix stacking is productive, three-prefix stacking is not. In addition, hapaxes show the relative productivity of prefixes in prefix stacking: *po-* is the most productive prefix in the first position (e.g. *povyrubat'* 'cut down (trees) for a while'), while in the second position the most productive prefix is *u-* (e.g. *priumyt'* 'slightly wash someone's face').

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[1] Distributive *po-* as in *ponabrosat'* 'cover surface with different objects' forms a separate class according to Tatevosov's classification.

Thus, hapax legomena in the RNC introduce new data that help us to calibrate our theories about prefix stacking in Russian and shed light on the relative productivity of this phenomenon.

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Eva Lehečková
Constructional perspective on prefix stacking

Slavic prefixes have long been gaining a justified attention of linguists for their remarkable properties. Among these, prefix stacking (like Czech *do-za-pisovat* 'finish writing down') is one of the phenomena that still deserve a thorough investigattion. It has been proposed in the field of formal linguistics (Istratkova, 2004; Svenonius, 2004, 2008; Tatevosov, 2008; Wiland, 2011) that prefix stacking is built on the distinction of lexical versus superlexical (or measure, cf. Filip, 2004, 2005) prefixes and to distinguish between them, a number of morphosyntactic and semantic features has been suggested. The dichotomy follows the traditional typological observation of affix ordering proposed by Bybee (1985) and it is also related to long-standing debates among Slavonic researchers on the nature of purely aspectual prefixes (see, among many others, for instance Poldauf, 1954; Kopečný, 1956 and Šlosar, 1977/1978 for Czech) which is questioned repeatedly (recently see Endresen et al., 2012).

Drawing on previous research, the paper aims to develop a constructional analysis of prefix stacking in Czech. It provides answers to the following questions: Which combinations of prefixes are (im)possible and which are (in)frequent? What properties of particular prefixes constrain their combinations? Do prefixal constructions adhere to predictions of both Bybee´s theory on affix ordering and (super)lexical dichotomy? The suggested analysis is constructional in several respects. From the theoretical point of view, it takes constructions as hypothetical cognitive representations of speakers´knowledge of the language which thus contain all relevant features constraining their use (Fried – Östman, 2004; Östman – Fried, 2005; Goldberg, 2006). Prefix stacking is a complex linguistic phenomenon that involves morphonological, morphosyntactic and semantic properties – and the construction grammar approach is particularly suitable for demonstrating that it is the interplay of all these factors that shapes the architecture of the construction. Methodologically, the paper pays particular attention to reliability of linguistic material and hence it is based on a quantitative survey of the data from written corpora of the Czech National Corpus (SYN2010). As an outcome, the paper provides a description of prototypical prefix stacking constructions, indicating their common features as well as complementary constraints which allow us to explain both the general distribution of the prefix combinations and the deviations from prototypes.

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Wendy Martelle

Functions of the present tense in conversational L2 Russian

Much research involving the second language (L2) acquisition of tense-aspect systems has focused on the acquisition of past tense (e.g. Ayoun 2005; Bardovi-Harlig 2000; Salaberry 2008), with relatively few studies emphasizing the L2 acquisition of non-past features. The present study investigates the conversational production of present tense forms in L2 Russian (L1 English) by means of a prototype account (Li & Shirai 2000; Shirai & Andersen 1995). Data from conversational interviews (N=33) were examined through a frequency analysis in order to address the question of which present tense functions are more and less prototypical among L2 learners of Russian. Some patterns reflected in the data show that learners of all proficiency levels regard the expression of a present state and the habitual present as most prototypical, while reference to immediate future and the historical present are less prototypical. The data also illustrate examples of lower-proficiency learners using the present tense in situations that are compatible with present tense usage in neither English nor Russian, such as future habitual and past reference. Implications for pedagogical practices in the teaching of the present tense in L2 Russian are discussed.

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Anastasija Marushkina, Vladimir Plungian & Ekaterina Rakhilina

LOOKING DIFFERENTLY: DESCRIBING VISUAL DIRECTION IN RUSSIAN IN ENGLISH

The study focuses on semantic peculiarities of the Russian perception verb *look* and the typical patterns it is involved in in the Russian and the English languages.

Orientation and direction are traditionally regarded as cognitively relevant parameters that influence language use, which has been shown for topology of objects and for verbs of motion (following the ideas of Leonard Talmy). However, directedness is also significant for verbs of perception such as *look,* but its relevance is different across languages. Cf. the following English and Russian sentences:

1. He was sitting and **looking down at** his shoes.

*On sidel i **smotrel vniz** na svoi botinki.

       LOOK DOWN

The combination of words *smotret'* and *vniz* is possible in Russian but its interpretation is fairly different compared to its English counterpart, hence the mistake in (1). In contrast to *look down* in English, the Russian phrase is marked and describes a limited set of situations. These are either spacial schemes where the gap between the experiencer and the target object is much bigger than the experiencer him/herself, or metaphorical uses where *smotret' vniz* refers to a person's low internal emotional state, e.g. sorrow or embarrassment, cf. (2-3):

2. Drugie turisty tože **smotreli vniz,** v propast'

(There were other tourists **looking down** into the canyon, too...)

Šerborn vsë eščë ne govoril ni slova – prosto stojal i **smotrel vniz.** (Sherburn never said a word – just stood there, **looking down.)**

English *look down* covers a considerably wider range of meanings including those that don't require any adverbial satellite accompanying *smotret'* in Russian, which is supported by corpus data. Cf. the following sentences from the parallel Russian-English subcorpus of the RNC:

4. Hagrid **looked down** at his umbrella and stroked his beard

Xagrid **posmotrel** na zontik i pogladil borodu.

Asymmetry is also found in combinations of the verbs *look / smotret'* with adverbs *up / vverx.* Such a combination in English is most frequently used for cases when the experiencer, usually seated, is looking at someone standing or something placed above him / her. This type of situations is conceptualized differently in Russian, where it is mainly expressed through body parts' movements: *podnjat' glaza, podnjat' golovu* (lit. 'lift one's eyes', 'lift one's head'), cf.:

5. Ja **podnjala glaza** i uvidela malen'kogo liftëra...

(I) **looked up** to find the sad little elevator man...

Interestingly, while people can both 'lift' their eyes and their head, animals can only do the latter in Russian:

6. *Sobaka **podnjala glaza** i zaryčala.

Sobaka **podnjala golovu** i zaryčala.

(The dog **looked up,** and growled.)

These peculiarities indirectly support the idea that vertical direction is of more cognitive relevance in English and horizontal direction is cognitively more important for Russian (cf. similar observations made in Guiraud-Weber 1992 for French). They also show that the presence of analogous word combinations in several languages doesn't necessarily point to the area of symmetry between them, but rather raises the question of its relative salience.

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Jekaterina Mazara

Missing in action: Families of constructions with omitted verbs in colloquial Russian

Colloquial Russian is far more permissive than other European languages when it comes to constructions with omitted verbs [COVs]. According to Mel'čuk (1995), any verb that denotes an action can be omitted, as long as a two-part argument structure is left (cf. also Weiss (2011)). The structural status and amount of "missing" information as well as the number of possible reconstructions vary, and it is, therefore, impossible to group all COVs into one family. The goal of this paper is to provide an overview over these *argument structure constructions* (Goldberg 1995; Goldberg 2006) and to classify them into a hierarchy of groups, classes and families.

Since some COVs can be classified as phrasemes (for types of phrasemes cf. Iordanskaja&Mel'čuk 2007) while others present more or less spontaneous formations, the state of phraseologization provides the first division of COVs into three groups: *phrasemes, semi-phrasemes* and *spontaneous formations.*

Phrasemes present a closed class of three possible COV families: i) COVs that are never used with an overtly expressed V (have no competing overt-V construction, see ex. (1)) and two families of COVs that do have competing overt-V constructions: ii) ØV can be replaced with only one overt V-form; iii) ØV can be replaced with a limited (relatively small) amount of possible V-forms (ex. (2)).

(1) Ты что? Что ты?

(2) Как тебе X ØV? [ØV can be *нравится, понравилось,* etc.]

The other two groups, semi-phrasemes and spontaneous formations, are open groups, since they can potentially include constructions with any two-argument ØV. Semi-phrasemes differ from spontaneous formation only in that they contain COVs, which, while not (yet) phraseologized, are used frequently in a similar form. This group contains constructions of the type *X ØV в Y* or *вам куда ØV?* where Øv can be replaced by any telic verb of motion.

The hierarchy within the two groups of semi-phrasemes and spontaneous formations is ordered into classes such as "verbs of motion" and "verbs of communication", and within the classes into families and sub-families, such as "telic" vs. "atelic" and "move" vs. "send moving", etc. COVs can have a varying degree of specificity. (3), for example can be understood broadly as (depending on the context) "any telic verb of motion" or "any verb of communication", while (4) is very specific („being sent to a gulag") and is therefore found on a lower level of the hierarchy (verb of motion > telic > send s.o. moving > send s.o. to prison).

(3) Я ØV в министерство.

(4) Его Ø в Сибирь.

COVs of these groups are potentially polysemous or homonymous, because the distinction between families is not always clear from context and in many cases is not addressed in a conversation.

The third group contains the greatest variety of constructions, many of which form only small

families or none at all. Lastly, an interesting sub-group (not family) of the spontaneous formations contains constructions where the instance of ØV changes the meaning of the remaining argument structure construction so that no V can be inserted without changing the meaning (ex. (5)). (5) Мне бы маму сюда Ø.

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Marge McShane

The role of "mindreading" in the interpretation of elliptical, emotional and ambiguous language input

Linguistic stimuli – words on a page or sounds perceived – account for only part of the input leveraged for language understanding. Another contributor to meaning is context, a notoriously difficult phenomenon to operationalize, but one that is central to the understanding of human cognition and, in turn, to the configuration of human-inspired intelligent agents.

One facet of "context" that extends beyond the typical purview of linguistics but has recently garnered interest among cognitive scientists1 is mental model ascription, otherwise known as "mindreading". Mindreading involves inferring features of another person (or artificial agent) that cannot be directly observed, such as his beliefs, plans, goals, intentions, personality traits, mental and emotional states, and knowledge about the world. Mindreading is a core capability of intelligent agents that are expected to engage in sophisticated collaborations with people, since they must understand not only what is *said* but also what is *meant.* Mindreading is particularly important when an input is elliptical, emotionally colored, or potentially ambiguous; therefore, when constructing theories of mindreading as it pertains to language understanding, it is useful to incorporate data from highly elliptical languages like Russian.

In this talk, I will describe several language-oriented aspects of mindreading using examples from Russian and English as a testbed. The reported work will build upon the theory of Ontological Semantics [9] as implemented in the OntoAgent cognitive architecture [4]. OntoAgent supports the modeling of human-like behavior in language-endowed artificial intelligent agents that collaborate with people in task-oriented applications [8]. The agents in question have simulated bodies and simulated minds, with the latter providing cognitive capabilities that include interoception (the interpretation of one's bodily signals), learning, planning, decision making, memory management and communication in natural language. Past work related to mindreading within OntoAgent has focused primarily on reasoning *following* language understanding: for example, [5] presents algorithms for automatically detecting when a physician or medical patient might be making a suboptimal decision due to cognitive biases (in the sense described, e.g., by Kahneman [2]); and [6] discusses how behaviors like lying can, in some cases, be detected on the basis of observable inconsistencies in available data. These aspects of mindreading take as input the results of language understanding. In this talk, by

contrast, I will discuss how mindreading can be applied to the process of language understanding itself.

Using examples drawn from Russian and English, I will focus on elliptical, emotionally colored and potentially ambiguous language inputs that cannot be resolved by syntactic and/or lexical-semantic heuristics alone (cf. [3,7], which concentrate on what syntax *can* offer the process of ellipsis resolution; and cf. [9] for the use of lexical-semantic input for disambiguation). I will discuss how semantically-oriented language processing can establish a choice space of interpretations, which can then be reduced – ideally down to a single correct interpretation – using a) expectations available from contextually-triggered ontological scripts (in the spirit of [10]) and b) the reader/hearer's mental model of the interlocutor, which develops over time as a result of dynamic memory population resulting from each new dialog encounter.

1 Cf. the workshops at CogSci 2012, "Modeling the Perception of Intentions", and CogSci 2013, "Mental Model Ascription by Language-Enabled Intelligent Agents," as well as recent publications such as [1].

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Anna Mikhaylova

Indirect Transfer in fluent heritage speakers' processing of Russian aspectual contrasts

Complex morphology and semantics of Russian aspect are known to be problematic for (1) monolingual children (Kazanina & Philips, 2007), (2) bilingual children (Anstatt, 2008; Gupol, 2009), (3) adults learning Russian as a foreign language (Slabakova, 2005; Nossalik, 2009) and (4) adult heritage language (HL) speakers (Polinsky, 2008; Laleko, 2010). Our study continues this line of research, testing whether fluent HL speakers interpret and process Russian Aspectual distinctions similarly to monolingual controls.

We report two comprehension experiments testing sensitivity to Russian aspectual contrasts in 22 fluent, literate HL speakers, divided by age of onset of bilingualism (AOB), who are indistinguishable from the control group based on the proficiency measure. Both tasks juxtaposed pairs of sentences differing only by presence/absence of a aspectual marker (prefix or suffix) on the verb, yet each task presented a different processing challenge. Both tasks tested the same three conditions (perfective/imperfective pairs contrasting in lexical aspect (activity-accomplishment pairs) and grammatical aspect contrasts in accomplishments and achievements). However, the tasks differed in the type of knowledge they tapped into. The semantic entailments task elicited most salient entailments of sentences that provided no aspectual information except that instantiated by verbal morphology. The semantic entailments task was difficult from the point of view of semantics, because in order to find the most logical interpretation of the sentence, the participants needed to retrieve all possible interpretations of the sentence, even those potentially imposed by discourse, and rank them before making a choice. In contrast, the stop-making-sense task tested (a) the participants' sensitivity to mismatches between a disambiguating adverbial and the predicate and (b) processing patterns and reading times (RTs) on different conditions. The sentences in the stop-making-sense task appeared one word at a time, with no backtracking possibility, creating a high working memory load.

The results suggest that although the HL speakers have acquired the morphology and semantics and syntax, they do not completely converge with monolinguals in their judgment and processing patterns. While monolingual controls and HL speakers perform similarly in terms of salience of interpretations in Task 1 and accuracy on Task 2, the HL speakers, on the individual level, show a greater range of scores than the controls. In addition, despite high accuracy in Task 2, HL speakers showed activation of the dominant language in the transfer condition of Task 2, as evidenced by reaction times data. While both L1 controls and HL speakers showed slower RTs on verbs in those sentences which contained an error than in correct sentences, the HL group was also slower on those correct sentences that could pose a transfer challenge. The paper addresses these findings against such background data as AOB, self-rating in English and Russian, domains and frequency of Russian use.

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Svetlana Milanovic

Semantic extensions of lexical units derived from *hlad-*

This paper aims to compare semantic structures between the basic term in the temperature domain *hladan* ('cold') and other terms in this domain derived from the root *hlad-*, and, on the other hand, to point out the matching of subdomains within the temperature domain and polysemantic structure of lexical units, and also to examine conceptual mechanisms responsible for this particular semantic extension. We consider the following lexical units: a) adjectives *hladan* ('cold') and *prohladan* ('cool'); b) adverbs *hladno* ('coldly') and *prohladno* ('chilly'); c) noun *hladnoća* ('coldness') and d) verbs derived from this root refering to different aspects in process of coldness (*hladiti, rashladiti, ohladiti, zahladiti, hladneti, ohladneti, zahladneti*). The corpus used for this research is the *Electronic Corpus of Serbian Language*. In order to examine the semantic realizations of the lexical units derived from *hlad-*, and the metaphors used for its comprehension, we have excerpted about 10.000 example phrases with different occurrences. We followed the instructions given in *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification.* In case utterances were not finished, there was not enough contextual knowledge to determine the precise, intended meaning of a specific lexical unit, so we did not took it under consideration. In contemporary language use the basic meanings of a specific lexical unit are defined as a more concrete, specific, and human-oriented sense. Narayanan constructed semantic features as elements providing contributions to the concepts of hot and cold from the ICM and its extensions. The elements of ICM for the domain of cold are: contraction, slowness, reduction, inactivity, stillness, rawness, low energy etc. These elemets are based, as we can notice, on thermodynamic laws: bodies spread in the heat and shrink in the cold, and therefore the physical domain (with such elements as reduction, shrinkage, slowlyness, etc.) is metonymically connected to more abstract domains related to man and his actions (with such elements as restrainement, passivity, etc.). The wide-known typology for the domain of temperature includes three perceptual temperature subdomains – tactile, ambient and personal-feeling temperature. Tactile and ambient domains are based on culture, folks, collective experience, and the last one includes subjective aspect and personal valuation. Each of these domains has typical, less typical and non-typical semantic classes of concepts referring to lexical units derived from the root *hlad-*. This type of research can be greatly useful: it checks the possibility of applying the existing qualifications on structurally different languages and, at the same time, possibly contributes, with its results, to lexicografic work and provides with more precise instructions on how to analyse polysemantical structures from the temperature domain.

Erin Moulton

Rethinking Reflexivity in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: Evidence from the Slavic Parallel Corpus

This paper sets up semantic networks for *se-verbs* in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) using data from ParaSol: A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and other languages (parasol.unibe.ch). The research focuses on *se-verbs,* which are verbs in Russian with the affix -*sja* and those in BCS which co- occur with the clitic *se.* These verbs are commonly called "reflexive" verbs, but often their semantic functions do not involve reflexivity, i.e., an event where the agent and patient are co-referential as the same entity. The paper assumes seven semantic types for these verbs: reflexive, reciprocal, benefactive, possessive, impersonal, passive, and middle, where middle subsumes several types named in other literature including *reflexive tantum,* procedurals, inclinational, quasi-synonymous, phenomenological, agent-attributive, and decausative. As defined in the paper, middle verbs involve only one participant and are "subject-focused." Russian se-verbs occur with all of the seven semantic types named above; BCS *se-verbs* occur with all types except the benefactive type. The paper sets up two semantic networks of these semantic types for Russian and BCS in which the prototype in Russian is middle and the prototype in BCS is reflexive.

Data to support the networks was collected using searches in the parallel corpus of three texts: J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, Mikhail Bulgakov's Master *and Margarita,* and Ivo Andrić's Bridge *on the Drina.* Searches were conducted in order to compare parallel occurrences of *se-* verbs in each language, noting places where they co-occur, places where BCS has a *se-verb* and Russian does not, and vice versa. For each of these cases the first 50 occurrences have been analyzed for semantic type. The analysis shows that for each text Russian *se-verbs* occur 30 to 50 percent more often than BCS *se-verbs* (e.g. *Harry Potter* includes 3070 occurrences for Russian and only 2077 for BCS, *Master and Margarita* includes 2297 occurrences for Russian and only 1740 for BCS) and the additional occurrences in Russian rarely, if ever, belong to the reflexive semantic type. The paper will present additional data from the first 100 occurrences in each work. Additionally, an analysis of occurrences where Russian has a *se-verb* and BCS does not have a *se-verb* are most commonly occurrences of middle semantic types in Russian (e.g. 41 out of 50 in *Harry Potter).* In many of these instances,

Russian includes a *se-verb* while BCS uses some other construction as seen in the following example.

> *On nisko'lko ne somnevalsja,*
>
> *čto suščestvuet massa ljudej po familii Potter, u kotoryx est' syn po imeni Garri.* RU
>
> *Uvjeren je da ima mnogo ljudi koji se zovu Potter i koji imaju sina Harryja.* BCS
>
> 'He was sure there were lots of people called Potter who had a son called Harry.'

The relative prevalence of middle constructions found in the data for Russian support the conclusion that the semantic prototype for *se-verbs* in Russian is middle with other semantic types related as part of the network. Though the data also does show frequent occurrences of middle types in BCS, the number of occurrences is significantly less than in Russian and the semantic network for BCS *se-verbs* has reflexive as the prototype, with middle and other types related in the network.

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Tore Nesset

Cyclic vs. Linear Time: Language, Culture and Biology

To what extent is the distinction between cyclic and linear time reflected in language? Is the distinction grounded in culture or in biology? This paper addresses these two questions on the basis of an analysis of language change in Russian. I argue that the cyclic-linear distinction is reflected not only in the lexicon of the Russian language, but also in its syntax and morphology. Furthermore, it is shown that even if cyclic time has arguably become less important in culture, language does not become less cyclical in its representation of time. This, it is argued, suggests that cyclic time in language is not a reflection of shifting cultural practices, but is rather grounded in our biology-based embodied experience as human beings.

Cyclic time represents time as recurring generic events, such as the seasons and day and night. Linear time, on the other hand, places unique, non-repeatable events consecutively on a time line. Cyclic time is sometimes associated with pre-modern cultures and is sometimes termed "cosmological" (Jakovleva 1992:73), since cosmology presupposes recurring events. Linear time, on the other hand, is frequently given the epithet "scientific", since the linear organization of unique events underlies the concept of causality, which has been pivotal in the development of modern science. While the cyclic-linear distinction is relevant for cultural practices, it is equally important on the biological level. In order for living beings to survive, they must adapt to the cycles of the seasons and day and night. Recent research shows that animals and humans are equipped with "biological clocks"; experiments show that subjects tend to develop 24-hour rhythms even if there are no changes in light, temperature etc. (Foster and Kreitzman 2004). Russian history illustrates the increasing importance of linear time in culture. In medieval Russia, cyclic time was important; in Old Russian literature events such as the murder of the brothers Boris and Gleb were not analyzed linearly in causal terms, but rather conceptualized as repetitions of events from the Bible, such as Christ's death on the cross (*imitatio Christi*, Børtnes 1989). However, at the same time the emerging literary genre of chronicles ordered events linearly, thus paving the way for a "modern" linear conception of time.

While linear time has arguably become increasingly important in Russian culture, cyclic time is still reflected in Contemporary Standard Russian. Jakovleva (1992) has shown that the cyclic-linear distinction is relevant for numerous lexical items, such as *pora* 'time' (cyclical) and *vremja* 'time' (not cyclical). The present paper investigates cyclic and linear time in the grammatical categories of aspect and case. While the imperfective aspect is associated with

cyclicity (generic and repeated events), the perfective aspect is used for events ordered in linear sequences. Arguably, language change has strengthened the relationship between perfective aspect and sequentiality (Dickey 2001), thus increasing the role of linear time in aspect. The cyclic-linear distinction is reflected in case syntax as well. In temporal adverbials, the bare instrumental is reserved for the cyclic notions of the seasons (*letom* 'in the summer') and day and night (*utrom* 'in the morning'), while otherwise the preposition *v* 'in' is used to specify when an event took place. The use of the bare instrumental for cyclic time is a relatively late innovation in the history of the Russian language, so arguably the category of case has increased its sensitivity to cyclic time.

In addition to showing that cyclic time is still reflected in Contemporary Standard Russian, the present paper contributes to the theory of cognitive linguistics by showing the importance of compression of time into cycles (Fauconnier and Turner 2008) for the understanding of grammatical categories such as aspect and case.

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Tatiana Nikitina

Location as motion:

Path-based models of space in modern Russian and beyond

Since early work by Talmy (1975, 1985), linguistic representation of space has been at the center of research in lexical typology, cognitive linguistics, and psycholinguistics (Slobin 2000; Levinson 2003; Beavers et al. 2010, inter alia). Some of the central aspects of spatial representation, however, have remained largely understudied. Particularly poorly understood is the distinction between dynamic and static spatial expressions, i.e. the distinction between expressions used to locate a Figure in space relative to a Ground (cf. 1a from Russian) and expressions describing the direction of the Figure's motion (1b,c).

(1) a. Stakan stoit na stole.

    glass:NOM stands on table:PREP
    'The glass is standing on the table.' (static)

b.   Stakan upal so stola.

    glass:NOM fell from table:GEN

    'The glass fell from the table.' (dynamic, ablative)

c.   Stakan upal na pol.

    glass:NOM fell on floor:ACC

    'The glass fell on the floor.' (dynamic, allative)

On the one hand, speakers often do not encode a dynamic relation explicitly, even though they have at their disposal a specialized means for an unambiguous encoding of a goal or a source of motion, cf. the variation in (2). On the other hand, speakers sometimes choose to encode a static relation by means of a specialized dynamic expression, even in the absence of any perceivable motion (3a,b).

(2)   Vazu s tsvetami postavili na seredine/ seredinu stola.

    vase:ACC with flowers put on middle:PREP middle:ACC table:GEN

    'The vase with flowers they put in the middle of the table.' (static / dynamic allative)

(3) a. K jugu ot derevni naxoditsya ozero.

    to south:DA T from village:GEN is.located lake:NOM

    'To the south of the village a lake is located.' (dynamic allative)

b.   S levoy storony dom byl pokrashen v sinij tsvet.

    from left:GEN side:GEN house:NOM was painted in blue color

    'On the left side the house was painted blue.' (dynamic ablative)

This paper focuses on the use of dynamic expressions for the encoding of static locations in modern Russian (examples 3a,b). I argue, pace MacKenzie (1978), that the use of dynamic expressions on a static reading cannot be explained merely in terms of case syncretism or reanalysis of individual expressions in ambiguous contexts. On the contrary, allative and ablative expressions are a major means of encoding relations for which no basic preposition exists, such as "on the right" or "in the south".

I propose to account for the distribution of the two dynamic strategies in terms of a model of spatial projections in which the Figure is located on paths of imaginary motion leading away from the Ground's center. The model provides an account of certain restrictions that otherwise remain unexplained; in particular, it explains why some types of relation require the use of an ablative strategy, others favor the allative one, and still others allow for both.

Crucial for the model of spatial projections is Talmy's concept of access path: the projections correspond to paths of fictive motion that start at the Ground's center and lead to the Figure. A preliminary survey of the available cross- linguistic data suggests that the model may be universal, i.e. that it may be grounded in universal principles of human cognition.

Direct speech uses of Russian verbs of emotion

In Russian (written) discourse, verbs of emotion often introduce direct speech:

(1)   — *А вы откуда Сонечку знаете?* — **удивился** *Ганчук.* [Юрий Трифонов. Дом на набережной (1976)]

(2)   — *Тебя опередили,* — **огорчил** *я Шурика.* [Евгений Прошкин. Механика вечности (2001)]

The existing analyses of such uses focus primarily on the ways in which the semantics of verbs of emotion can be modeled in order to account for the various types of their uses, cf. [Mel'čuk 1988: 341–356; Sonnenhauser 2010]. The present study will concentrate on the grammatical properties of the uses where Russian verbs of emotion introduce direct speech, which have received less attention.

It has been mentioned in [Mel'čuk 1988: 344] that one of the distinctive properties of the sentences where verbs of emotion introduce direct speech is the word order: if the clause containing the verb follows the direct speech, the subject is necessarily postposed to the verb, cf. (1). In case of SV order, which is the basic pattern in Russian, the clause containing a verb of emotion cannot be interpreted as introducing the direct speech but rather as a commentary syntactically disconnected from the direct speech clause, cf. (3). The basic Russian speech verbs like *сказать* 'say' or *ответить* 'answer' if following the direct speech clause also obligatorily precede the subject but are interpreted as a commentary when the order is SV.

(3)   — *Да?* — *Жихарь* **удивился** *и огляделся.* [Михаил Успенский. Там, где нас нет (1995)]

The corpus study of the Russian constructions in which direct speech is introduced by verbs of emotion has shown that there are other properties — statistical rather than absolute — that are characteristic of both such clauses and of the clauses with basic speech verbs introducing direct speech. The data for the study come from the texts of the Russian National Corpus created after 1900.

Firstly, perfective verbs of the emotion (*удивиться, обрадовать*) were found to be more frequently used to introduce direct speech than their imperfective counterparts (*удивляться, радовать*). For the basic speech verbs in pairs *сказать — говорить, ответить—отвечать, спросить — спрашивать* the distribution also follows this pattern.

Secondly, the direct speech uses of verbs of emotion are generally more reduced in terms of argument expression if compared to their non-speech uses. The clauses with reflexive verbs of emotion tend to contain only the Experiencer participant (1); in the clauses with transitive verbs of emotion just the two main participants are usually expressed, as in (2), whereas other possible dependants are absent.

Transitive verbs of emotion, cf. (2), are used to introduce direct speech much less frequently than reflexive verbs of emotion. Still, these uses have two important features.

a) The Stimulus in such uses is always human cf. (2), whereas in general transitive verbs of emotion in Russian are more frequently used with inanimate Stimuli, cf. (4). This is due to the fact that the Stimulus in examples like (2) is the Speaker of the direct speech.

(4)   *Первая «восторженная» посылка* **обрадовала** *всех, меня окружающих.* [Н. Н. Пунин. Письма М. А. Голубевой (1950)]

b) In contrast to clauses denoting purely emotive reactions (5), the clauses with transitive verbs introducing direct speech do not necessarily imply that there was a change of state of the part of the Experiencer. In such examples, the Experiencer may remain unaffected by the contents of

the utterance, cf. (6); the human Stimulus is usually aware of the effect the utterance should make and the verb of emotion expresses her/his interpretation (sincere or ironic) of the type of emotion the Experiencer is expected to react with.

(5)   *Вы не можете понять, как вы меня **обрадовали**.* [М. И. Цветаева. Пленный дух (1934)]

(6)   *— Ура! — закричали все. — Будем измерять расстояние от Земли до Солнца километрами. — Оно уже давно измерено, — **обрадовал** нас отличник Андрей.* [Расстояние от Земли до Солнца // «Трамвай», 1990]

In the talk I will show that in terms of their behavioral profiles, cf. [Janda, Solovyev 2009], Russian verbs of emotion that introduce direct speech are close to Russian basic speech verbs and that both for reflexive and for transitive verbs of emotion these uses constitute a distinct type characterized by a set of specific grammatical properties.

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Maria Ovsjannikova and Sergey Say
The Instrumental in the diachrony of Russian reflexive verbs of emotion:
from Cause to Stimulus

The present study focuses on a diachronic development of a group of Russian reflexive verbs of emotion such as, e.g., *радоваться* 'rejoice (intr.)' or *обижаться* 'feel offended'. The Russian reflexive verbs of emotion are often treated as a separate group of reflexives in Russian standing somewhere between typical anticausatives and passives (cf. discussion in [Paducheva 2001; 2004]). They are similar to anticausatives in that their semantic structure contains no agent, cf. (1).

(1)　　— *И* <u>*ты*</u> *не **обижайся** <u>на маму</u>. Она тебя любит на самом деле, но волнуется.* [Владимир Козлов. Гопники (2002)]

However, like passives, they have the same number of participants as corresponding transitives, cf. (1) and (2); the two participants are the Experiencer and the Stimulus, cf. the underlined phrases in (1)–(2).

(2)　　— <u>*Мачеха*</u> <u>*вас*</u> ***обижала?*** *— Нет, на мачеху я жаловаться не могу.* [И. Грекова. Дамский мастер (1963)]

The empirical starting point of the study is the following finding: for many reflexive verbs of emotion the Instrumental encoding of the Stimulus was possible or predominant some 200-300 years ago, but gradually went out of use or underwent a decrease in relative frequency as opposed to an alternative means of encoding (the latter are different for various verbs: *на* + Accusative, Dative, Genitive etc.), cf. a typical 19th century use of *обижаться* in (3) as compared to the modern use in (1).

(3)　　— *Не **обижаюсь** <u>вашим приношением</u>, если оно было сделано по заведенному порядку.* [И. И. Лажечников. Беленькие, черненькие и серенькие (1856)]

Some of the verbs that underwent such a development are shown in Table 1, which is based on the texts of the 18th-21st c. from the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru).

Table 1. Instrumental vs. alternative encoding of the Stimulus

		other means	the ratio of the Instrumental			
			1701-1850	1851-1920	1921-1990	1991-2012
обижаться	'feel offended'	*на* + Acc.	1.00	0.45	0.02	0.01
смущаться	'feel confused'	Gen.	1.00	0.96	0.84	0.55
поражаться	'be astonished'	Dat.	0.94	0.86	0.12	0.04
тревожиться	'worry (intr.)'	PP	0.71	0.51	0.06	0.01
радоваться	'rejoice (intr.)'	Dat.	0.10	0.02	0.00	0.00

Table 1 shows that the diachronic shift from the Instrumental to other means of encoding was not chronologically parallel for individual verbs, but there seems to be a recurrent scenario of change which is still ongoing for some verbs, cf. *смущаться* 'feel confused'.

The goal of the study is to determine the semantic and syntactic nature of the drift at issue. Our main hypothesis is that this drift is related to the emergence of (individual) emotive anticausatives. We argue that the decrease of the Instrumental was not merely a change in argument encoding but also involved a considerable change in the semantics of the verbs in question.

In the texts of the 18th century some of the verbs in question were used to denote physical states and changes of states, cf. *porazhat'sja* 'be striken' and 'be astonished', *volnovat'sja* 'ripple' and 'worry'. In these "physical" uses the second argument is always encoded by the Instrumental, cf. (4), which is generally used for coding entities that can be construed as Causes, e.g., instruments and demoted agents in passive constructions.

(4) *Выставленные на штыках перчатки в один миг **поражались** несколькими пулями.* [А. А. Бестужев-Марлинский. Письма из Дагестана (1831)]

Even for the verbs which had no evident primary "physical" source there is evidence for the shift from the Cause construal of the second participant to the Stimulus interpretation, under which the second participant not only causes the emotion but also is in the focus of the mental reaction on the part of the Experiencer. This shift manifests itself, among other things, i) in the emergence and spread of the stative interpretation of the imperfective in contrast to the iterative interpretation and ii) in the spread of human in contrast to inanimate Stimuli.

The development of reflexive verbs will be shown to be later paralleled by some novel uses of passive-like participial constructions, in which the second argument is encoded by the same means as the complement of the corresponding reflexive verb, cf. the earliest (1873) instance of this construction for the participle *обижен* lit. 'offended' in RNC in (5).

(5) *Я вижу, что он очень на меня **обижен**, подхожу к нему и нагинаюсь.* [Н. С. Лесков. Очарованный странник (1873)]

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Jelena Parizoska
Variation of Croatian verbal idioms with the locative *u* ('in') phrase

The notion that idioms are invariable expressions has been relativized, especially more recently in light of strong empirical evidence from corpus-based research. It has been shown that idioms may occur in two or more lexical and/or syntactic forms (e.g. Moon 1998; Cignoni, Coffey and Moon 1999). Moreover, it has been shown that this variation is systematic (Langlotz 2006). For example, studies of Croatian idioms (Author 2009; 2010) have shown that in expressions containing a verb and the locative *u* ('in') phrase, being in a state is conceptualized as being located in a place which resembles a container (e.g. *biti u prvom planu* lit. be in the foreground 'receive a lot of attention'), while getting into a state is construed as self-motion and/or caused motion of an entity along a path towards a location (*doći u prvi plan* lit. come to the foreground; *gurnuti u prvi plan* lit. push someone into the foreground). This is expressed by the locative and accusative construction respectively and the use of the copular verb *be* vs. motion verbs and force-dynamic verbs.

However, data from the Croatian National Corpus seem to challenge this systematicity, showing that spatial schemas alone are not detailed enough to account for the variation of verbal idioms containing the locative *u* phrase. Firstly, some of these idioms do not occur as dynamic construals (e.g. *biti u krivu* 'be wrong'). Secondly, in expressions which occur as accusative constructions there seem to be certain constraints on verb variation. For example, some idioms allow motion verbs as well as force-dynamic verbs, whereas in other expressions verb variation is restricted only to motion verbs (e.g. *doći* 'come' and *dovesti* 'bring'). This begs the question: what is the nature of the constraints restricting the occurrence of the dynamic variant and verb variation?

The aim of this paper is to explore the ways in which Croatian verbal idioms with the locative *u* phrase may vary. More specifically, we will show that they exhibit various degrees of variability with regard to the type of construal (static or dynamic) and type of verb. We conducted a study of 36 idioms in the Croatian National Corpus. The results show that there is a scale of variability: from items that occur only as the static variant with *biti* 'be' (e.g. *biti u pravu* 'be right'), to those that occur as both locative and accusative constructions (e.g. *biti u dobrim rukama* 'be in good hands'), to items which may also occur as genitive constructions with *iz* 'out of' (e.g. *biti u dugovima* 'be in debt'). The results also show that variation is not only dependent on the underlying conceptual motivation (the spatial schema), but it also seems to be constrained on the local level, i.e. it is tied to the constructional meaning of a particular expression. This is in line with the view of idioms as expressions whose constructional meaning is more than the sum of its parts (e.g. Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor 1998; Langacker 2008), thus implying that the syntactic and semantic properties of an idiom must be associated with the given construction.

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Iryna Parkhomenko

Accusative Assigning Participial *-no/-to* Construction in Ukrainian and Polish: Syntactic
Borrowing or Structural Convergence?
(Corpus Based Analysis)

The goal of our contribution is a corpus-based quantitative analysis of *-no/-to* participles with a special focus on their presumed universal passive properties. Thus, the following questions will be addressed: In how far do Polish *-no/-to* clauses function as a non-passive and the Ukrainian ones as a passive verbal construction? Is there a tense marking copula? What is the syntactic behavior of the argument? Is there a thematic restriction on the understood subject? To what degree did the interplay of internally motivated and externally induced changes shape the properties of the *-no/-to* construction in both languages?

The impersonal *-no/-to* construction has gained considerable attention due to its unique property of assigning an accusative complement. Billing & Maling (1995) describe the Ukrainian *-no/-to* as a genuine "hybrid" passive, and the Polish *-no/-to* as an "un-passive" with an unspecified human subject. The synchronic Polish construction carries out a finite, active verbal function after having abandoned its passive features like overt copulas *było* was$_{NEUT.SG}$ and *będze* will be$_{3.SG}$, and the instrumental by-form *przez* by the 17th century. To Lavine (2005), this is a clear example of de-grammaticalization or "upgrading" of a grammatical morpheme, an erstwhile ending$_{NEUT.SG}$ in Polish, which suggests that grammaticalization is not necessarily unidirectional. The Ukrainian *-no/-to* participles however seem to have undergone the reverse development: during the past century they took on several universal passive properties like overt auxiliaries *bulo* was$_{NEUT.SG}$ and *bude* will be$_{3.SG}$ and the instrumental by-phrase. In Modern Ukrainian, *-no/-to* clauses with copula render absolute past action, while the ones with no overt copula have a perfect or an aorist interpretation. In the usage of Ukrainian *-no/-to,* there is a tendency toward the Polish simple-past model in the west, while overt copulas are more frequent in the eastern regions.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that the Ukrainian *-no/-to* might represent an early syntactic borrowing from Polish. Possibly by the 17th century both constructions acquired, due to the contact induced factors, the capacity of denoting past action by an unspecified human subject. Then, between 17th and 19th century, each underwent its own internally driven syntactic change.

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Katia Paykin & Marleen Van Peteghem

***Нам думалось что доклад у нас напишется сам собой*:**

an agentivity spectrum within the reflexive construction

Our talk will focus on a particular syntactic construction in Russian characterized by the presence of a dative subject and an impersonal form of the verb with the reflexive suffix *–ся,* as in (1a). The formal criterion for delimiting the object of our study is the possible alternation of the dative subject with a nominative one triggering verb agreement on the non-reflexive form of the verb, as in (1b).

(1) a. *Здесь ему на редкость хорошо работалось* (Russian National Corpus)
　　 b. *Здесь я хорошо работаю*

We will claim that, unlike what has been shown by previous studies on the dative impersonal reflexive construction (*cf.* among others Benedicto 1995, Moore & Perlmutter 2000, Goto & Say 2009), it is not homogeneous and subsumes several subtypes:

(i) The first one contains a one-argument verb (including transitive verbs in their absolute reading), requires the presence of a negation or an adverbial and often possesses a modal reading, as in (2).

(2) a. *По закону вредности мне от этой тишины не спалось* (Russian National Corpus)
　　 b. *Мне пишется тебе очень легко* (Russian National Corpus)

(ii) The other one contains a two-argument verb, expressing a propositional attitude, such as *думается*, *верится*, *мечтается*, *etc*. The presence of a negation or of adverbials is of no importance and there is no modality attached to the obtained reading. The second argument is mostly clausal (*что*-clause (3a) or infinitive clause), but can also be a PP or even a nominative NP (3b).

(3) a. *Мне думается, что вы ошибаетесь* (Russian National Corpus)
　　 b. *Мне вспоминается один эпизод* (Russian National Corpus)

The main goal of our talk will be to situate these two types of dative subject within a spectrum of demoted subjects. We will first show that in both subclasses the dative presents the subject as a non-volitional beneficiary of something coming from outside. The subject gets demoted just like the instrumental agent of passives and is viewed as an experiencer/goal of the process. It is thus limited to animate referents, mostly humans. Just like the agent in the passive, the dative is often absent. The meaning of the construction can also explain why the verb shows the impersonal neuter ending and accounts for a possible presence of the neuter pronoun *оно* in some colloquial utterances, as in (4), in the absence of an explicit beneficiary in the dative.

(4)　　 *Ведь оно легко идется под горку-то!* (Russian National Corpus)

We will then examine another - marginally used - structure where the same experiencer is encoded through a PP taking the genitive case, as in (5). It can appear either with the impersonal form or with a transitive verb explicitating the second argument and showing agreement.

(5) a. *У меня не читалось про работу* (Google)

b. *Еще ни одна книга у меня не читалась настолько тяжело* (Google)

On the basis of the data extracted from Russian National Corpus and through Russian internet search engines (Yandex and Google), we will argue that the choice of the case for the semantic subject in Russian gives rise to a spectrum of ways to express different degrees of agentivity (*cf.* Divjak & Janda 2008 for a broader analysis of the varied agency expression): as an entity in control in the nominative (6a) (or the instrumental in a passive construction), as an experiencer undergoing the process in the dative (6b), or as a location when it is encoded as an *y* + genitive PP, where the referent is interpreted as even less involved (6c).

(6) a. *Я не работала*

b. *Мне не работалось*

c. *У меня не работалось - руки опускались* (Google)

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Anita Peti-Stantić & Mateusz-Milan Stanojević
The semantic space of interest: the dative in Croatian

The Croatian dative is based on the notion of personal sphere (cf. Dąbrowska 1997), and stems from the old diachronic allative meaning, but is currently centered around the transfer prototype (e.g. verbs of giving, or communication), with extensions into the assessment pattern (*meni je tamo bilo lijepo* 'I found it nice there') and a reference point/affectedness pattern, including the dative of possession and ethical dative (*roditelji su mu stanovali u Zagrebu* 'his parents lived in Zagreb'; *Jesi li mi dobro?* 'Are you doing well (to me)?') (Author 2012). The differences between the patterns in Croatian have been primarily explained in terms of semantics (Author 2007), as was the case with cognitive linguistic accounts of the dative in other Slavic languages (e.g. Janda 1993, Dąbrowska 1997). In this paper we focus on the use of clitic and non-clitic pronouns, claiming that it can be split into three groups based on a combination of syntactic and semantic factors.

In the first group of patterns lexically governed by a verb, adjective or a noun (the allative, transfer and assessment patterns), both non-clitic and clitic forms can be used. Still, nouns governing the dative in the transfer pattern (e.g. *pismo tebi* 'letter to you', *nagrada njemu* 'award to him') are on the periphery of the group, because when combined with clitic pronouns they refer to the dative of possession or affectedness rather than transfer (e.g. *pismo ti* 'your letter') (also Mikaelian and Roudet 1999). The second group is the "dative of possession", traditionally seen as a free dative, but in fact semantically governed by nouns that tend to be inalienable possessions in Croatian (cf. Šarić 2002). It seems that in cases of nouns that do not have a trace of "transfer" or "inalienability" which are low on the animacy scale (e.g. abstract nouns), the dative of possession meaning is more likely with clitic pronouns (*mržnja mu* 'his hate'). The ethical dative (Author 2000) is a "true" free dative, which gets realized with clitic forms of the first person singular and plural in sentences lacking verbs that take dative arguments (*Nešto si mi neraspoložen, Jesi li mi se umorila?, Eto ti ga na vrata* etc.), and in sentences with predicative verbs that do not take dative arguments (*putovati* 'to travel' *Jesi li mi dobro putovala?* or *ušutjeti* 'stop speaking' *Nešto ste nam se ušutjeli.*). The second person clitic pronoun, and non-clitic first and second person pronouns will be interpreted as ethical dative only under certain, strictly defined conditions (e.g. when an explicit reference to the subject is made *Jesi li se **ti** meni umorila*).

Thus, there is a gradient of realizations of clitic and non-clitic pronouns that depends on an interplay of semantic and syntactic factors, with (1) the ethical dative which works on the information structure of the entire sentence and is linked by default to clitic pronouns, (2) the dative of possession which is semantically governed by a noun, and (3) patterns centered around the transfer prototype governed by verbs, nouns or adjectives and linked by default to non-clitic pronouns. Such an account of the Croatian dative is in line with accounts made for Czech by Fried (1999) and cross-linguistically by Shibatani (1994).

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Anna Pleshakova
Metaparody in Contemporary Russia: Dmitry Bykov's 2009 poem "Infectious"

In this paper I use the case of Dmitry Bykov's "Заразное" (Infectious) to explore metaparody (Morson, 1989), the genre which has received very little attention in literary studies, and has not been explored from the cognitive linguistic perspective so far. I demonstrate that Bykov's performance of metaparody can be seen as a tool related to the process of Russian nation-building as well as the corresponding discourse. Adopting the principles of cognitive poetics and Steen's (2011) approach to the interdisciplinary exploration of genre, I utilize conceptual integration/blending (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002; Turner, forthcoming) as an analytical tool to reveal: 1) the linguistic, conceptual and socio-cultural aspects of the metaparody's creation and understanding; 2) the important aspects in the construction of the post-Soviet Russian national identity; and 3) the relations between the two as realised in Bykov's work. I argue that all these important aspects and relations would have not otherwise been evident, and that the conceptual blending analysis of metaparody creates a model for analysis of parody in Bykov's work as part of the critical discourse of national identity in today's Russia.

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Ludmila Pöppel
Constructional factors for the discrimination of synonyms

The delimitation of synonyms is among the most productive and topical areas of contemporary lexical semantics. Synonymy has been investigated from different theoretical perspectives and with the help of various tools at the disposal of present-day linguistics.

Synonyms can differ according to various parameters, including distinctive semantic features and distinguishing combinatorial properties. Combinatorial differences are often connected with semantic features, so that a study of combinatorial profile of a given word based on text corpora can help identify differences that are not apparent intuitively.

Synonyms can also differ conceptually. This is important from a cognitive point of view. For example, lexical units that are close in meaning can be construed to represent different categories of conceptual taxonomy such as activity, action, event, process, and state. In a number of cases, although words may appear to be synonyms, they are based on different conceptual structures.

The present paper will examine synonyms and their combination in all of these respects. The point of departure is combinatorics; that is, the constructive peculiarities of near-synonyms as investigated on the basis of extensive corpus data (cf. also Divjak & Gries 2006, Janda & Solovyev 2009). These constructive properties can arise from semantic differences, thereby making it possible to identify the conceptual structures underlying their semantics.

Using the example of the near-synonyms *восстание, бунт, мятеж, смута,* the goal of the study is to show how combinatorics allows us to identify both semantic distinctions among near-synonyms and differences in conceptual categorization. On the basis of the Russian National Corpus (RNC), I will demonstrate how combinatorial properties were discovered, for analysis of these materials revealed a number of combinatorial preferences. Examples follow.

The absolute majority of contexts indicate that *смута*, in contrast to *восстание*, *бунт*, and *мятеж,* occupies the position of the subject in the sentence. Cf:

> Ведь император совсем не был уверен в том, что в действительности «Россию вздернул на дыбы», а *смута* рождалась каждый раз, стоило ему удалиться за пределы отчизны […]. [100 дней с Наполеоном (2003)]

The contexts in which *смута* is the object are untypical.

Although a precise statistical analysis would demand a separate study, it is apparent that the word occurs dozens of times more frequently as subject than as object. This indicates that *смута* is construed basically as an event, i.e., it occurs on its own, whereas *восстание, бунт,* and

мятеж are perceived as action and activity. Combinatorics points to the same conclusion: *смута* most often combines with the verbs *происходить, начинаться,* and *кончаться*, while *мятеж, восстание* and *бунт* collate with the verbs *поднять, возглавить,* and *подавить*.

The differences among *мятеж, восстание* and *бунт* are manifested in combinatorics together with the verb *подстрекать* (*подстрекать к бунту/мятежу,* but **подстрекать к восстанию*); that is *бунт* and *мятеж* are biased towards the negative evaluative pole, while *восстание* tends to be interpreted positively.

Of the near-synonyms considered here, only *смута* occurs in idioms, the most common being *посеять смуту*.

Hypotheses on the conceptual-semantic differences between analyzed words can be inferred from these and similar combinatorial distinctions. It is to the testing of these hypotheses that the present study is dedicated.

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Sofia Pozharitskaya

Эволюция формы и семантики плюсквамперфекта в диалектах русского языка.

Для формы плюсквамперфекта (далее ПКП) в разных языках мира характерны, помимо основного (таксисного), дополнительные значения, осложняющие таксис. Одно из таких значений грамматикализовалось в русском литературном языке в виде конструкции, специализированной для обозначения ситуации разрыва логической и хронологической цепочки событий в последовательности «намерение → действие → результат», которая получила название антирезультативной (АР). Формальной особенностью этой конструкции является структура из двух клауз, в первой из которых имеется частица *было*, не согласованная с претеритной формой основного глагола и показывающая нарушение естественного или предполагаемого хода последующих событий: *хотел было пойти, но передумал; пошел было, но вернулся; пошел было, но не застал нужного мне человека.*

Изучение диалектных (в особенности, севернорусских) контекстов с *было* показывает, что существуют и иные пути эволюции древнерусского ПКП:

1. действие по первому предикату (в форме ПКП) предшествует действию по второму предикату (претериту). Возможные при этом отношения предикатов:

1.1. временная последовательность семантически независимых действий: (1) *Этот телефон мне **достался** от брата, с ним **была** и сестра **ходила***;

1.2. претеритная форма означает действие, являющееся естественным развитием (следствием или результатом) того, которое обозначено формой ПКП: (2) *Его **были** **посадили**, дак жонка-та **уехала***;

1.3. действие, обозначенное претеритом, семантически контрастно действию в форме ПКП: (3) *Я за морошкой **пошла была**, да **воротилась;*** (4) *Школа **построилась была,** да и **сгорела;*** (5) *Я грибов **был набрал**, да **бросил.***

Конструкции (3)-(5) имеют семантику АР, но формально ему не соответствуют, поскольку формы глагола *быть* согласованы с формами претерита и, следовательно, могут считаться частью глагольной формы, а не фразовой частицей, как в АР.

2. Таксисная последовательность действий нарушена:

2.1. плюсквамперфектный и претеритный предикаты относятся к одному вре́менному плану (действия или события происходят одновременно): (6) *Когда он **был работал**, еще **был** совхоз*;

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2.2. действие, обозначенное претеритом, предшествует формальному ПКП:

(7) *Как дом **построили**, сразу **посадили были** кусты.*

3. В контекстах с несколькими предикатами выявляется эмфатическая функция формы глагола *быть* (как согласованной, так и не согласованной), которая маркирует семантическую доминанту высказывания: (8) *Сами ро́стили, сами добывали хлеб-то, налоги **были платили**, жили как-то, трудно жили, описывали приходили, если налог не упло́тят* (уплата налога – главная трудность в жизни).

4. Несогласованное *было* вводит ситуацию прошедшего времени, о котором ведется рассказ: (9) ***Обгорели было** старики-ти; **строили** дом, три года **пожили** и **обгорели*** (эмфаза здесь также присутствует), а также с формами презенса: (10) *…а раньше **было** на конях **заезжают**.* Замкнутость действия в прошлом демонстрируется конструкциями с одним предикатом: (11) *Восемнадцать человек **влезали в чум было**;* (11) *Мой муж **был убил** волка.*

Выводы.

1. Форма ПКП сохраняется в русских диалектах, но его таксисная составляющая стала факультативной.

2. Эволюция значения формы ПКП происходит в следующих направлениях:

1) определилась эмфатическая функция маркирования семантической доминанты высказывания в текстах с двумя и более предикатами;

2) *было* может быть фразовой частицей, вводящей ситуацию прошедшего времени; при этом временная локализация действия не связана с его «давностью» (имеются контексты с *прошлый год, сей год, недавно, сегодня*);

3) в предложениях с одним предикатом семантически «пустое» *был* (*была, были*) подчеркивает замкнутость действия в прошлом;

4) нет оснований говорить о существовании специализированной антирезультативной конструкции; в известных нам диалектах это значение не грамматикализовалось.

Ida Raffaelli, Matea Srebačić & Krešimir Šojat

Denominal verbs of cognition in Croatian: derivational patterns and cognitive processes

The paper deals with verbs of cognition in Croatian, an inflected language with rich derivation, and focuses on conceptual relations that accompany their lexicalization. Croatian verbs, in terms of lexicalization, can be divided in two main categories: 1. unmotivated verbs – not derived from other words, 2. motivated – derived from other words of various parts of speech. Unmotivated verbs, predominately of Old-Slavic origin, serve as a morphological basis for further derivational processes, i.e. they are stems for derivation of motivated verbs. In terms of their semantics, verbs from both groups can extend their primary meanings to other domains and thus acquire polysemous structure. In this paper we deal with a subset of motivated verbs, namely with verbs derived from nominal stems belonging to the domain of cognition. Verbs in the domain of cognition denote highly abstract concepts, but they are lexicalized via more or less concrete domains (e.g. measure, scale or even law) through the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy and metaphor. The main objective of this paper is to show how these mechanisms operate in lexicalization of Croatian verbs of cognition and which morphological processes simultaneously take part. We focus on the domain of cognition and on verbs derived from nouns via suffixation, for two reasons: first, the domain of cognition is particularly suitable for this kind of research, since nominal stems belong to different source domains and numerous types of word-formation metonymy (as distinguished by Janda (2011)), as well as conceptual metaphors participate in mapping from source domains to the analyzed target domain. Second, verbs derived from nouns via suffixation regularly appear in the same derivational construction: [[X]nominal stem [Y]derivational suffix [Z]infinitive ending]V. Verbs with this morphological structure were extracted from CroDeriV, a large morphological database consisting of app. Croatian 14 000 verbs segmented into lexical and derivational morphemes. The database enables the detection of all combinations of particular stems and affixes and provides information on distribution of particular morphological constructions. The total number of recorded denominal verbs in CroDeriV is 1234. Out of that number there are 52 verbs belonging to the domain of cognition. This domain comprises unmotivated and motivated verbs denoting different kinds of mental processes (e.g. to think, to ponder, to imagine, to believe etc.). Detected denominal verbs of cognition were further divided into two subgroups: 1) motivated verbs that fall into the domain of cognition through the very process of derivation, mostly via word-formation metonymy (cf.

Figure 1), and 2) motivated verbs whose primary meaning falls into other domains and is then extended to the domain of cognition via metaphor (cf. Figure 2).
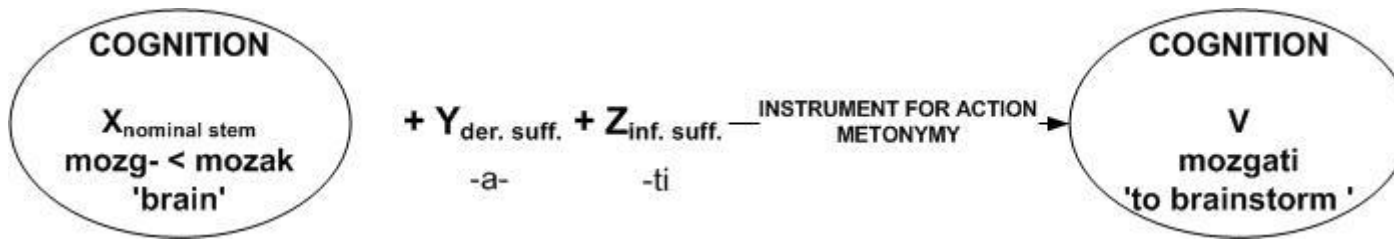

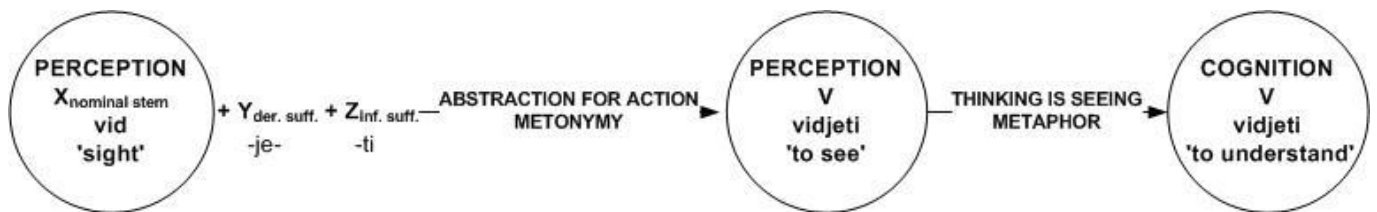**Figure 1: Metonymy in word-formation**

Figure 2: Metonymy in word-formation and metaphorical expansion to different domain

This kind of analysis provides a more thorough insight into the lexical architecture since it accounts for the simultaneity of derivational and cognitive processes and stresses their equal importance in the lexicalization. We argue that word formation cannot be explained in isolation from cognitive mechanisms, primarily metonymy and metaphor. Although these cognitive processes have been investigated at the level of lexemes, they have a great impact on derivation as well, which is still an under-researched area. Since derivational processes play a significant role in the lexicalization of concepts in Croatian, cognitive processes that accompany them must be taken into account in order to capture and describe the complexity of lexicon structure. Theoretical basis for morphosemantic analysis as described here is given in Raffaelli and Kerovec (2008) and Raffaelli (2013). In this paper it is further expanded and substantiated with data from the large computational resource thus enabling more elaborate explanation of derivational patterns from the cognitive point of view. This approach could also be implemented for other Slavic and IE languages, pointing to regular and frequent patterns in lexicalization on both morphological and semantic level.

Sergey Say
The infinitive + *by* **constructions and what they can tell us about finiteness in Russian**

In traditional grammatical descriptions of Russian mood is claimed to be a category pertaining to finite ("личные") forms only, whereas infinitives, participles and converbs are viewed as non-finite forms and are reported to lack the category of mood [Шведова (ред.) 1980: 626]. This assumed distinction fits, as it were, a well-known typological generalization: mood is among those speaker-oriented verbal categories (along with tense, agreement and evidentiality) that are often either totally lost or severely restricted in non-finite clauses [Givón, 1990; cf. discussion in Nikolaeva 2007].

An obvious sore spot for such approaches are those uses in which an assumed non-finite form combines with particle *бы*, that is, with the particle that is used in finite (analytic) subjunctive forms. These combinations are marginal for participles and converbs, but for infinitives they are frequent, see (1)–(2).

(1)   *Если* **бы начать** *нормальные реформы в 1988 году, (…) тогда не было бы 1991 года* [Валентин Павлов. Мы пошли бы другим путем (2001)].

(2)   *Искренне пораженная, я воскликнула:* — *Тебе* **бы** *оценщицей* **работать**! [Дарья Донцова. Доллары царя Гороха (2004)].

Semantic properties of various infinitive + *бы* constructions have recently received considerable attention in the literature [Добрушина 2012; Israeli 2013; Князев в печати], but their relation to other types of constructions remains unclear.

Such uses as (1) and (2) raise two related questions: i) how should combinations of infinitive and *бы* be analyzed? ii) What is the status of the Russian infinitive with respect to the category of mood?

In this study these two questions are explored in a larger perspective of the distribution of (non)-finite features in Russian. Indeed, the Russian infinitive is problematic in terms of (non)-finiteness: it is usually viewed as a non-finite form based of morphological criteria, but the distributional criterion yields more ambivalent results, as infinitive can be used in a wide range of various independent constructions, see e.g. [Брицын, 1990; Fortuin 2000].

The crucial property of the approach employed here is that it relies upon studying paradigmatic relations between individual infinitival **constructions** (syntactic structures endowed with their own meaning), not just isolated verb forms. For example, several infinitive + *бы* constructions are found to be parallel to uses without *бы*, so that *бы* creates a contrast that is quite parallel to the subjunctive vs. indicative contrast in similar finite constructions. This is, e.g., the case with the protasis in conditional constructions, as in (1): here *бы* is obligatory for expressing counterfactuality (cf. [#]*если начать реформы в 1988 году…*), exactly in the same way as in finite clauses ([OK]*если бы мы начали реформы в 1988 году*, but [#]*если мы начали реформы в 1988 году*). In other infinitive + *бы* uses there is no direct parallelism with the mood distinction in finite form and the semantic interpretation is largely non-compositional, as in independent uses exemplified in (2).

The study is based on the data from the NRC (ruscorpora.ru), including tracing quantitative trends and their micro-diachronic development. The following generalizations are put forward.

1) The Russian Infinitive does not entirely lack the category of mood.

2) In most types of dependent uses (as well as in constructions that emerged through insubordination) the infinitive + *бы* creates a full-fledged regular mood opposition with the infinitive without *бы*.

3) In most types of independent infinitival uses *бы* creates a semantic contrast that is not directly parallel to what is observed in finite constructions. Note that it is in these very constructions that the infinitive as such (not combined with *бы*) has some properties of a modal form, cf. [Timberlake, 2004; Plungian 2005].

4) Modal distinctions in dependent clauses are not only quantitatively reduced, but also qualitatively different from what is observed in independent clauses: in most cases available structural choices (infinitive vs. finite; and presence or absence of *бы*) are not directly related to encoding speaker's wishes and other evaluative components.

5) In general, the degree of relevance of egocentric components of meaning, as manifested in particular in the use of mood markers, is directly related to the opposition between independent (higher) and dependent (lower) clauses, rather than to the morphological distinction between the infinitive and so-called finite ("личные") forms. This finding is compatible with the view that finiteness is a clause-level rather than form-level phenomenon.

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Alexei Shmelev & Elena Shmeleva

Mir, _primirenie_, _smirenie_ in the history of the Russian language and Russian culture

The study has been based on the analysis of Church Slavonic and Old Russian texts as well as the data of the corpora of modern Russian texts (in particular, the Russian National Corpus) and Soviet dictionaries of Russian.

It may be argued that the homonymy of the Russian words *mir* 'peace' and *mir* 'world, universe' resulted from the decision (made by St. Cyril and St. Methodius) to translate the Greek words εἰρήνη 'peace' and κόσμος 'world, universe; community' with the same Slavic word *mir* 'harmony, concord'. The reason for that decision was probably of poetic nature: the Greek words often co-occur in the Orthodox liturgical texts. A semantic link between the two homonyms sill appears in some contexts. Thus, the opening petition of the Great Litany *Mirom Gospodu pomolimsja* 'In peace, let us pray to the Lord' is often understood as 'Let us pray to the Lord all together'.

Some of the overtones in the semantics of *mir* led to a certain semantic shift of the words *smirit'sja*, *smirenie*, and *smirennyj*. Originally, these words were linked to the word *mera* 'measure'; accordingly, they conveyed the idea of moderating one's ambitions; the word *smirenie* has become an accepted equivalent of *humility*. The "folk etymology" linked them with the root *mir* and in particular with the words *primirit'sja* 'to be reconciled' and *primirenie* 'reconciliation'. As a result, the word *smirenie* has acquired connotations of non-resistance and acceptance of what is happening, "reconciliation with the reality". In addition, *smirenie* is supposed to deliver those who possess it from any bad feelings towards other people. This semantic shift has led to a change of the government pattern: it is now acceptable to use the pattern *smirit'sja s <kem, chem>* instead of the traditional *smirit'sja pered <kem, chem>* (by contrast, *smirenie s <kem, chem>* is still unacceptable). Consider also such words as *usmirit'* 'to pacify; to suppress (a mutiny)' and *smirnyj* 'quiet, submissive'.

The paper will also discuss the history of the words *sgovor* 'agreement, deal', *soglashatel'* 'conciliator, compromiser', *primirenec* 'appeaser, compromiser' semantically related to *mir*: originally neutral, they acquired negative connotations in the Soviet discourse (as is reflected in most Soviet dictionaries). Some present-day speakers tend to use these words with no bad connotations (or even in positive sense). Consider also the history of the words *kompromiss* 'compromise' and *beskompromissnyj* 'uncompromising' and the use of the latter word in modern advertising (*beskompomissnoe kachestvo* 'uncompromising quality').

Dmitri V. Sitchinava

Prefixed comparative in the Russian National Corpus: attenuation, lexical choice, modality and politeness

The corpora data and especially the RNC are helpful in investigating the semantics of the Russian prefixed comparative form of the kind *побольше* '[slightly] more, bigger' (cf. *больше* 'more, bigger'), especially the rise and development of the attenuative meaning: "X is more than Y, and slightly more". The use of this form is connected with the semantic domains of subjective modality, selection, low degrees of comparison, and positive evaluation.

The research has previously indicated (Knyazev, Boguslavsky, Guiraud-Weber and others) that these forms may be marked by a "subjective" selective modality rather than by any objective evaluation of difference. There is a corpus evidence (including the one from medieval Old Russian texts) that the attenuative semantics was not finally grammaticalized even until the end of the 19th century. The 19th-century Russian used the combinations of the prefixed comparatives with the adverbs: *гораздо, (на)много* 'far more', including the multiplication adverbs like *вдвое, втрое, вчетверо* 'two, three, four times' and the synonymous adverbials like *в два, три, четыре раза.* It is interesting that since the 1980s the prefixed comparative began go together with the adverb *сильно* lit. 'strongly' which can combine, colloquially, with positive adjectives as well (сильно *бедный* 'very poor'). This possibility emerges due to its semantics, which is linked with qualitative distinction and not only quantification. In Modern Russian the prefixed comparative goes even better with the expressive *куда* 'by far', lit. 'where'. The prefixed form is lexicalized much stronger than the form without a prefix. The first twenty forms of the frequency list correspond not less than to 67% of the prefixed tokens in the text (cf. 34% for a simple form). Among the comparatives that have more than 25% of prefixed forms a semantic group can be discerned, viz. the comparatives signifying (mainly positive) human qualities, involving multiple reactions to multiple stimuli: *(по)аккуратнее* 'more accurate', *(по)бойчее* 'more smart, quick', *(по)внимательнее* 'more attentive, careful' and others. These properties are defined on a continuous non-discreet scale and thus welcome the meaning of attenuative; at the same time, their semantics couples well with modalization – in the so-called selective contexts that can express also politeness (хотелось *бы, чтобы ты действовал похитрее* 'I would like if you were more cunning' / *чтобы мы нашли кого-нибудь побойчее* '...if we found somebody more smart').

It is known that the lower-degree markers are combined well with negative (pejortaive) adjectives in the positive degree, which is explained by the politeness requirements. This fact is perhaps cross- linguistical. In Russian the diminutive suffix -оват- can be combined well with 'bad' and 'silly' (плоховатый and *глуповатый)* but goes reluctantly with 'good' and 'intelligent' (*хорошеватый and *умноватый). For English we have corpus data according to which that the low-degrees markers like *slightly* and *a bit* select predominantly negative adjectives in the positive degree. It is thus very interesting that this effect is inverse with the comparative degree as compared to the positive one, and the issue can also be linked to the modality context (the one of a 'desired situation') essential for the prefixed comparative.

Anastasia Smirnova & Rumen Iliev

Cognitive foundations of evidentiality

In this paper we investigate the question about the cognitive foundations of evidentiality, a grammatical category that expresses the speaker's information source: direct perception, inference or report (cf. Willett 1988). It has often been observed in the literature that besides information source evidentiality expresses the speaker's epistemic commitment, i.e. the assessment of information in terms of its reliability (de Haan 1999, Aikhenvald 2004). The intuition is that directly perceived events are more reliable than those for which the speaker only has indirect information. While the question about the nature of this epistemic reasoning has been extensively discussed in both descriptive and formal semantics literature (Faller 2002, Aikhenvald 2004, Matthewson et al. 2007), the cognitive foundations of evidentiality have received little attention. This study intends to shed more light on this question.

If evidentiality expresses epistemic commitment, then the distribution of evidential expressions in discourse, should be sensitive to contextual information. To check this hypothesis, we conducted an experiment in which the speakers of Bulgarian were asked to match descriptions of different situations with evidential and non-evidential expressions. In the descriptions of situations, the distance between the speaker and the event on the temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical dimensions was a dependent variable. For example, in the social distance condition, the subjects were presented with a situation in which they learn news either from a family member (proximal relation on a social dimension) or from an acquaintance (distal relation on a social scale). Similarly, in a physical distance condition, the speakers were presented with a scenario in which they witness the event from the first row (proximal relation on physical dimension) or from the last row (distal relation on physical dimension). In all conditions, the speakers were asked to match the situation with an evidential or a non-evidential sentence. We found that for all conditions, temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical, the speakers consistently use evidential sentences to describe distal relations, and non-evidential sentences to describe proximal relations.

These results find a natural explanation within Construal Level Theory (CLT) of psychological distance (Trope & Liberman 2008, Trope & Liberman 2010). According to CLT, there are two modes of thinking or construal levels: a low level construal, which is employed for cognitive tasks 'here and now', and a high level construal, which is activated in hypothetical thinking and abstract cognitive tasks more generally. According to this theory, any type of displacement, i.e.

reasoning about objects not present in the immediate perceptual field, events remote in time, hypothetical events, and other people's perspectives, requires a higher level of abstract thinking, or higher construal. We would like to suggest that evidentiality is a grammatical category in language that encodes 'a higher level' construal – it is consistently used to report events that are located further in time or space, hypothetical events, and events that involve distal social relations. These results are consistent with Slobin and Aksu's intuition that evidentiality allows speakers to distance themselves from the situation she describes (Slobin and Aksu 1982, cf. also Friedman 2004). On the theoretical grounds, our study provides support for CLT by showing how language reflects psyhological distance (see also Brown and Levinson 1987, Stephan, Liberman, and Trope 2010 on politeness). More importantly, this study sheds more light on the cognitive foundation of evidentiality.

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Svetlana Sokolova & Jonas Gjervold
Sosčitat' or sčitnut'? An Account of the Russian Quasi-semelfactives

Semelfective perfective verbs such as the Russian verb *čixnut'* 'sneeze once' are associated with quantification of action and thus are traditionally treated as part of Aktionsarten (Isačenko 1960, Maslov 1948, Švedova et al. 1980, Zaliznjak&Šmelev 2000). Actional Perfectives are opposed to Natural Perfectives that share their lexical meaning with a corresponding imperfective verb and to Specialized Perfectives that change the lexical meaning of the imperfective verb (Janda 2007). As pointed out by Isačenko (1960), Russian semelfactives are formed both via suffixation in *-nu-* (as in *čixnut'* 'sneeze once') and via prefixation in *s-* (as in *csxodit'* 'go someplace and come back once'). On the basis of an empirical study and statistical analysis, Dickey&Janda (2009) show that *-nu-* and *s-* behave as near-allomorphs in the formation of semelfactive verbs, since they are attracted to different verbal stems, which also differ in semantics. Thus, the two assumptions about the Russian semelfactives are that 1) perfectives containg *–nu-* singularize the action; 2) semelfactives can use either *–nu-* or *s-* as the derivational tool.

However, the Russian aspectual system is still dynamic. In modern Russian slang we find *–nu-* verbs with some verbal stems for which they were not attested before (Zaliznjak 1980), as in examples (1) and (2) below. These cases are remarkable in several ways: 1) they no longer actualize the 'do it once' semantics: example (1) expresses a general idea that such coins are rare; 2) they mostly appear in contexts where in standard Russian one would expect to find a Natural Perfective with *s-*, e.g. *sosčitat'* 'count-PFV' in (1) and *skorrektirovat'* 'correct-PFV' in (2); 3) in such verbs *–nu-* is attached to some semantic classes that should not combine well with the semelfactive semantics (Makarova&Janda 2009): in the Russian National Corpus verbs in (1) and (2) are marked as 'mental sphere', which is less compatible with the semelfactive type of actionality; 4) they are easily formed from the *–ova-* verbs that do not combine well with *–nu-* (see Dickey&Janda 2009): cf. *korrektirnut'* from *korrektirovat'* in example (2).

Cases like (1) and (2) can be treated as quasi-semelfactives performing the function of Natural Perfectives, often substituting Natural Perfectives with *s-*. To analyze this relatively new phenomenon we have checked how many of the 281 Russian Natural Perfectives with the prefix *s-* from the Exploring Emptiness database at the University of Tromsø (emptyprefixes.uit.no) have a *–nu-* correlate in Yandex search engine and we found that 47% of Natural Perfectives prefixed in *s-* can be replaced by a *–nu-* counterpart in slang.

The Internet data indicate that unlike traditional approach to Russian Aspect and Aktionsarten there are no strict boundaries between semelfectives and Natural Perfectives. The relatively common semantics of *–nu-* and *s-* makes them interchangeable in Russian slang. This tendency shows that Russian aspect is to a great extent a contextual phenomenon and further supports the idea expressed by Dickey&Janda (2009) that Russian aspect undergoes a change from a relatively objective category to a more subjective one. Their analysis thus requires a more complex treatment which takes into account the form, shifting semantics, as well as context.

(1) *Ja dumaju, ètix monetok po palcam **sčitnut'** možno*
'I think these coins can be counted on the fingers of one's hand'
(http://www.moifoto.ru/comment/foto-4825943.html)

(2) *Možete v ljuboj moment **korrektirnut'** pokazanija vasego sčetčika*
'You can correct the amount shown on the meter at any moment'
(http://dretun.ru/hardworking/ustanovka-s4et4ikov/#.UnFf9UIeZ94)

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Barbara Sonnenhauser
Point of view in pre-standardised Balkan Slavic vernacular narration: a discourse-diachronic perspective

The language of Balkan Slavic texts dating to the 17th to 19th centuries is characterized by a shift from Church Slavonic towards the vernacular. Besides the purely linguistic changes, there is one further important development to be observed: being less and less liturgical in character, these documents allow for the development of new genres. This can be observed in the changing role and function of the author: instead of being a mere translator or copyist, he now appears as person and personality in his own right. Other features indicating the change in genre are, as Petkanova-Toteva (1965) points out, the 'liveliness' of style, the interaction of author and reader and the 'psychologization' of the characters in the text. The aim of the present paper is to show that these changes are not only lexically reflected, but also on the morpho-syntactic level.

The common thread underlying the changes mentioned above can be summarized as the introduction of different points of view, most importantly the narrator's and the characters'. The morpho-syntactic expression of this explicit anchoring of narration and its relation to the development of genre is illustrated on the basis of three types of examples, focusing on their development over time and their genre-dependent usage: 1) usage patterns of the *l*-paraphrasis, 2) expression of direct and indirect speech, and 3) distribution and functional differentiation of *kako*, *če* and *da* as means to introduce complements of *verba percipiendi*, *cogitandi* and *dicendi*:

(1) *l*-paraphrasis
    One important feature of the Balkan Slavic *l*-periphrasis, distinguishing it from that of other Slavic languages, consists in the coding of an observer's position (cf. Sonnenhauser 2014) which may or may not coincide with the narrator. Therefore, these forms are typically used in genres where the narrator and his delineation from the characters in the text plays an important role (e.g. autobiographies or interpretations of biblical texts)

(2) (in)direct speech
    It can be observed that in the earliest *damaskini*, direct speech is introduced strictly in the order frame – quote, with SVO dominating in the frame. The main function is to present speech (cf., e.g., the discussion in Collins 1996). This alters over time; it is not only the structural order that changes, but also the verbs used to introduce direct speech. In addition, indirect speech is gaining ground. Both tendencies serve the function of anchoring reported speech to a specific point of view instead of merely presenting it. Again, these phenomena are to be expected in texts where the anchoring of narration becomes important.

(3) *kako, če, da*
    Complements of *verba percipiendi*, *cogitandi* and *dicendi* are introduced by *kako*, *če* and *da*, whereby the distribution of these means appears quite unsystematic at first glance. It will be investigated as to whether the factor 'point of view' can shed more light on their usage patterns and possible functional differences. One difference that seems to play a role in this respect is the distinction between the reference to events/states as a whole *vs.* the description of events/states as ongoing situation (cf. Grković-Major 2013 on *da* vs. *kako* in Serbian).

The developments sketched are illustrated on the basis of 17th/18th century *damaskini*, Sofronij Vračanski's *žitie* (1804) and his *Poučitelno evangelie* (1806) as well as excerpts from the *Pop Punčov sbornik* (1796) and Petăr Beron's *Riben bukvar* (1824).

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Barbara Sonnenhauser
Aspect and tense in Early New-Bulgarian complement clauses

The present paper is concerned with the usage of aspect and tense in past tense complement clauses of *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi* in 18th–19th century Bulgarian. 'Aspect' is understood in a wider sense to include not only the perfective/imperfective opposition, but also aorist and imperfect (as proposed, e.g. by Maslov 1959).

As regards complements of *verba dicendi*, Ivančev (1978) points out one important difference between OCS and contemporary Standard Bulgarian: whereas OCS allowed for aorist and imperfect in these contexts, they are largely excluded here in contemporary Standard Bulgarian. Ivančev relates this change to the emergence of the so-called 'renarrative' from perfect forms, which he assumes to have originated, on the one hand, in subordinate constructions in which the perfect expressed a past situation, and in reported speech constructions involving a *verbum dicendi* on the other hand. He then raises the question as to when aorist and imperfect ceased to be used in this type of complement clauses and began to be replaced by perfect forms. To this, one further question should be added: what might have been the factors conditioning and supporting this replacement.

In her study of 17th and 18th century *damaskini*, Demina (1960: 39) notes the preference of *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi* to take perfect forms in their complements. She explains this by the semantics of these verbs, which allow for the 'temporal characterization' of the embedded event description not only from the speaker's perspective but also from the character's. Obviously, thus, the possibility of deviating from the default (= speaker's) point of view seems to have attracted the usage of perfect forms in these contexts. Since the opposition and interaction of narrator and characters in the text became increasingly important in narratives from the late 16th century onwards, as Petkanova-Toteva (1965) shows, this morpho-syntactic development may have its functional motivation in the development of new genres.

Against this background, the present paper pursues a discourse-based account to the usage of aspect and tense in the complement of *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi*, regarding the choice of aspect and tense as one means to anchor narration to a specific point of view. Moreover, it will be shown how this discourse-pragmatic potential derives from the semantics of the respective forms.

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Elena Uryson
Semantics of the Russian Noun VNIMANIJE

Formally the Russian noun VNIMANIJE is a nomen actionis derived from the verb VNIMAT'
'to listen to somedody' or 'to listen and to react to somedody'. In modern Russian this verb is
stylistically marked (it is an elevated poetical word, perhaps becoming obsolete) however the
noun VNIMANIJE is neutral. A nomen actionis, by definition, denotes a situation; cf. RYT' 'to
dig' – RYTJO 'digging', VYRUBAT' (LES) 'to fell (trees)' – VYRUBKA (LESA) 'fell', etc.
One could expect that VNIMANIJE also denotes a situation and in some cases it does so; cf.
PROSHU VNIMANIJA 'I ask to listen to me'. But many collocations with this word (and it is
used mostly in collocations) are puzzles for semantic analysis. Cf. PRIVLECH' VNIMANIJE,
lit. 'to attract smb.'s listening'; USKOL'ZNUT' OT VNIMANIJA, lit. 'to slip from smb.'s
listening', etc. In such collocations verbs are slightly metaphoric, and it is obvious that
semantics of the noun VNIMANIJE is also modified. My goal is to describe this modification. I
will show that such collocations are quite systemic and can be explained in the context of
Moscow semantic school.

Russian nomina actionis can derive a predictable set of meanings [Apresjan 1974]. The noun
VNIMANIJE forms collocations as if it had a standard set of meanings typical to this class of
nouns. I believe that the word VNIMANIJE has a complex semantic structure: its potential
predictable meanings coexist in embryo in the frame of one actual meaning and each embryonic
meaning causes some specific collocations. I call this coexistence "not completed polysemy"
[Uryson 1998a]. Not completed polysemy shows itself in some peculiar features of compatibility
of the given word.

The question arises: why some Russian nomina actionis derive the set of meanings under
consideration while others have these meanings only in embryo? I will argue that the semantic
structure of the word VNIMANIJE is due to semantic analogy. But these meanings remain in
embryo due to strong pragmatic reasons. In this regard VNIMANIJE is similar to the noun
VZGLIAD 'look' derived from the verb VZGLIADYVAT' 'to look' [Uryson 1998b].

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Philipp Wasserscheidt

Continua in contact: construction grammar and bilingual speech

The last decades have witnessed a lively research on the linguistic outcome of bilingualism. This activity has also produced a proliferation of terms and approaches. Researchers in the area of bilingualism are interested in various types of code-mixing (Muysken 2005), loan translation (Backus & Dorleijn 2010), transfer/transference (Clyne 2003, Sarhimaa 1999) and foreign accent (Vieru et al. 2011), to name only a few. Attempts to unify at least some of these approaches, however, are seldom.

In this talk I want to present a constructionist model for bilingual language use which, by combining grammatical theoretical insights with psycholinguistic findings, is designed to overcome at least some of the problems bilingual language use poses. The core of the approach is construction grammar and related understandings of language developed in the works of Langacker (1987), Goldberg (1995), and Croft (2001). The overarching principle of construction grammar is that the whole linguistic system is comprised of more or less complex and schematic pairings of signifiers and significates, where meaning is strictly tied to form and a change in form signifies also a change in meaning (Stefanowitsch 2011).

Since structural issues of bilingualism are the outcome of language production, I suggest that there are at least two different mechanisms for the production of constructions: production of full constructions and imitation. The production of whole constructions constitutes the normal case and is unproblematic. Imitation, on the other hand, is a strategy, where phonological forms from language B are used to signify a complex semantic structure that is conventionalized only in language A. While the interpretation of an imitation is only possible with the knowledge of language A, the form of the imitation has to be sanctioned (cf. Langacker 1987) by existing constructions in language B.

Constructions vary in their degree of schematicity. On the lower end of this continuum we find fully specified constructions like compound nouns or idioms. More schematic constructions like derivational constructions or argument structure constructions in morphologically rich languages specify only a minimum of phonological content. On the upper end, we find constructions whose only formal characteristic is word order. This continuum of schematicity, I argue, parallels with other continua like borrowability scales or hierarchies of grammaticalization.

In this talk, I want to show on examples from various Serbian bilingual communities, how both strategies of full production and imitation interact with the degree of schematicity and

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complexity of a given construction. I argue that well-known contact phenomena like insertional code-switching, loan blends, morphemic transference or syntactic transference can be localized on this continuum of grammatical forms. For instance, the matrix-language described by Myers-Scotton (2007) can be reanalyzed as the production of a complete schematic construction from language A, while the constructions' slots remain free to be filled with elements from language B that fulfill the semantic and phonological requirements of the construction.

I will also draw parallels to other models of bilingual language use and argue that a constructionist approach with its holistic view provides a viable alternative to them that bears the potential for a unified account for contact phenomena.

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Daniel Weiss
Double / triple verbs in modern Russian from a constructional perspective

The juxtaposition of two or more grammatically identical verb forms such as *sidit-plačet* sit-PRS.3SG-weep-PRS.3SG 's/he is sitting and crying', *sjadem-podumaem* sit down-FUT.1PL-think-FUT.1PL 'we'll sit down and think' or *eš'-ne bespokoj'sja* eat-2SG.IMP not bother-2SG.IMP-REFL 'eat and do not bother' is a quirk of colloquial Russian, its only European parallels being attested in Finno-Ugric languages. It has rarely been studied, except by the applicant in four previous studies based on about 800 randomly collected tokens and devoted to such diverse aspects as time reference, negation, arguments shared by both verbs, the rise of idioms, grammaticalisation of the first component, possible paraphrases, etc. All these aspects are related to the overall distinction of different subtypes based on the continuum between prototype (semantic and prosodic merger of both verbal components denoting one single event) and prosodic/semantic twins. A fifth paper (2012) treated the construction as an instance of SVC (serial verb construction); moreover, parallels to similar constructions in Finno-Ugric languages spoken in European Russia were established. Since then, systematic data-driven and statistically supported synchronic research on double imperatives has been conducted. In two papers published in 2013, the results of the search for 2PL and 1PL in the Russian National Corpus ("Osnovnoj korpus") are examined according to the above-mentioned criteria. Additional criteria are provided by aspectually mixed pairs, inversion of V_1 and V_2, possible intermediate word forms between V_1 and V_2, the "pragmaticalisation" of the first component, the homonymy of 1PL forms (imperative vs. indicative) and the impact of disambiguating markers on their interpretation. The study on 2PL.IMP forms is currently being extended by including 2SG.IMP forms (3300 instances with juxtaposed verbs, 1100 instances with one intermediate word form).

The analysis of the imperative pairs revealed striking contrasts with the characteristics of the double verbs in the indicative or infinitive, to mention but the following: unusually low quota of nonprototypical DVs (<5%), unusually high rate of aspectually mixed pairs, pragmaticalisation of V_1. Moreover, 1PL differs radically from both 2SG and 2PL with regard to negation, lexical composition, inversion of V_1 and V_2, but above all it conveys a different (hortative) meaning by adding the speaker to the addressee(s). All this calls for a solution in terms of Construction Grammar: not only is the minimal criterion (formal and/or semantic non-compositionality) formulated by Goldberg 1995:4 met, but the interdependence of prosodic, morphological, syntactic and semantic features as described in Raxilina 2010: 20 ff. is also highly characteristic of the pairs or triplets of imperatives under scrutiny. Therefore I posit two different families of constructions (Croft 2009): one will encompass double imperatives in the second person (both SG and PL), the other – their counterparts in the 1PL.IMP.

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