

SCLC-2023

Book of Abstracts

Harvard University, Cambridge/Boston, Massachusetts

1-3 June 2023

The eighteenth conference of the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Association
(<https://slavic.fas.harvard.edu/scla>) SCLC-2023 presented by

The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures
The Provostial Fund Committee for the Arts and Humanities
The Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies
Harvard Language Center

at Harvard University (Cambridge/Boston, Massachusetts)
1-3 June 2023

Organizing committee

Mirjam Fried (Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic)
Mateusz-Milan Stanojević (University of Zagreb, Croatia)
Steven Clancy (Harvard University, USA)

Table of contents

Plenary lectures	1
Petar Milin, University of Birmingham, p.milin@bham.ac.uk	
A merger? Between learning in language and language in learning.....	2
Valentina Apresjan, Henan University, China; Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan; HSE University, Russia, valentina.apresjan@gmail.com	
Alexander Letuchiy, HSE University, Russia	
Dative – genitive competition in Russian (<i>kupit' Mashe</i> vs. <i>kupit' dlja Mashi</i>): a corpus study of semantic and syntactic distribution	4
Neil Bermel, University of Sheffield, n.bermel@sheffield.ac.uk	
What cognitive linguistics can tell us about unusual morphological paradigms	5
General session	6
Marija Brala Vukanović, University of Rijeka, marija.brala@ffri.uniri.hr	
Anita Memišević, University of Rijeka, amemisevic@ffri.uniri.hr	
The story of the Croatian <i>POD(-)</i> . A contribution to the cognitive linguistic analysis of prepositional and prefixal semantics.....	7
David S. Danaher, Slavic Studies, Department of German, Nordic, and Slavic, University of Wisconsin-Madison, dsdanaher@wisc.edu	
Lítost in Milan Kundera's <i>The Book of Laughter and Forgetting</i>	9
Stephen M. Dickey, University of Kansas, smd@ku.edu	
Kamila Saifeeva, University of Kansas, kamsaifeeva@ku.edu	
Introducing Russian Aspect in Conversation.....	11
Stephen M. Dickey, University of Kansas, smd@ku.edu	
Without Articles, Two Concepts are Better Than One for Definite/Specific Reference..	13
Masako Fidler, Brown University, masako_fidler@brown.edu	
Václav Cvrček, Charles University, vaclav.cvrcek@ff.cuni.cz	
Discourse profiling of East-West in Czech journalistic texts	15
Maja Glušac, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, mglusac@ffos.hr	
Ana Mikić Čolić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, amikic@ffos.hr	
Primjena kognitivnolingvističkih spoznaja u hrvatskoj normativistici.....	17
Chul Hyun Hwang, University of Kansas, chhwang@ku.edu	
<i>Tošnit'</i> vs. <i>tošno</i> , <i>dušit'</i> vs. <i>dušno</i> : a corpus analysis	19
Alina Israeli, American University, aisrael@american.edu	
Semantic taxonomy of the verb <i>мочь</i>	21
Laura A. Janda, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, laura.janda@uit.no	
Anna Endresen, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, anna.endresen@uit.no	
Valentina Zhukova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, valentina.a.zhukova@uit.no	
Reduplication in the ecosystem of Russian constructions	23
Gavrielle Lent, University of Wisconsin – Madison, rlent@wisc.edu	
A Corpus Approach to Understanding Seasonal Metaphors in <i>Yevgeny Onegin</i>	25
Dominik Lukeš, University of Oxford, Dominik.Lukes@ox.ac.uk	
How to actually teach Czech aspect constructionally: Practical lessons from a theoretical enterprise.....	27
Pavel Machač, Charles University, Pavel.Machac@ff.cuni.cz	
Mirjam Fried, Charles University, Mirjam.Fried@ff.cuni.cz	
Speech reductions and intelligibility in relation to utterance organization in Czech conversations.....	29
Anastasia Makarova, Uppsala University, anastasia.makarova@moderna.uu.se	

Tore Nessel, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, tore.nessel@uit.no	
Laura A. Janda, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, laura.janda@uit.no	
Is security uniform across Slavic?	31
Світлана Мартінек,, Львівський національний університет ім. Івана Франка, s.v.martinek@gmail.com	
Опозиція СВІЙ–ЧУЖИЙ у свідомості носіїв української мови	33
Mihaela Matešić, University of Rijeka, mihaela.matesic@ffri.uniri.hr	
Anita Memišević, University of Rijeka, amemisevic@ffri.uniri.hr	
How semantics of prefixes and root words affect syllabification	35
Tore Nessel, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, tore.nessel@uit.no	
Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no	
Martina Björklund, Åbo Akademi University, Martina.Bjorklund@abo.fi	
<i>Specprezentacija</i> : A cognitive approach to the morphological construction <i>spec-N</i> in Russian	37
Marina Nikolić, Institut za srpski jezik SANU, Beograd, marinanikolic769@gmail.com	
Leksika sa semantičkom komponentom prostora i vremena u srpskom javnom diskursu tokom pandemije kovida	39
Anna Obukhova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, anna.obukhova@uit.no	
Svalbard (Spitsbergen) in Russian media: identifying associations and narratives through Market Basket Analysis	41
Anita Peti-Stantić, University of Zagreb, anita.peti-stantic@ffzg.hr	
Social construction of an abstract lexicon	43
Kamila Saifeeva, University of Kansas, kamsaifeeva@ku.edu	
(Sure), Go Ahead, (But): Levels of Approval and Russian Imperatives	45
Viktor Slamnig, slamnig.viktor@gmail.com	
Mateusz-Milan Stanojević, University of Zagreb, mmstanoje@ffzg.hr	
Professional locative preposition drop in Croatian: playing in Zagreb vs. playing Zagreb	47
Filip Smolík, Charles University, Institute of Psychology CAS, smolik@praha.psu.cas.cz	
Word imageability facilitates lexical and morphological processing and acquisition	49
Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no	
Sandra Birzer, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, sandra.birzer@uni-bamberg.de	
Aleksandra Ignatieva, University of Bergen, ignateva.sanya@gmail.com	
Elizaveta Kibisova, University of Oslo, elizaveta.kibisova@ilos.uio.no	
A usage-based approach to morphological variation: The choice of suffix in Russian loan verbs	51
Aneta Stojić, University of Rijeka, aneta.stojic@ffri.uniri.hr	
Mihaela Matešić, University of Rijeka, mihaela.matesic@ffri.uniri.hr	
Metaphorical potential of lexical collocations: the case of the noun <i>prilika</i>	53
Irene Testini, University of Birmingham and Cardiff University, TestiniI@cardiff.ac.uk	
Petar Milin, University of Birmingham, p.milin@bham.ac.uk	
Dagmar Divjak, University of Birmingham, d.divjak@bham.ac.uk	
On the learnability of aspect: a case study on Polish	55
Jelena Tušek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, jtusek@ffzg	
Jelena Parizoska, Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Zagreb, jelena.parizoska@ufzg.hr	
Gradability of figurative meanings of Croatian ingesting verbs	57
Zhamaletdinova Elmira, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, e.zhamaletdinova@uit.no	
How to request permission in Slavic languages? A comparative corpus-based study of	

modal constructions used in speech acts of request.....	59
Valentina Zhukova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, valentina.a.zhukova@uit.no	
Workshop	63
CLEAR group, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, https://site.uit.no/clear/	
New digital pedagogical tools for teaching L2 Russian	64
Elena Bjørgve, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, elena.bjorgve@uit.no	
Elmira Zhamaletdinova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, e.zhamaletdinova@uit.no	
Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no	
Daria Kosheleva, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, daria.kosheleva@uit.no	
<i>My Russian Journey: New Teaching Practices for Elementary Russian</i>	65
Daria Demidova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, dashademidova1998@gmail.com	
Georgy Lonshakov, University of Trento, Italy, gglonshakov@gmail.com	
Gamification targeting high-frequency wordforms in Russian language learning	67
Anna Endresen, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, anna.endresen@uit.no	
Valentina Zhukova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, valentina.a.zhukova@uit.no	
<i>Construxercise!:</i> how to implement a construction-based approach to language pedagogy	69

Plenary lectures

A merger? Between learning in language and language in learning

Cognitive linguistics is characterised by the commitment to provide a description of language in all its richness and diversity that is in accord with knowledge about general cognitive structures and functions. Many hypothetical constructs originating in psychology, like our abilities to categorise, are readily embraced in cognitive linguistic theorising. Similarly, gestalt principles of perception provide elegant explanatory parallels for the communicative powers of natural languages. Even the most basic principle of *emergence from usage* appears to be perfectly aligned with psychologists' presumption that any cognitive structure and/or function must engage with input, to be shaped by it and to shape it in return.

In my talk I will present the work I am doing with the Out Of Our Minds team [<https://outofourminds.bham.ac.uk/>]. Like Sherlock Holmes' famous deduction from absence in *The Adventure of Silver Blaze*, our research programme begins from the "curious incident" of the absence of a cognitive function that would be a natural mechanism for emergence. Thus, we propose to operationalize emergence through learning: this is a fruit-bearing merger of a foundational linguistic postulate and a foundational psychological function, which will, we believe, ignite a step-change in how we think and study both. Linguists' work, in a sense, starts from the end-result of the process of emergence – abstractions that are assumed as necessary and sufficient. Psychologists are interested in the processes themselves. From a Complex Systems perspective, however, it is immensely helpful to know the trajectory to be able to understand the end-state. Equally so, knowing where the system needs to dock is critical to setting the right constraints on the process of arriving to the right place. Practically put, the linguist can propose abstractions that ought to emerge, and the psychologist can test if they are learnable in a cognitively plausible way. Refutation challenges both parties: the linguistic construct, and the psychological mechanism. And so the process continues.

In two case studies, one on Serbian nominal paradigms and another on Polish verbal aspect, I will present our methodological approach, which combines corpus analysis, computational modelling, and experimentation. The former study on nominal paradigms shows that bottom-up, form-related information makes a significant contribution to explaining how native readers' read two consecutive nouns in a naturalistic sentential context: depending on whether the nouns belong to the same or to different declension classes, reading behaviour differs, suggesting awareness of constellations of forms, akin to paradigms, nouns can take part in. The latter study on verbal aspect revealed that aspect usage is guided by lexical and temporal

information: so few events occur in both aspectual forms that an abstract concept of aspect becomes an unlikely candidate to arise based on usage.

I will argue that corpus analysis and computational modelling of learning can constrain and aid one another productively, to advance our understanding of both (a) necessary and sufficient linguistic abstractions, on the one hand, and (b) a necessary and sufficient mechanism of learning, on the other hand. These converging insights can aid the formulation of experimentally testable hypotheses further. I will conclude with a question: shouldn't we change our research approach to language and to cognition, by joining forces, by relying on mutually complementary theories, with shared testable hypotheses, and intertwined methodologies?

Valentina Apresjan, Henan University, China; Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan; HSE
University, Russia, valentina.apresjan@gmail.com

Alexander Letuchiy, HSE University, Russia

Dative – genitive competition in Russian (*kupit' Mashe* vs. *kupit' dlja Mashi*): a corpus study of semantic and syntactic distribution

The talk discusses the distribution of the dative case and prepositional phrases with *dlja* ‘for’ in Russian verbs (*kupit'* ‘buy’, *postroit'* ‘build’) and predicatives (*udivitel'no* ‘[it is] surprising’, *xolodno* ‘[it is] cold’). As the corpus study demonstrates, verbs allow dative/genitive variation with non-actantial beneficiaries, such as *kupit' komu-to* ‘buy sb.DAT’ vs. *kupit' dlja kogo-to* ‘buy for sb.GEN’. However, if benefactive dative is a verbal argument, such variation is impossible: *pomogat' komu-to* ‘to help sb.DAT’ cannot be expressed with *dlja* (**pomogat' dlja kogo-to* ‘to help for sb.’ is infelicitous). With predicatives, dative and *dlja*-phrase may alternate in the experiencer role: *Mne tut xolodno* ‘I am cold here; lit. I.DAT here cold’ vs. *Dlja menja tut xolodno* ‘It’s cold for me here; lit. for I.GEN here cold’. However, not all predicatives allow variation: their combinability with *dlja*-phrase depends on their semantic properties. When both options are available, dative-marked phrases are in semantic and syntactic distribution with *dlja*-marked phrases. On the whole, dative-marked arguments gravitate towards specific reference and clear-cut semantic roles (immediate beneficiaries for verbs and experiencers for predicatives), whereas *dlja*-phrases are often non-referential and express genericity, as well as somewhat “bleached” semantic roles (remote beneficiaries for verbs and “evaluators” or “restrictors” for predicatives). This opposition explains their syntactic properties, i.e. the preference for dative with verbs and predicatives, as well as the advantage of *dlja*-marking with syntactic heads that do not have a full-fledged argument structure (nouns and adjectives).

What cognitive linguistics can tell us about unusual morphological paradigms

Two kinds of slots in a morphological paradigm signal an unexpected outcome. We may find that native speakers produce two or more possible forms for a single lexeme (*overabundance*, as in Czech *na hradě/na hradu* ‘at the castle’), or hesitate to produce any (*defectivity*, as in Russian победить ‘to be victorious’: завтра я....? ‘tomorrow I [will be victorious])). Most linguistic theories implicitly assume that each form matches a function: we expect the distribution of morphological forms either to be dictated by syntax (in generative approaches) or the weight of constructional context (in CL), resulting in a single suitable form produced for each lexeme at each juncture. When this goes awry, how can we explain it?

In this talk, I will examine some data from Czech native speakers, based on a study that drew on corpora and handbooks to identify defective and overabundant slots. I will suggest that cognitive approaches are reasonably well-placed to explain these deviations, especially if we treat overabundance and defectivity as related and overlapping processes. We may need to abandon some implicit assumptions about how single schemas (functions) map onto single realizations (forms) isomorphically, but with some tweaks, traditional CL concepts such as entrenchment and pre-emption can be adjusted to allow for the possibility of *multiple entrenched forms* and *pre-emption without entrenchment*, thereby explaining our renegade phenomena.

General session

Marija Brala Vukanović, University of Rijeka, marija.brala@ffri.uniri.hr

Anita Memišević, University of Rijeka, amemisevic@ffri.uniri.hr

The story of the Croatian *POD*(-). A contribution to the cognitive linguistic analysis of prepositional and prefixal semantics

Departing from extant cognitive semantic analyses of the Croatian preposition ‘pod’, the focus of the paper is on the semantics of the Croatian prefix ‘pod-’, or, more specifically, on its contribution to the verbal semantics and the resulting network of senses realized by all the pod-prefixed verbs in standard Croatian. We first offer a brief overview of the extant analyses of the preposition ‘pod’ and its cognate prefix ‘pod-’ in Croatian and, marginally, other Slavic languages. Next, we propose a detailed and systematic syntactico-semantic analysis of all the Croatian pod- prefixed verbs. This, in turn, leads to a finely grained semantically motivated network of the senses of pod-. The network is developed within the cognitive linguistic paradigm. By final analysis, we try and relate our findings to a number of universal semantic features previously recognized as being lexicalized by a set of Croatian verticality prepositions (described in Brala 2008; Matovac, 2017), and the extensional principles realized in the VERTICAL and HORIZONTAL axes (described in Brala-Vukanović and Memišević 2018), with the feature of CONTACT being centrally prominent in the analysis. The central hypothesis of the paper is that the network of meanings of the Croatian prefix ‘pod-’ is based on the same structural elements (semantic atoms) and follows same extensional principles as analogous networks that have already been developed for, e.g., the Croatian prefixes ‘do-’, ‘od-’, and ‘nad-’ (see Belaj, 2008; Šaarić, 2014), but also in the analysis of the Croatian preposition ‘pod’. In ultimate analysis our goal is twofold: 1) to see whether there exists a parallel between the lexicalization patterns realized in the closed class forms on the horizontal and vertical axis, and 2) to see whether a ‘superposition’ of conclusions drawn from the cognitive semantic analysis of (spatial) prepositions and their prefixal cognates, might yield a clearer insight into not just semantic universals but also, possibly, a better understanding of cognitive (linguistic) universals.

References:

- Belaj, Branimir 2008. *Jezik, prostor i konceptualizacija: Shematična značenja hrvatskih glagolskih prefiksa*. Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet.
- Brala, Maja 2008. “Applying Cognitive Linguistics to Pedagogical grammar: The Croatian

- Prepositions of Verticality”. In *Bosnisch, Kroatisch und Serbisch als Fremdsprachen an den Universitäten der Welt*, edited by Biljana Golubović and Jochen Raecke. 19-29. Muenchen: Verlag Otto Sagner.
- Brala-Vukanović, Marija and Anita Memišević. 2018. “A cognitive semantico-syntactic analysis of the Croatian verbal prefix nad-“. In *Language in research and teaching: proceedings from the CALS Conference 2016*, edited by Marija Brala Vukanović and Anita Memišević. 99-114. Berlin: Peter Lang GmbH.
- Matovac, Darko. 2017. *Prijedlozi u hrvatskome jeziku: Značenje, prostorni odnosi i konceptualizacija*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Šarić, Ljiljana 2008. *Spatial Concepts in Slavic: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Prepositions and Cases*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

Lítost in Milan Kundera's *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*

The fifth part of Kundera's novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (*BLF*) is titled *Lítost*, a word that is usually translated into English as "regret, pity, remorse." Although much has been written about Kundera's use of this emotion concept as a key word in *BLF*, his implication that *lítost* may serve as an existential category necessary to make sense of modern human identity and his insistence on preserving the Czech word in translations of the book (see, for example, Hulme 2018, Woods 2006, and Chvatík 1994), scholars have yet to grapple with the implications of how Kundera's novelistic exposition of the word's meaning represents a distortion of baseline usage as evidenced by written data (taken from the SYN series) in the Czech National Corpus (CNC). In *BLF*, Kundera provides the reader with cognitive scenarios in the form of micro-narratives that supposedly illustrate the emotion at work, and the narrator also engages in meta-discussions of the emotion's meaning. As I will demonstrate, however, corpus analysis of *lítost*'s usage with a general cognitive-linguistics framework in mind suggests a significantly different portrait of the word than is evident in *BLF*. Returning to the text with the baseline usage mapped out yields insights into the aesthetics of the text and also better positions us to respond to Kundera's provocation concerning *lítost* as a category of existence.

I will present a corpus analysis of the word's usage along the following parameters: translation pathways into English (using the CNC's Treq tool), frequency of usage by genre, and collocational data that illustrates usage patterns (scenarios in which the emotion is used, its relation to other emotion concepts, physiological manifestations, and patterns of conceptual metaphor associated with it). I will then compare this portrait of the word's usage to Kundera's exposition in *BLF*.

Given that any study of Kundera's texts requires comparing textual variants across at least three language (Czech, English, and French) and given the multiplicity of variants within two of those languages (Czech and English), I take into account five textual variants: the original Czech text (published in 1981 by the exile press Sixty-Eight Publishers), Heim's 1980 English translation (that Kundera objected to given Heim's glossing of *lítost*), Asher's 1994 English translation (endorsed by Kundera), the 2011 French translation (that Kundera considers a definitive version), and the 2017 revised Czech edition. I will note suggestive differences between these variants, and I will focus on the implications of one intriguing point of difference

for our reading of the work, specifically metaphorical usage related to the phrase “vzpříčení lítosti” (the original Czech version), “impacted lítost” (Heim), “*litost* block” (Asher), “un blocage de la *litost*” (the 2011 French version), and “zablokovaná lítost” (the 2017 edition).

References

Chvatík, Květoslav. *Svět románů Milana Kundery*. Brno: Atlantis, 1994.

Hulme, Harriet. *Ethics and Aesthetics of Translation: Exploring the Work of Atxaga, Kundera and Semprún*. London: UCL Press, 2018.

Woods, Michelle. *Translating Milan Kundera*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2006.

Stephen M. Dickey, University of Kansas, smd@ku.edu

Kamila Saifeeva, University of Kansas, kamsaifeeva@ku.edu

Introducing Russian Aspect in Conversation

This presentation introduces a new open-access online textbook for Russian verbal aspect, *Russian Aspect in Conversation (RAIC)*, which is intended for students at the ACTFL Intermediate-Mid or Advanced level (and beyond).

The structure of *RAIC* is as follows. After a brief introduction and some notes and suggestions for instructors, part 1 reviews the basics of aspectual morphology (focusing on derived imperfectives). Part 2 covers some basics of usage, aiming to make students comfortable with the fact that imperfective verbs can and do refer to single completed actions. The subsequent three parts (parts 3, 4, 5) are the heart of the content. Part 3 (containing 5 modules) focuses on aspect in the infinitive; part 4 (containing 7 modules) takes up aspect in imperatives; part 5 (containing 10 modules) focuses on imperfective statements of fact in the past tense. Each of these parts aims to guide students to acquiring a comfort level with imperfective verbs referring to single completed/completable actions in their respective areas of usage.

RAIC is in a very basic way aligned with Processing Instruction (Lee & Van Patten 2003), and does not present explanations of the mechanics of aspectual usage prior to the exercises. Rather, it tries to guide students with structured input, in the form of exercises that consist of (ordinarily) six mini-dialogues (sometimes monologic sentences) in Russian accompanied by three or four statements in English, of which the students need to select those that describe the attitude of the speaker or speaker-listener dynamic. Then the students choose from among three to four statements those that generalize what is going on in the dialogues. This structure repeats as necessary to cover the factors relevant to the usage at hand, with exercises that cover imperfective and perfective usage alternating. At the end of every module is a more active choice exercise, consisting of between 10 to 16 mini-dialogues. This structure repeats for most of the modules. An afterword at the end relates the material covered in the modules to the theory of Russian aspectual usage offered by Dickey (2018).

The presentation further discusses the development of the textbook, its theoretical underpinnings, and some problems encountered along the way, finishing with some important insights gained during the work (some of these are discussed in another presentation, Saifeeva SCLA 2023 conference paper).

References

- Dickey, Stephen M. 2018. "Thoughts on the 'Typology of Slavic Aspect'." *Russian Linguistics* 42(1): 69–103.
- Dickey, Stephen M. 2020. "Time Out of Tense: Russian Aspect in the Imperative." *Journal of Linguistics* 56(3): 541–576.
- Saifeeva, Kamila. SCLA 2023 conference paper. "(Sure), Go Ahead, (But): Levels of Approval and Russian Imperatives."
- Lee, James F., & Van Patten, Bill. 2003. *Making Communicative Language Teaching Happen* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Without Articles, Two Concepts are Better Than One for Definite/Specific Reference

This paper argues that N&N constructions and two kinds of perfective verbs (the East Slavic perfective and the Mandarin Chinese perfective including resultative verb compounds, or RVCs) are conspecific in that they represent two kinds of *conceptual conjunction*, which I take to be a strategy for definite/specific reference across languages without specific markers (e.g., articles).

N&N constructions in English and other languages, e.g., *Goblet and spoon were set on the right of the plate* tend to have definite reference (= ‘the goblet and the spoon...’; Le Bruyn and de Swart 2014). Conjunction is necessary for singular bare nouns to refer, cf. **Goblet was set on the right of the plate*. Though N&N constructions need not refer definitely, they have a strong tendency to.

The perfective aspect in Russian and Mandarin Chinese also arguably fits the pattern of conceptual conjunction analogously to N&N constructions, and with analogous referential effects. De Wit and Dickey (in press) have analyzed the perfective in both languages as expressing *epistemic contiguity*; that is, the perfective in one way or another links one situation to another. Slavic perfective verbs originally combined a trajectory (e.g., *na-* ‘onto’) and a lexical verb (e.g., *pisat’* ‘write’). Such perfectives, however, had only a weak tendency for unique reference (in OCS and modern Czech perfective verbs occur to refer to repeated events and in indefinite statements of fact). However, later grammaticalization (based on the despatialization of the prefix *po-*) resulted in Russian perfective verbs referring to a situation (e.g., a writing event) as well as some other unspecified situation(s) recoverable in the discourse (cf. Dickey 2018, de Wit and Dickey in press, and Zel’dovič 2002), which has produced a strong tendency for Russian perfective verbs to refer to a unique situation in a context.

Mandarin Chinese perfective *-le* functions in a similar fashion (de Wit and Dickey in press). Mandarin Chinese RVCs work somewhat differently, combining two lexical units, verb + verb/adjective (e.g., *chàng-hóng* ‘sing-popular’ = ‘sing something so that it becomes popular’), cf. Yu (2018). RVCs almost invariably refer to unique and therefore specific/definite actions in a context.

The pragmatic effect of conceptual conjunction is as follows: single bare nouns (e.g., *goblet*) are referentially very vague, whereas conjoined lexical items (e.g., *goblet and spoon*),

are inherently bounded vis-à-vis one another, and have a higher probability of referring to only one relevant combination in a discourse context. Similarly, simplex verbs (e.g., *pisat'* ‘write’ or *chàng* ‘sing’) are referentially vague, whereas perfectives (e.g., *napisat'* ‘write’, *chàng-hóng* ‘sing-popular’) link one situation to another in various ways with the attendant mutual boundedness, and have a lower probability of referring to more than one relevant combination in a discourse context.

References

- De Wit, Astrid and Stephen M. Dickey. In press. “An Epistemic Approach to Aspectual Systems—English, Russian and Beyond”. In *Beyond Aspectual Semantics: Explorations in the Pragmatic and Cognitive Realms of Aspect*, edited by Astrid de Wit et al. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dickey, Stephen M. 2018. “Thoughts on the ‘Typology of Slavic Aspect’.” *Russian Linguistics* 42(1): 69–103.
- Le Bruyn, Bert, and de Swart, Henriëtte. 2014. “Bare Coordination: the Semantic Shift”. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32: 1205–1246.
- Yu, Shuo. 2018. Resultative Constructions in Mandarin Chinese from the Perspective of Construction Grammar: A Cognitive-Typological View. PhD dissertation, Lancaster University.
- Zel’dovič, Gennadij. 2002. *Russkij vid: Semantika i pragmatika*. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika.

Masako Fidler, Brown University, masako_fidler@brown.edu

Václav Cvrček, Charles University, vaclav.cvrcek@ff.cuni.cz

Discourse profiling of East-West in Czech journalistic texts

This study is an attempt to capture discourse conceptualization of the words “East” and “West” (*V|východ*, *Z|západ*) over time in Czech mainstream printed journalism by applying the cognitive linguistic notions of profiling and domain to the level of discourse. Langacker observes that “semantic units are characterized relative to cognitive domains”, which can be multifaceted, e.g., “any concept or knowledge system” (1987: 63; 2008: 44).

Currently, discourse conceptualization of a word is commonly studied using collocation analysis (e.g., Partington & Duguid 2013, 307, 315; Heritage & Baker 2022, 443; Philip 2011, 26, 64), which shows how a word is used in the immediate context. This approach can be conceived as profiling of a word against the background of adjacent text. Collocation analysis, however, may miss important links between the word in question and concepts that recur in non-adjacent parts of the same texts throughout the entire discourse (corpus). We argue that discourse conceptualization of a word should also examine how a word is profiled against the background of a larger text-level domain by interpreting the results from Market Basket Analysis (MBA) (proposed by Cvrček and Fidler 2022). MBA takes keyword lists (one per each text in the corpus) and determines the likelihood of co-occurrence with other keywords in the same text (e.g., whenever a Czech mainstream journalistic text contains a keyword “migrant” it will most certainly also contain a keyword “boat” or “Africa”). It can also illuminate the ideological differences between groups of media portals (Fidler and Cvrček in preparation).

In this presentation we examine the seed words East and West using two methods. We contrast the collocation profile and the associative links of the seed words established via MBA at two points in time (one in the 1990s and the other in the 2010s). We discuss what the two approaches reveal about the discourse conceptualization of the seed words profiled against the two different types of cognitive domains. We anticipate that the notions of profiling and domain, extended to both the narrower and wider levels of discourse, would yield different and complementary results and would produce a well-balanced conceptualization of a word in discourse in contrast to a single method of collocation analysis.

References

Alan Partington, Alison Duguid, Charlotte Taylor. 2013. *Patterns and Meanings in*

- Discourse: Theory and Practice in Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)*. Studies in Corpus Linguistics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cvrček, Václav and Masako Fidler. 2022. "No Keyword is an Island: in Search of Covert Associations." *Corpora* 17, no. 2 (August): 259-290.
- Heritage, Frazer, and Paul Baker. 2022. "Crime or Culture? Representations of Chemsex in the British Press and Magazines Aimed at LGBTQ+ Men." *Critical Discourse Studies* 19, no. 4: 435–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2021.1910052>.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol 1: Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*. Oxford UP.
- Philip, Gill. 2011. *Colouring Meaning: Collocation and Connotation in Figurative Language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

*Maja Glušac, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer University
of Osijek, mglusac@ffos.hr*

*Ana Mikić Čolić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Josip Juraj Strossmayer
University of Osijek, amikic@ffos.hr*

Primjena kognitivnolingvističkih spoznaja u hrvatskoj normativistici

Cilj je ovoga rada utvrditi važnost primjene kognitivnolingvističkih spoznaja u normativnim određenjima, što je u hrvatskome jezikoslovlju iznimno rijetko (usp. Belaj, 2023). Navedeno će biti oprimjereno na opisu uporabe genitivnog prijedloga *kod* i normiranju uporabe pojedinih prijedložnih izraza s tim prijedlogom u hrvatskim gramatikama.

Problemi se detektiraju već u samom pristupu prijedlozima jer se u većini hrvatskih gramatika prijedlozi opisuju kao riječi koje nemaju leksičko značenje te se naglašuje njihovo gramatičko, sintaktičko značenje izricanja odnosa među dijelovima sintagme (npr. Babić i dr., 1991: 724; Barić i dr., 1997: 277). U okviru kognitivnolingvističkih pristupa prijedlozi se opisuju kao višeznačne jezične jedinice čija značenja čine motiviranu i strukturiranu značenjsku mrežu (Šarić, 2008). Između mišljenja da prijedlozi imaju samo gramatičko značenje i onoga da nema riječi bez leksičkoga značenja u hrvatskome jezikoslovlju nalazimo i opise prema kojima je leksičko značenje prijedloga „na neki način sliveno s njihovim gramatičkim značenjem“ (Pranjeković, 2002: 12). Pođe li se od pretpostavke da prijedlozi imaju leksičko značenje te da im je, prema lokalističkoj teoriji padeža, osnovno značenje prostorno, metaforičkim se proširenjima i prijenosima dokazuje da se iz prostornog značenja najprije razvilo vremensko značenje, a onda i druga apstraktnija značenja.

Mreža je genitivnih značenja vrlo razgranata, a različita se specifična značenja mogu prepoznati iz uporabnih konteksta u kojima se genitiv ostvaruje, odnosno iz naravi odnosa genitivnih referenata i različitih padežnih pridruživača. Sva se pak specifična genitivna značenja na predodžbenoj razini mogu uklopiti u shematični koncept *ishodišta*. U slučaju kodiranja prostornih odnosa izrazima *kod* + *genitiv* vanjski promatrač locira trajektor s obzirom na poznati orijentir kao *konceptualno ishodište*, tj. referentnu točku u odnosu na koju se određuje stalan položaj statičnog trajektora koji je otprije poznat. Prijedlogu *kod* inherentno je u prototipnom prostornom kontekstu značenje adlokativnosti, npr. *Sastat ćemo se kod pošte*. Česta su i metaforička preslikavanja prostornog odnosa na vremenske odnose metaforičkim lociranjem trajektora na vremenskoj osi, npr. *Griješio je kod zbrajanja*. Prijedložni izrazi s prijedlogom *kod* bit će analizirani u korpusu *hrWac* te će se kvantitativnom i kvalitativnom

analizom potvrditi njihova uporaba u različitim značenjima, osobito pri kodiranju vremenskih odnosa, koji se pak u hrvatskoj normativnoj literaturi proskribiraju ili se pak navode kao obilježje administrativnog stila (Silić, Pranjković, 2005: 213) te se normativno preporučuje zamjena drugim prijedlozima. Ovim će se radom stoga izdvojiti i analizirati proskribirana značenja izraza *kod* + *genitiv* koja će se objasniti s kognitivnosemantičkoga stajališta i time dokazati potreba revidiranja pojedinih normativnih određenja u hrvatskim gramatikama.

Literatura

- Babić, S. et al. 1991. Povijesni pregled, glasovi i oblici hrvatskoga književnog jezika, HAZU, Globus, Zagreb
- Barić, E. et al. 1997. *Hrvatska gramatika*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb
- Belaj, B. 2023. *Kognitivna lingvistika i hrvatski jezik*, Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku, Osijek (u tisku)
- Šarić, Lj. 2008. *Spatial Concepts in Slavic. A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Prepositions and Case*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Pranjković, I. 2002. *Hrvatska skladnja. Rasprave iz sintakse hrvatskoga standardnog jezika*, Zagreb, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada
- Silić, J.; Pranjković, I. 2005. *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika za gimnazije i visoka učilišta*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb

Tošnit' vs. *tošno*, *dušit'* vs. *dušno*: a corpus analysis

This paper investigates Russian rival constructions of the type *tošnilo* [ACC] and *tošno* [DAT]. These constructions are often considered synonymous by Russian dictionaries and more or less so by Russian speakers. However, *tošnit'* occurs in an active transitive impersonal construction with an accusative patient (cf. Schlund 2020). In contrast, *tošno* occurs in an impersonal construction with a dative experiencer. The goal of this paper is to determine the difference between the two types of construction.

For this purpose a corpus study was undertaken, using data from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) and a statistical analysis. As such pairs of verbs and adverbs are not common two pairs were considered: *tošnit'* [ACC] vs. *tošno* [DAT] and *dušit'* [ACC] vs. *dušno* [DAT]. The hypothesis adopted here was that the respective verbs with an accusative patient profile a physical state, whereas the adverbs with a dative complement profile a mental state. This involves whether the stimulus (expressed by a prepositional phrase with *ot*) is physical or mental. The hypothesis was tested using the chi-squared test, because the data involves a binary distribution based on binary factors – physical vs. mental stimulus, and verb + ACC vs. adverb + DAT.

Fifty instances were randomly chosen from RNC for each construction: *tošnit'* [ACC], *tošno* [DAT], *dušit'* [ACC], and *dušno* [DAT]. The chi-squared test shows that there is a significant influence of the type of state on the choice between the rival forms *tošnit'* vs. *tošno*, ($\chi^2 = 67.521$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$) with a strong effect size ($\phi = 0.581$), and a significant influence of the type of stimulus on the choice between the rival forms *tošnit'* vs. *tošno*. ($\chi^2 = 12.543$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0004$) with a modest effect size ($\phi = 0.354$). The physical event prefers the impersonal accusative construction with the verb *tošnit'* and the mental event prefers to be in the impersonal dative construction with the predicate *tošno*. When the stimulus is physical, the impersonal accusative construction was preferred and when the stimulus is mental, the impersonal dative construction was preferred as suggested in examples (1a) and (1b).

(1a) *Čistoplotnogo čeloveka tošnit i korčit ot grjazi, ...*

(1b) *Ej stalo neprijatno i tošno ot žalosti k nemu.*

In contrast, *dušit'* and *dušno* did not show any significance neither between the type of state and the choice between *dušit'* vs. *dušno*, or between the source of the event and the choice

between *dušit'* vs. *dušno*. A possible hypothesis that can explain the difference between *dušit'*/*dušno* compared to *tošnit'*/*tošno* is the difference in the construction profile of the verbs. *Dušit'* is dominantly used in a transitive construction, which is very rare for *tošnit'*. Different semantic profiling is another possibility, both *dušit'* and *dušno* was used with physical and mental meaning in a similar degree.

References

Schlund, Katrin. "Active Transitive Impersonals in Slavic and beyond: A Parallel Corpus Analysis." *Russian Linguistics* 44, no. 1 (2020): 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11185-020-09221-2>.

Semantic taxonomy of the verb *мочь*

The verb *мочь* is uniformly considered as modal. Summarizing the existing literature, Popova (2006) states that *мочь* has two basic meanings: a) ability, and b) possibility, which in turn is subdivided into subjective, subjective-objective, and objective. Vaulina & Magdalinskaja (2014) suggest that *мочь* has four possible meanings: a) to have the opportunity to perform V, b) to have the right to perform V, c) to be in the condition to perform V, and d) to have the ability to perform V. Their discussion and examples intermix positive and negative, present and past, and perfective and imperfective under the same rubric. I suggest that these have to be proven separately: present and past may or may not carry the same meanings. The same is true for the other binary oppositions.

The paper proposes to create a semantic taxonomy of the verb *мочь*. I argue that present 3rd person *может* has at least six meanings: 1) P(articipant) has the ability or skill to perform V (*может доказать*), 2) S(peaker) gives P permission to do V or suggests that P do V (*может написать мне*), 3) S surmises P's state (in Vendler's sense) or whereabouts (*может гулять*), 4) S fears about P performing V and its possible, likely negative, consequences (*может утонуть*), 5) S states that P thinks that he has the right to do V (*может наказать*), and finally 6) S gives P permission directly or indirectly to begin V (*может войти, может наливать*).

Some of these meanings clearly do not translate into the past tense. For example, for meaning 6:

(Я говорю:) Ваня может начинать.

(Я говорю:) ? Ваня мог начинать.

Or for meaning 3 the past tense is possible, but the perfective is not:

Он может знать где книга / доказательство теоремы.

Он мог знать где книга / доказательство теоремы.

* Он сможет / смог знать где книга / доказательство теоремы.

The negative for meaning 2 changes the suggestive to expression of impossibility:

Он может заказать билеты по телефону. (In answer to the question: How could he get tickets? —By phone.)

Он не может заказать билеты по телефону. (there is some problem that he encounters in the process.)

In all of the listed meanings of [*может* V], except for the 3rd one, we have a potential meaning. In #3 V takes place at the same time as the speech event, except that there is no absolute certainty on the part of the speaker that it is actually taking place.

References

- Попова, Г. Г. 2006. “Прагматика, функции и синтаксическое употребление модальных глаголов «мочь» и «хотеть».” *Известия высших учебных заведений. Северо-Кавказский регион. Общественные науки*, (S23): 69-72.
- Ваулина, С. С., & Магдалинская, Е. Н. 2014. “Глаголы мочь и móc как ядерные конститuentы модальных микрополей возможности в русском и польском языках.” *Вестник Балтийского федерального университета им. И. Канта. Серия: Филология, педагогика, психология*, (8): 7-12.

Laura A. Janda, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, laura.janda@uit.no

Anna Endresen, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, anna.endresen@uit.no

Valentina Zhukova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, valentina.a.zhukova@uit.no

Reduplication in the ecosystem of Russian constructions

Linguistic studies of reduplication typically focus on languages that deploy it as a grammatical device, leaving aside “reduplication avoiders” like Russian, despite the fact that “even in these reduplication-unfriendly languages there are, in fact, niches of productive total reduplication” (Freywald and Finkbeiner 2018, 5). Ours is the first study of reduplication in the framework of construction grammar (Goldberg 2006) that takes the perspective of the entire ecosystem of Russian grammatical constructions, as represented among over 2200 constructions in the Russian Constructicon (RusCon: <https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>). We find that Russian shows a number and variety of repetition constructions similar to types identified for reduplication-friendly languages.

RusCon contains two overlapping types of reduplicative constructions. 118 Reduplication constructions have repetition within an utterance, as in (1). 28 Discourse “Echo” constructions are like (2).

(1) NP-Nom Cop всё без NP-Gen и без ~NP-Gen

А мы всё без молока и без молока.

‘And here we are constantly without milk’

(2) А как же без NP-Gen!

– Друзья есть? – А как же без друзей.

‘– Do you have any friends? – Of course I have friends, how could I exist without them!’

(2) is used when a speaker reacts to an interlocutor by inserting into the construction a repetition of a noun phrase uttered by the interlocutor, in this example: *друзья* ‘friends’.

Five constructions like (3) contain both a reduplication and an “echo” of something said in a previous utterance. In (3) the speaker is both echoing a noun provided in a previous utterance (here: *болото* ‘swamp’) and then reduplicating that noun with a modification on the copy (here: addition of the augmentative and derogatory suffix *-уице*).

(3) не Noun, а ~Noun-ище

Это было не болото, а болотище.

‘It wasn’t just a swamp, it was a monster [huge] swamp.’

We find great variety in terms of both form and function among Russian reduplicative constructions. Repetition can involve the fixed part or the slot or both at once. All parts of speech as well as entire clauses or phrases can be repeated. Repetition can be whole, partial, or entail modification. Nearly all Syntactic types and all of the most frequent Semantic types found in RusCon are also found in this data. In addition to expression of intensity and multiple or continued actions, repetitions in Russian often refer to a relationship between two items. Repetition is particularly prominent in colloquial register, and often used by speakers to express disagreement with an interlocutor. From the perspective of RusCon, which aims to represent the entire system of Russian constructions, we find that constructions with repetition are very well integrated into that system and fairly representative of the system as a whole.

References

- Freywald, Ulrike and Rita Finkbeiner. 2018. Exact repetition or total reduplication? Exploring their boundaries in discourse and grammar. In Rita Finkbeiner and Ulrike Freywald (eds.), *Exact Repetition in Grammar and Discourse*, 3–28. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Goldberg, A. E. 2006. *Constructions at work: The nature of generalizations in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A Corpus Approach to Understanding Seasonal Metaphors in *Yevgeny Onegin*

Five years ago I embarked on a personal passion project that began as a translation of *Onegin*, and led to extensive, self-guided research into primary sources from Pushkin's era toward a richer understanding of intertextual connections, biographical resonances, and the creative process behind the novel. Now, as I revisit this work to get it publication-ready, I am examining the material from some new angles. When I was translating *Onegin*, I paid a lot of attention to seasonal metaphors — particularly the conceptual metaphor STAGES OF LIFE ARE SEASONS. What further insights can a systematic application of corpus linguistics methods against the background of contemporary metaphor theory reveal about Pushkin's metaphorical use of seasons?

I have run preliminary experiments gathering data on the distribution of season words across the published text of *Onegin*. A casual observation that Pushkin's references to spring are often at odds with the narrative setting, carrying more metaphorical than descriptive weight, inspired me to look more closely at the relationship between seasonal references and seasonal actuality. (Does the named season match the seasonal backdrop at this moment in the text?) I found that spring is particularly well-referenced, and stands out in how often its references are purely metaphorical. Autumn, sparsely referenced, presents an intriguing corollary: metaphorical usage only emerges in the last two chapters, always directly contrasted with youth/spring. Winter is referenced the most, but almost exclusively in describing scenes of actual winter. The few explicit references to summer are purely descriptive. In existing secondary literature, Gustafson 1962 also identifies spring and winter as the most prominent seasons in *Onegin*, but does not consider the effects of seasonal actuality on interpreting the underlying metaphorical framework.

What if, for Pushkin, the core conceptual metaphor is *not* STAGES OF LIFE ARE SEASONS, but rather YOUTH IS SPRING? And if so, does this reflect a broader trend among poets of the time? (Brodskii 1950, for instance, in his commentary on Lensky's Ch.6 poem, points to similar "golden days of spring" expressions in other contemporary poetry.)

My research into these questions follows two paths: 1) gathering additional data from Pushkin (including a look at discarded materials from *Onegin*), and 2) examining how Pushkin's patterns of seasonal metaphor compare against a broader corpus of work by his contemporaries. I am using the Russian National Corpus to gather data on the frequency of usage and relative metaphorical weight of seasonal words (names of seasons, and adjectives

derived from them) in Russian poetry of the 1820s-30s. I define relative metaphorical weight as the percentage of instances where the name of a given season is used in metaphorical reference to something other than the season itself; and within that metric I am additionally tracking expressions mapping stages of life to seasons.

References

- Brodskii, N. L. 1950. *Evgenii Onegin: Roman A. S. Pushkina*. 3rd rev. ed. Moscow: Uchpedgiz.
- Gustafson, Richard R. 1962. "The Metaphor of the Seasons in Evgenij Onegin." *Slavic and East European Journal* 6, no. 1 (Spring): 6-20. <https://doi.org/10.2307/304827>

How to actually teach Czech aspect constructionally: Practical lessons from a theoretical enterprise

One of the challenges of any theoretical framework is how well it will stand up in applied contexts. Construction and cognitive grammars have fared less well in this respect than many would have expected. Despite the theoretical potential, we have not yet seen significant advances in language pedagogy derived from either constructional or cognitive approaches to language description that had not also already been made in the functionalist framework (Holme 2010, Boas 2022). This is particularly notable with one of the most knotted issues in language pedagogy, namely Slavic aspect.

This contribution will demonstrate that a narrowly constructionist approach in the sense of Herbst (2016) can serve as a foundation for a comprehensive pedagogic description of aspect in a Slavic language. It can also help elucidate some of the puzzles that arise when comparing aspect across Slavic languages as identified by Dickey (2000) and evaluate the suitability of more semantically oriented approaches such as those proposed by Janda (2004, 2013). This approach will also be able to take into account some of the complexities of aspectual collocability as described by Starý Kořánová (2019). Furthermore, not only can the pedagogic success of this approach validate a constructionist approach, it can also provide further inspiration to address difficult questions such as the nature and learnability of the construction.

This will help us deal with the question of how a constructional approach to aspect would fit into the current curricular structures as presented in Czech textbooks which treat aspect as largely a unitary construction rather than as a radial category within the larger construction of time, event structure, and mode.

To illustrate the pedagogic potential, the contribution will present a case study of a systematic treatment of aspect as used in a mixed-level online class of Czech with native speakers of English during which some students achieved strong performance in difficult contexts. It will close with a question of whether a constructional approach could have satisfied the needs of Eisner's (1946) mythical super-student of Czech, who constructed a comprehensive system of rules to achieve unimaginable levels of accuracy.

References

Boas, Hans C. (ed.). 2022. *Directions for Pedagogical Construction Grammar: Learning and Teaching (with) Constructions*. Applications of Cognitive Linguistics [ACL] , 49.

- Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Dickey, Stephen M. 2000. *Parameters of Slavic Aspect: A Cognitive Approach*. Dissertations in Linguistics. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications, Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Eisner, Pavel. 1946. *Chrám i Tvrz: Kniha o Češtině*. Praha: Jaroslav Podroužek.
- Herbst, Thomas. 2016. 'Foreign Language Learning Is Construction Learning – What Else? Moving towards Pedagogical Construction Grammar'. In *Applied Construction Grammar*, edited by Sabine De Knop and Gaëtanelle Gilquin. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc.
- Holme, Randal. 2010. 'A Construction Grammar for the Classroom'. *IRAL - International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* 48 (4).
- Janda, Laura A. 2004. 'A Metaphor in Search of a Source Domain: The Categories of Slavic Aspect'. *Cognitive Linguistics* 15 (4): 471–527.
- . 2013. "Creating the Contours of Grammar". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 21 (1): 1–16.
- Starý Kořánová, Ilona. 2019. 'Vidová Kolokabilita (Collocability of Aspect in Czech)'. FF UK.

Pavel Machač, Charles University, Pavel.Machac@ff.cuni.cz

Mirjam Fried, Charles University, Mirjam.Fried@ff.cuni.cz

Speech reductions and intelligibility in relation to utterance organization in Czech conversations

Existing research concerning phonetic reductions in everyday speech focuses primarily on production, and only in a limited way on perception results, largely under laboratory conditions. Moreover, it targets mostly just individual words and reductions based on a rather simplistic diagnostic of counting missing segments/syllables or measuring duration (Ernestus & Smith 2018). Our goal is (i) to examine the dynamic character of reductions across complete utterances taken from spontaneously produced dialogs by (ii) measuring the word-reduction rates based on actual realization of phonetic features, expressed (in %) as a phonetic ‘distance’ from the citation form. This approach should provide better insight into the interplay between reduced speech and syntactic organization of utterances, moving beyond the meaning/function of individual words.

An initial probe of Czech conversational data (198 respondents) reveals a very strong negative correlation between the identifiability of words (extracted from complete utterances readily comprehensible as a whole) and the word-reduction rate. A typical hearer (57% respondents) understands the entire utterance without difficulties but appears to identify only between 31–50% of words out of their sentential context. We work with the hypothesis that there will be detectable patterning in the interplay between reduction rates, syntactic organization (cf. Zwicky’s 1972 eloquent call for such a perspective, so far left unanswered), and various types of chunking (Bybee & Scheibman 1999), leading to the notion of ‘lexicalized reductions’ (Ernestus 2014). The results of our pilot experiment suggest that utterance comprehension might involve a combination of syntactic linearization (in Czech based on information structure encoding), semantic/functional predictability of words in particular positions due to syntactic bootstrapping (e.g. syntagmatic predictability based on complement structure), and inherently salient phonetic features independently of grammatical structure.

We show that the findings raise a number of issues (at the lexical, phonetic, and syntactic layers) for articulating realistic generalizations/hypotheses about speakers’ mental representations corresponding to the complex interpretive tasks speakers face in spontaneous interaction. Moreover, the material presents evidence that the reductions research needs to expand into languages with different principles of utterance organization and richer

morphology (such as Slavic) than is provided by English or Dutch (the primary data focus so far) in order to uncover the range of non-phonetic factors in speakers' phonetic choices, in both production and comprehension.

References

- Bybee, Joan, and Joanne Scheibman. 1999. "The effect of usage on degrees of constituency: The reduction of *don't* in English." *Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences* 37 (4): 575–596.
- Ernestus, Mirjam. 2014. "Acoustic reduction and the roles of abstractions and exemplars in speech processing." *Lingua* 142: 27–41.
- Ernestus, Mirjam, and Rachel Smith. 2018. "Qualitative and quantitative aspects of phonetic variation in Dutch eigenlijk." In *Rethinking reduction: Interdisciplinary perspectives on conditions, mechanisms, and domains for phonetic variation*, edited by Francesco Cangemi, Meghan Clayards, Oliver Niebuhr, Barbara Schuppler, and Margaret Zellers, 129–163. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Zwicky, Arnold. 1972. "On casual speech." *Chicago Linguistic Society* 8: 607–615.

Anastasia Makarova, Uppsala University, anastasia.makarova@moderna.uu.se

Tore Nessel, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, tore.nessel@uit.no

Laura A. Janda, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, laura.janda@uit.no

Is security uniform across Slavic?

Few concepts are more relevant than “security” in present-day political discourse. But what is “security”? Is it the same across languages? On the basis of corpus data, we investigate the concept across the Slavic languages from the perspective of cognitive linguistics.

We show that while all Slavic languages have words that roughly correspond to English security, a distinction corresponding to the one between security and safety is not attested in all Slavic languages to the same extent. In North Slavic, words like Russian *bezopasnost*’, Czech *bezpečnost/bezpečí*, and Polish *bezpieczeństwo* are used to translate both security and safety. In South Slavic, on the other hand, we have a distinction between two words with different roots, e.g., Croatian *sigurnost* vs. *bezbjednost*, and Bulgarian *sigurnost* vs. *bezopasnost*.

Unlike Germanic languages, we argue that the Slavic languages construe security as the absence of something problematic. Across Slavic we find morphological constructions consisting of a prefix meaning ‘without’ and a stem indicating a problematic situation. The Slavic morphological constructions may or may not involve an abstract suffix (e.g., Russian *-ost*’ and Polish *-stw-*), and can be further elaborated by means of a negative prefix (e.g., Ukrainian *nebezpeka* ‘danger’).

The problematic situation constituting the center of the morphological construction is expressed by means of different roots, which have different histories, evoke different associations and arguably set up different conceptual blends across the Slavic languages. In North Slavic, the root *-pek-* is widespread (Czech *bezpečnost*, Polish *bezpieczeństwo*) and relates to the concept of “care” (cf. Czech *péče* ‘care’ and Polish *piecza* ‘care’). This suggests that security is construed as a “care free” psychological state. In South Slavic, we find words based on the root *-bĕd-*, as shown in Croatian *bezbjednost*, which is related to *bijeda* ‘misery’, thus suggesting a construal of *bezbjednost* as a situation without misery. Russian *bezopasnost*’ and Bulgarian *bezopasnost* involve the root *-pas-*, which is otherwise attested in words like Russian *pasti* ‘herd’, *spasti* ‘save’, and *upasti* ‘save, preserve’. These words involve protection, but at the same time the relationship to Russian *opasnost*’ ‘danger’ indicates a construal of security as the absence of danger.

In order to arrive at a more precise understanding of the meanings and use of the relevant

words, we report on a detailed investigation of data from the Aranea family of web corpora (Benko 2014). We compare collocation patterns for the relevant words, and also analyze semantic vectors, which enable us to establish the closest semantic neighbors for the security words in each language. Preliminary results suggest a number of interesting similarities and differences.

On the basis of corpus data, it is not possible to draw conclusions about how the users of different languages think about security. The fact that the relevant words have different structures and relationships to other lexemes suggests that the concept of security across languages is not necessarily uniform.

References

Benko, Vladimír. 2014. Aranea: Yet Another Family of (Comparable) Web Corpora. In *Text, Speech, and Dialogue*, edited by P. Sojka, A. Horák, I. Kopeček, K. Pala, 247–256. Springer.

Опозиція СВІЙ–ЧУЖИЙ у свідомості носіїв української мови

На початку ХХ століття Ф. де Соссюр (Saussure 1916) висловив ідею, що мовні елементи існують остільки, оскільки входять до системи опозицій, а смисл виникає як результат взаємодії між її елементами. Отже, опозиція – це засіб, за допомогою якого одиниці мови набувають значення, оскільки кожна одиниця визначається у взаємному протиставленні зі своєю структурною протилежністю.

Після того, як К. Леві-Строс (1949) застосував ідеї структурної лінгвістики до антропології, бінарні опозиції почали використовувати як потужний інструмент для з'ясування фундаментальних структур людської свідомості, мови та культури.

Проте згодом метод бінарної опозиції став об'єктом критики в працях Жака Дерріди, який увів поняття деконструкції, що полягає «не в переході від одного концепту до іншого», а в скасуванні та витісненні як концептуального, так і неконцептуального порядку (Derrida 1982, 329). Як зазначили Дж. Лакофф і М. Джонсон, «постструктуралісти правильно зрозуміли, що концептуальні системи значно змінювалися з часом і суттєво відрізняються в різних культурах. Утім вони вдалися до протилежної крайності, припустивши, що будь-яке пояснення значення, яке не є позачасовим і універсальним, має бути довільним і завжди підлягати змінам» (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 468). Натомість Лакофф і Джонсон наголошують на необхідності емпірично відповідальної філософії та пошуку конвергентних доказів за допомогою найширшого діапазону різних методів (там само). Власне такий підхід застосовує когнітивна лінгвістика, головним досягненням якої є поєднання потужної теоретичної бази та емпіричних методів аналізу.

Метою дослідження є аналіз бінарної опозиції СВІЙ–ЧУЖИЙ у свідомості носіїв української мови. Аналіз цієї опозиції набуває особливої актуальності в умовах, з одного боку, глобалізації та мультикультуралізму, а з іншого – воєн, політичних конфліктів, міжрелігійних зіткнень і напружених етносоціальних взаємодій (див. Парахонський і Яворська 2019, 446–449).

Дослідження ґрунтується на результатах експериментів, зафіксованих в *Українському асоціативному словнику* (Мартінек 2007), та даних експерименту, проведеного протягом вересня–листопада 2022 року. Традиційний спосіб проведення

такого експерименту полягає в тому, щоб показати або сказати слово (стимул) респондентам, а потім попросити їх написати або сказати, яке інше слово (реакція) спадає їм на думку першим після отримання стимулу. Час між представленням стимульного слова та наданням реакції є обмеженим (5–7 с). В експерименті взяли участь 162 респонденти різного віку (від 18 до 77 років) і статі, які надали асоціативні реакції на стимули *свій* і *чужий*.

З одного боку, ці реакції дали змогу експлікувати різні типи посесивності. Причому реакції не лише виявляють відповідні когнітивні домени, але й дають змогу показати їхню значущість для мовців. З іншого – порівнювання реакцій, отриманих у різні роки, виявило зміни, що відбулися у свідомості носіїв української мови внаслідок зміни політичної ситуації та війни.

Література

- Derrida, Jacques. 1982. *Margins of Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Préf. et éd. de Charles Bally et Albert Sechehaye, avec la collaboration d'Albert Riedlinger. Lausanne–Paris, Payot.
- Мартінек, Світлана. 2007. *Український асоціативний словник: У 2 т.* Львів: Видавництво ЛНУ.
- Парахонський, Борис та Яворська, Галина. 2019. *Онтологія війни і миру: безпека, стратегія, смисл*. Київ : НІСД.

Mihaela Matešić, University of Rijeka, mihaela.matesic@ffri.uniri.hr

Anita Memišević, University of Rijeka, amemisevic@ffri.uniri.hr

How semantics of prefixes and root words affect syllabification

Syllabification is one of the basic language abilities and it is probably linked to cognitive development (Jelaska, 2004: 100). It is a well known fact that speakers, regardless of whether they are literate or not, can intuitively segment their speech into syllables (comp. e.g., Malmberg, 1954/1995: 65; Simeon, 1969: 430; Trask, 2005: 323 etc.) which are the smallest pronounceable units and thus the basic unit of speech (Škarić, 1991: 82). Research has revealed that languages follow the principle of maximal onset when it comes to syllabification (Jelaska, 2004: 174). This principle, along with the sonority principle, is one of the two main phonological principles involved in syllabification. However, it has been noted that in languages with transparent morphological structure, syllabification which is based on morphological boundaries rather than on phonological tendencies is also possible. Our goal here is to try and determine how native speakers of Croatian, in the presence of a prefixal morpheme, are more likely to favour morphological structure of the word over phonological rules when it comes to syllabification. Our research is focused on semantic and morpho-phonological traits of words in order to determine to what extent an individual trait affects the perception of the syllable boundary. It is important to study different types of words that contain prefixes: 1) those that are the result of prefixation (e.g., the verb *ispisati* is created by adding the prefix *iz-* to the base *pisati*) and 2) those that are the result of some other word formation process and contain a prefix (e.g., the noun *ispis* is created by suffixation, i.e., by derivation from the verb *ispisati* to which a zero morpheme is added (*ispis+Ø*)). Our research focuses on verbs and deverbal nouns as types of words that are particularly well-suited for the comparison of prefixal and suffixal word formation and enable the testing of the hypothesis that speakers will not syllabify words using different strategies regardless of the type of word formation, i.e., that the presence of the prefix will be the crucial factor for the syllabification strategy employed. The influence of semantics on syllabification is studied with the help of words and pseudowords and observed in the following situations: 1) prefix + base word (i.e., verb), 2) prefix + root, and 3) deverbal suffixal word formation. Deviations from phonological rules are interpreted within the framework of cognitive linguistics and explained from the perspective of cognitive semantics. The contribution of semantics is supported by statistical data and syllabification is interpreted as a process that is based on cognitive processes.

References

- Jelaska, Zrinka. 2004. *Fonološki opisi hrvatskoga jezika: glasovi, slogovi, naglasci*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Malmberg, Bertil. 1995 [1954]. *Fonetika*. Zagreb: Ivor.
- Simeon, Rikard. 1969. Enciklopedijski rječnik lingvističkih naziva. Zagreb: MH.
- Škarić, Ivo. 1991. Fonetika hrvatskoga književnog jezika. In: *Povijesni pregled, glasovi i oblici hrvatskoga književnog jezika (Nacrti za gramatiku)*, 61–378. Zagreb: HAZU i Nakladni zavod Globus.
- Trask, Robert Lawrence. 2005 [1999]. *Temeljni lingvistički pojmovi*. Zagreb: ŠK.

Tore Nessel, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, tore.nesset@uit.no

Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no

Martina Björklund, Åbo Akademi University, Martina.Bjorklund@abo.fi

Specprezentacija: A cognitive approach to the morphological construction *spec*-N in Russian

When the Kremlin insists on calling the war in Ukraine a *specoperacija* ‘special operation’, they resort to a morphological construction with deep roots in the Soviet period. Based on data from the Russian National Corpus (RNC), we demonstrate that cognitive linguistics posits the analytical tools for pinpointing the meaning and historical development of the *spec*-N construction in Russian. Our analysis has implications for Russian linguistics, general linguistics, and the study of political discourse.

We searched for all nouns beginning with *spec* from non-fiction in the RNC and created a database of 424 lemmas. We included information about the frequency and the first attestations of each *spec*-noun (e.g., *specoperacija*), as well as the same information about the competing adjective + N construction (e.g., *special’naja operacija*).

We argue that the addition of *spec* to a noun prompts the opening of a mental space with an activity that represents an exception from a general pattern. A number of subtypes are identified, and it is suggested that their meanings and relationships can be insightfully analyzed as a radial category network. Of particular interest are *spec*-Ns involving privileged persons (*specpassažir* ‘special passenger’) or underprivileged persons (*specpereselenec* ‘special settler’), as well as activities carried out for particular purposes (*specoperacija* ‘special operation’) or involving secrecy (*specxran* ‘restricted-access collection’).

We show that the history of the *spec*-N construction goes back to the early Soviet period, when so-called stub compounds appeared in Russian “[i]n an attempt to ‘sovietize’ the language” (Molinsky 1973: 15). The construction survived the fall of the Soviet Union and has remained productive. While some recent examples have no relation to Soviet realia, ironic uses of the construction suggest that the Soviet connotations are still part of the mental grammars of many language users.

From the point of view of linguistic theory, the *spec*-N construction is interesting, because it represents an understudied phenomenon whereby a morphological construction competes with a syntactic pattern (the adjective + N construction, Masini 2019: 281–285). Our analysis shows that the competition involves a complex interplay of factors, which can be adequately

described in a usage-based model. The *spec*-N construction is more than a shorter version of its syntactic competitor, since the *spec*-N construction involves emergent structure in the same way as prototypical compounds (Nesset & Sokolova 2019).

With regard to political discourse, our study lends further support to the idea that it is not enough to study the words that are used (Janda et al. 2022). In order to understand political discourse, it is important to investigate the use of grammatical constructions and the connotations they carry with them.

References

- Janda, Laura A., Masako Fidler, Václav Cvrček, and Anna Obukhova. 2022. “The case for case in Putin’s speeches.” *Russian Linguistics*.
- Masini, Francesca. 2019. “Competition between morphological words and multiword expressions.” In *Competition in Inflection and Word-Formation*, edited by Franz Rainer et al. Cham.: Springer.
- Molinsky, Steven J. 1973. *Patterns of ellipsis in Russian compound noun formations*. Berlin and Boston: Mouton.
- Nesset, Tore and Svetlana Sokolova. 2019. “Compounds and culture.” *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 17.1: 257–274.

Leksika sa semantičkom komponentom prostora i vremena u srpskom javnom diskursu tokom pandemije kovida¹

Pandemija kovida izazvala je velike promene u leksičkim sistemima jezika širom sveta. One su se realizovale kroz navalu neologizama uzrokovanih neolikim razlozima – iz potrebe za imenovanjem novih pojava, ali i zbog nominacije specifičnog odnosa prema njima. Globalizacija se nije uočavala samo širenjem angliziranih ključnih reči pandemije (*kovid*, *lokdaun*, *šatdaun* i sl.) već i u principima građenja i stvaranja novih reči u različitim jezicima (pozajmljivanje, kalkiranje, slivanje i dr.) (Nikolić i Slijepčević Bjelivuk 2022).

Leksika u periodu pandemije kovida sa semantičkom komponentom specijalnosti i temporalnosti, koja pripada semantičkim poljima mesta i vremena predmet je ovog referata. Cilj istraživanja jeste da poveže kategorije mesta i vremena, koje se leksički ispoljavaju u periodu pandemije, odnosno da pokaže leksičku razvijenost tih kategorija, kao i semantičke odnose među njima. U istraživanju su korišćeni analitički, deskriptivni i sintetički metod, a po potrebi primenjivane su teorija semantičkih polja i pojmovne metafore. Izvore za istraživanje predstavljaju tematski rečnici *Rečnik pojmova iz perioda epidemije kovida* (Nikolić i Slijepčević Bjelivuk 2020) i *Rečnik kovida: tematski i asocijativni* (Slijepčević Bjelivuk i Nikolić 2022), a kao kontrolni korišćeni su elektronski korpusi kreirani za potrebe izrade navedenih rečnika. Rad predstavlja kontinuitet u proučavanju takozvane leksike kovida, kojom se autorka bavi od samog početka pandemije, te uticaja pandemije na srpski jezik.

Nakon analize pomenute leksike, izdvojile su se nekolike kategorije. Sa značenjem prostora javljaju se lekseme koje se odnose isključivo na fizički prostor (*dezobarijera*, *kovid ambulanta*), zatim na kretanje (*zeleni sertifikat*, *kovid pasoš*, *kovid propusnica*, (*samo*)*izolovati se*), onda one koje se odnose na transpoziciju fizičkog prostora u virtuelni (*e-učionica*, *Zum*, *zumovati*), te reči koje se tiču socijalnog prostora (*socijalna distanca*, *distanciranje*).

Sa vremenskim značenjem izdvajaju se klase reči koje se odnose na različite vremenske odsečke (*korona nedelja*, *kovid dan*, *korona leto*, *kovid raspust*), zatim na vreme pre i posle bolesti, karantina, pandemije (*prekovidni*, *prekoronski*, *postkovidni*, *postkoronski*, *poslekoronski*, *postepidemijski*, *postkarantinski*), kao i one lekseme gde se istovremeno ili kontekstualno uslovljeno javljaju značenja i mesta i vremena (*karantin*, *izolacija*, *pandemija*),

¹ This research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, #GRANT 7750183, Public Discourse in the Republic of Serbia – PDRS.

koje su za ovo istraživanje posebno značajne.

Brojnost, produktivnost i frekventnost ovakvih nominacija ukazuje nam na značaj pomenutih kategorija u pandemiji, kao i potrebu da se u periodu velikih kriza, kao što je ova, pojedinac i zajednica lokalizuju ne samo u prostoru i vremenu (što je zabeleženo i u drugim kontekstima, na primer Evans 2004) već i u odnosu na virus.

References

- Evans, Vyvyan. 2004. *The Structure of Time: Language, Meaning And Temporal Cognition* (Human Cognitive Processing). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Nikolić, Marina i Svetlana Slijepčević Bjelivuk. 2020. <http://www.isj.sanu.ac.rs/recnik-pojmova-iz-perioda-kovida/>
- Nikolić, Marina i Svetlana Slijepčević Bjelivuk. 2022. *Srpski javni diskurs u pandemiji*. Beograd: Institut za srpski jezik SANU.
- Slijepčević Bjelivuk, Svetlana i Marina Nikolić. 2022. *Rečnik kovida: tematski i asocijativni*. Beograd – Novi Sad: Institut za srpski jezik SANU – Prometej.

Svalbard (Spitsbergen) in Russian media: identifying associations and narratives through Market Basket Analysis

Market Basket Analysis (MBA) is a data-mining technique that can be used to facilitate corpus-assisted discourse analysis. MBA is employed after extraction of keywords – prominent words typical for a text and considered as indicators of the content and style of a text (Scott & Tribble 2006: 55). Interpretation of isolated keywords is often an issue for large data analysis. MBA helps to overcome this issue by revealing associative links between keywords in different texts and thus by providing a wider context for keywords within the discourse (Cvrček & Fidler 2022). This principle may be consistent with Langacker's (2008: 464) point that linguistic meaning is not limited by “what is overtly expressed” but instead it is “largely supplied by context”. Associative links revealed by MBA can also be interpreted as patterns of associations between concepts in the discourse (Cvrček & Fidler 2022).

The present study applies MBA as a starting point for examining Russian-language data, namely the coverage of the Svalbard archipelago in Russian media. Svalbard is an Arctic Archipelago, a part of the Norwegian territory since 1925. Russia has a direct connection to Svalbard by means of Russian presence there in accordance with the Svalbard Treaty. The Treaty recognizes the sovereignty of Norway over Svalbard and gives equal rights to other countries to conduct economic activity there.

The present study covers a number of Russian mainstream media outlets and investigates articles published between 2010 and 2021. MBA is applied as a tool to investigate the array of associations for the keyword *Spitsbergen* and to reveal the discourse themes appearing in the data.

One of the prominent themes revealed is the Russian economic and scientific presence in Svalbard. In this context, Svalbard is often portrayed as a place where the Russian activities are seriously restricted. The restrictions are seen as a breach by Norway of the Svalbard Treaty. This conflict is framed as a conflict and even as a war in which Russia is trying to restore justice. The beginning of the Ukrainian crisis in 2014 leads to additional misunderstandings in the interpretation of the Svalbard Treaty, namely concerning visiting Svalbard. After 2018, Svalbard has been reported in the context of the growing militarization of the region, which causes concern on the Russian side.

Within analysis of “instances of language in all their complexity and specificity” referred

to by Langacker (2008: 457) as usage events that comprise a discourse, MBA is proving to be an effective method, specifically in the context of political and media discourses. MBA restricts extensive textual data to those containing associative networks of discourse concepts and thus helps to explore the salient features of discourse in a relatively short time.

References

- Cvrček, Václav, and Masako Fidler. 2022. No Keyword is an Island: In search of covert associations. *Corpora* 17 (2): 259-290.
- Langacker, Ronald, W. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Scott, Mike, and Christopher Tribble. 2006. *Textual Patterns: Key words and corpus analysis in language education*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Social construction of an abstract lexicon

Understood as social tools, languages have traditionally been reduced to their use and evaluated through relevant variables, such as social, regional, gender, and political differences. They have not been analyzed with the architecture of the language in mind, or by questioning the correspondence of semantic and syntactic representations to the social construction of reality. I build on the idea that sociocultural environment informs language, especially in the construction of the *abstract* lexicon network. Whereas the concrete lexicon depends on the specific (non-)linguistic repertoire of a community of speakers, following almost localized, concrete expressive needs, the abstract lexicon depends on the cognitive capacity of this same community for establishing the correspondence between the social reality and the conceptual network. Therefore, I explore the parallelism between the compositional character of the social reality and the language as a social tool.

Starting from one of the main tenets of the Parallel Architecture – that the lexical items should be seen as particular rules of grammar (Jackendoff 2007), I try to demonstrate that individual differences in native lexical density attainment (Dąbrowska 2012) impact broader cognition, especially in linguistic processing. I do this by comparing the constructional potential of pairs and triplets of abstract verbs and the relative frequency of their realized constructions.

By using the data from the Croatian Psycholinguistic Database (Peti-Stantić et al. 2021) I first select abstract verbs that are conceptually closely related (e.g., *prosuditi* 'to judge', HrWac 4.22 per million and *procijeniti* 'to assess', 35.48 per million, or *pridati* 'to add' 1.15 per million, *pridodati* 'to attach' 8.97 per million and *pripisati* 'to attribute' 8.43 per million). I take them to be lexical pieces of structure that offer prototypical conditions for exploring semantics-syntax interface rules in domains relevant to understanding the language as a social tool. Verbs are chosen to reflect different areas of social reality, as well as different corpus frequencies in HrWac.

The parallelism between the compositional character of the social reality and the language as a social tool will be examined through comparing the potential of selected verbs to become part of a number of different multi-word constructions with the corpus and relative frequency of those constructions in Croatian. In this view, after analyzing the quantity and quality of semantic and syntactic connections of selected pairs and triplets of verbs, my aim is to demonstrate that the density of their networks depends on the socially conditioned potential for realizing compositionality and producing precise meaning in a community of speakers. Such

an analysis can serve as a starting point for better understanding the place of breath and depth of intellectual abstract vocabulary in languages as social tools.

References

- Dąbrowska, E. (2012), Different speakers, Different grammar: Individual differences in native language attainment. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, 2(3), 219-253.
- Jackendoff, R. (2007), *Language, Consciousness, Culture: Essays on Mental Structure*. MIT Press.
- Peti-Stantić, A. et. al (2021), The Croatian psycholinguistic database: Estimates for 6000 nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. *Behavior Research Methods*, 53, 1799–1816.

(Sure), Go Ahead, (But): Levels of Approval and Russian Imperatives

This paper presents a new breakdown of the functions of aspect in Russian imperatives used to grant approval, and complements previous approaches, e.g., Dickey (2020) and Israeli (2018). I argue that granting approval for an action as the listener intends it includes varying levels of speaker endorsement: (1) enthusiastic/cheerful approval, (2) neutral approval, (3) reluctant, begrudging approval, and (4) ironic approval when the speaker in fact disapproves of the listener's intention. The imperfective imperative is the default for granting approval and tends to express neutral approval, fluctuating on the one hand to slightly encouraging endorsement in situations where the speaker does not want to get involved, and on the other to moderately begrudging approval. Ironic approval is also often coded imperfective. Perfective coding is a marked one and seems to be limited to (1) cheerful/enthusiastic approval, where the speaker gets involved as a co-author and takes on (some) control of the action, and (2) reluctant approval, where it intersects with the imperfective, but, unlike the latter, asserts sequential/causal links with other states of affairs: the speaker will either have to change his/her own course of action or communicates some reservations about the likelihood that the action will achieve its goal.

An example of encouraging endorsement coded imperfective is (1):

- (1) — Что-то так суши захотелось... Может, заказать?
— **Заказывай**, конечно.
— Тебе взять?
— Не, спасибо. Я через час с девчонками в кафе встречаюсь.

In (1), the speaker readily approves of the interlocutor's plan to order sushi but has no personal interest in the idea. This differs from usage where the speaker signals not only his/her approval of the plan of action, but also becomes invested in it as a co-author, and co-opts the initiative to a degree, as in (2):

- (2) — Как я могу помочь? Ну, характеристику могу написать [...]
— **Напиши, напиши**, как получше [...] Напиши, что — по пьянке он, он
тверезый-то мухи не обидит...

Here, the mother is excited by the policeman's proposal and has her own contribution to the idea (i.e., writing that her son was drunk). She can consider herself an "invested party."

An example of perfective begrudging approval is *Boïdume!* in response to a knock on a

closed door. Here, I argue that the perfective signals that the speaker communicates that s/he will have to quit whatever s/he is doing if the person comes in and deal instead with that person's business, as in (3):

- (3) [Стук в дверь.]
— Кто там?
— Доктор Гудбаев дома?
— Я занят, но **войдите**.

The speaker grants approval for the person to enter, but will have to alter his present work activities as a consequence.

The presentation considers this approach in more detail, using the Russian National Corpus data.

References

- Dickey, Stephen M. 2020. "Time out of Tense: Russian Aspect in the Imperative." *Journal of Linguistics* 56 (3): 541–576.
- Israeli, Alina. 2018. "Come in! Invitational Motion Directives in Russian." *Russian Linguistics* 42 (3): 357–373.

Professional locative preposition drop in Croatian: playing in Zagreb vs. playing Zagreb

The Croatian verb *svirati* ‘play music’ primarily appears in transitive constructions with nouns referring to instruments or music (*svirati harfu/klasičnu glazbu/Bacha* ‘play the harp/classical music/Bach’) and intransitive constructions with adverbials (e.g. *svirati u Londonu* ‘play in London’). Recently, phrases such as *svirati Zagreb-ACC* ‘play Zagreb’ have started appearing, where the accusative noun refers to the location of a single performance of a band. Comparable constructions appear with *penjati se* ‘climb’ and *voziti* ‘drive’. In this paper we explore what motivates such usage. To do this, we conducted a study of the three verbs in the hrWaC corpus. We then focused on *svirati* and explored its use through a questionnaire and a focus group.

The corpus results show that the construction is relatively infrequent, and that it is mainly used by professional musicians, climbers or drivers. A questionnaire testing the naturalness of the *svirati Zagreb* construction among musicians and non-musicians (N = 259; 60.7% men; 64.9% musicians) showed that the musicians rate the target sentences as significantly more natural than non-musicians, with small to medium effect sizes. No significant differences between the groups were found for other sentences with *svirati*. Musicians participating in a semi-structured focus group (N = 6) described the construction as sounding more professional and cooler, and fostering their identity as active musicians. Possible English influence was also noted.

Even if the construction is ultimately an English calque, its interpretation should still be in line with the conceptual characteristics of Croatian grammar. Conceptually, the shift from an adverbial to a direct object means that a non-core circumstance is promoted to a core participant, resulting in a non-prototypical transitive construction (Hopper and Thompson 1980). The accusative noun (*Zagreb-ACC*) metonymically refers to a single complete episode of a performance, activating the performance scenario. The details of the scenario are available only to the initiated (i.e., to professionals). Interpreting the second participant metonymically is consistent with other conventional metonymies with *svirati* (e.g., *svirati Bacha* ‘play Bach’).

More generally, the construction is a subtype of the locative preposition-drop construction (Levin 1993, 43-44), and we term it the *professional locative preposition drop*. It is similar to the locative alternation, which is available in Croatian. The professional locative

preposition drop raises the affectedness of the second participant. The shift from circumstance to an affected core participant enables a metonymic interpretation because: (1) metonymy is precluded with an adverbial expression in the locative (*svirati u Zagrebu*-LOC does not refer to a single performance); (2) the shift in affectedness requires a different interpretation; (3) metonymic interpretation is available with the second participant. An analogous explanation works, *mutatis mutandis*, with *penjati se* and *voziti*.

References

- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse." *Language* 56 (2): 251–99.
- Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Word imageability facilitates lexical and morphological processing and acquisition

Word imageability is the extent to which a word elicits internal images of its referent in readers or listeners. It is a subjective property of words evaluated by asking people for their ratings of how fast or easily they form internal images for various words. Imageability is known to affect various cognitive processes and operations involving words: highly imageable words are remembered better and processed faster than less imageable words that are otherwise similar in length, frequency and other characteristics. Also, highly imageable words tend to be acquired earlier than less imageable words. The effects of imageability, however, are not limited to the acquisition or processing of word semantics. It has been shown that highly imageable words are processed faster in tasks involving inflectional morphology, and that inflected forms of high-imageability words are acquired earlier than for comparable words with lower imageability.

The presentation will report on three lines of work on the effects of imageability in Czech. First, it will analyze the effects of imageability on the age of acquisition of nouns and verbs, as reported by parents in a new standardization study of the Czech version of the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories. This analysis confirms previously published data, showing robust effects of imageability that are stronger than effects of frequency, and that may also explain why verbs, on average, are acquired later than nouns in Czech.

The second line of work presents an elicited inflectional production experiment in Czech adults and 10-11-year-olds. Participants were shown the nominative form of a noun and asked to say the genitive form as if it followed the preposition "bez" (without) that requires a genitive. The nouns differed in whether the genitive was formed by suffixing only, or whether it also involved stem change. The question was whether inflected forms are stored as complete forms in the mental lexicon, or whether they are created from morphological rules. If people rely more on a whole-form representation of the genitive forms, the frequency genitive forms should have a stronger relation to the production times than the frequency of the stem. Effects of imageability would also be expected if whole-form storage of genitive forms is used. The stem-changing noun's genitives are more likely to be represented as wholes, compared to no-change genitive forms.

Results in adults revealed no stronger effects of genitive frequency compared to stem

frequency, no significant effects of imageability, and no interactions between stem change and the remaining predictors. This is in line with the decompositional, rule-based production of genitive forms. However, the results in children indicated that imageability had stronger effects in stem-changing nouns. So, it seems that children rely on whole-form representation of inflected nouns to a larger extent than adults, especially in less predictable forms.

Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no

Sandra Birzer, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, sandra.birzer@uni-bamberg.de

Aleksandra Ignatieva, University of Bergen, ignateva.sanya@gmail.com

Elizaveta Kibisova, University of Oslo, elizaveta.kibisova@ilos.uio.no

A usage-based approach to morphological variation: The choice of suffix in Russian loan verbs

In recent years, there appeared a number of corpus and experimental works on morphological variation in Russian verbs, see Nesset & Janda 2010; Janda et al. 2013; Olsson 2021. Suffix variation in loan verbs has not received considerable attention in literature. Some relevant cases, such as the use of suffixes *-ova/-irova-*, are analyzed within research on biaspectual verbs (Horiguchi 2018). In modern Russian a loan verb can be introduced by a handful of suffixes: *-ova-*, *-eva-*, *-irova-*, *-stvova-* (which are often treated as allomorphs, Švedova et al. 1980); *-i-*; *-a-*; *-niča-*; *-e-*; *-nu/-anu-*. How are these suffixes distributed among loan and original Slavic verbs, and more specifically, what triggers the choice of the suffix?

Several factors determining the selection of a suffix are discussed in literature:

- morphonology (e.g. only *-irova-* with stems ending in a vowel: *intervjuirovat'* < *interview*)
- source language (e.g. *-irova-* from German *-ieren*: Rus. *basirovat'* < Ger. *basieren* 'base')
- motivating base (e.g. *-i-* with nominal motivating bases: *frendit'* < *friend*)
- semantics (e.g. *lajknut'* < *like*, where the semelfactive suffix *-nu-* conveys the meaning of 'giving one like').

We adopt a usage-based approach (Kemmer & Barlow 1999) and analyze the distribution of the enumerated verbal suffixes among loan and original Slavic verbs in two resources: 6,241 verbs that have an ipm > 4 in Lyashevskaya & Sharov (2009: <http://dict.ruslang.ru/freq.php>, based on the frequencies from the Russian National Corpus), and all corresponding verbs from the Russian web corpus RuTenTen11 (2011, <https://www.sketchengine.eu/rutenten-russian-corpus/>). The first database allows us to investigate the patterns that are well-established in the language, whereas the web corpus provides a better insight into more recent productive patterns.

We show that different allomorphs behave differently with loan verbs: e.g. *-irova-* is a purely loan verb marker with rare exceptions (*skladirovat'* 'put into storage; stock.IPF'); *-ova-*

is widely used with both loan and Slavic stems, while *-stvova-* is used only with Slavic stems. In order to estimate the predictive value of the aforementioned factors we analyze the distribution of the verbal suffixes across the two databases and test the interdependency between the choice of the suffix and the potentially relevant factors with the help of logistic regression.

References

- Horiguchi, Daiki. 2018. "Imperfectivation of borrowed verbs in Russian." *Russian Linguistics* 42: 345–356.
- Janda, Laura A., Anna Endresen, Julia Kuznetsova, Olga Lyashevskaya, Anastasia Makarova, Tore Nessel, and Svetlana Sokolova. 2013. *Why Russian aspectual prefixes aren't empty: prefixes as verb classifiers*. Slavica Publishers.
- Kemmer, Suzanne, and Michael Barlow. 1999. "Introduction: A usage-based conception of language." In *Usage-based models of language* edited by Michael Barlow and Suzanne Kemmer, vii–xxviii. Stanford, California: CSLI.
- Lyashevskaya, Olga, and Sergey Sharov. 2009. *The New Frequency Dictionary of Russian Vocabulary* (Based on the Materials of the Russian National Corpus). Moscow: Azbukovnik.
- Nessel, Tore, and Laura Janda. 2010. "Paradigm structure: Evidence from Russian suffix shift." *Cognitive Linguistics* 21 (4): 699–725.
- Olsson, Gustaf. 2021. "How Recently Borrowed Verbs in Russian Form Perfective Aspect — an Experimental Approach." *Slověne* 10 (1): 392–413.
- Švedova, Natalia, ed. 1980. *Russkaja grammatika*, vol. 1. Moskva: Nauka.

Metaphorical potential of lexical collocations: the case of the noun *prilika*

In this paper² we argue for the existence of regularities of collocational bonding. The starting hypothesis is that for a large number of lexical collocations, there are principles of combining words into collocations that are based on the same pattern. It is assumed that the motivation of the meaning of one collocate is based on the mechanism of metaphorization of a particular extra-linguistic reality with a background image that is specific (idiosyncratic) for the particular language. This is the reason for lexical differences in languages regarding collocations with the same meaning based on different images. It is also assumed that the pictures in these multi word expressions have faded over time, which has facilitated the semantic cohesiveness (interdependence) among the constituents of the collocation, which leads to restrictiveness in combining words into a collocation and inability to replace the collocate. In order to confirm the starting hypothesis and find recurring patterns of collocational bonding these presumptions are tested in a corpus driven research using the Croatian Web corpus hrWaC. Collocational profiles have been extracted with the help of SketchEngine, in particular the Word Sketch function of the manager which shows the most typical collocations and word combinations. The results are thus displayed in categories, called grammatical relations, such as words that serve as the object of the verb, words that serve as the subject of the verb, adjectives that modify the word, etc. These profiles have been analyzed from the semantic and pragmatic point of view in order to extract metaphorical collocations. In this paper we focus on the different metaphorical collocations constructed with the Croatian noun *prilika*. The results show that the polysemic meaning of the noun *prilika*: ('opportunity', 'condition', 'occasion', 'chance') is disambiguated by the cooccurrence of the collocate. Furthermore, some morphological features (such as singulalia or pluralia tantum) turned out to be crucial for the lexicalization of word combinations with *prilika* as base. *Prilika* as pluralia tantum always refers to 'weather condition' (i. e. *vremenske, meteorološke prilike*) or to certain circumstances the referees have found themselves (i. e. *financijske, životne, društvene prilike*). *Prilika* as singulalia tantum means 'opportunity' (i. e. *životna, jedinstvena, velika prilika*). That leads us to the conclusion that the meaning is ruled by grammaticalization strengthening the cohesiveness between the

² This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project *Metaphorical collocations – Syntagmatic word combinations between semantics and pragmatics* (IP-2020-02-6319).

collocational components. The analysis shows as well the prevalence of certain types of semantic change in the collocate when occurring with the noun: metaphorization in the combination verb + noun (direct object), i. e. *dobiti, pružiti, tražiti, stvoriti, iskoristiti priliku* and metonymy in the combination adjective + noun, i. e. *dobra ≠ loša prilika* (a person suitable/not suitable for marriage), *svečana prilika* (festivity). Both processes also strengthen the cohesiveness between the collocate and the base. As a great number of examples in the corpus is based on such semantic processes, we conclude that semantic and grammatic features play an important role in collocational bonding which emphasizes the importance of a big data research.

Irene Testini, University of Birmingham and Cardiff University, TestiniI@cardiff.ac.uk

Petar Milin, University of Birmingham, p.milin@bham.ac.uk

Dagmar Divjak, University of Birmingham, d.divjak@bham.ac.uk

On the learnability of aspect: a case study on Polish

We take a learning-based approach to exploring the cognitive plausibility of the linguistic category of aspect in Polish. Slavic aspect is traditionally described as a binary category consisting of imperfective and perfective, with verbs forming imperfective/perfective pairs (e.g. *pisac_impf* versus *napisac_pf* - “write”) or larger clusters, often triplets (e.g. *pisac_impf* versus *napisac_pf* versus *napisywac_secondary_imperfective*). L2 learners are taught to choose one aspectual form, depending on the meaning they intend to express. Unfortunately, the meaning of aspect has not been easy to pin down, and more than half a dozen (abstract) semantic concepts (boundedness, totality, resultativeness, specificity, perspective, foregrounding and sequencing) have been proposed, much to the despair of the foreign learner (Janda 2003). To establish whether aspectual usage can be learned from exposure to the ambient language only, without the need for abstract semantic labels, and to evaluate the types of cues and their informativity in learning to use the preferred aspectual form, we ran a number of learning simulations in which our algorithm learns to use aspect from exposure to text.

We tracked aspectual usage preferences for a set of 1,765 pairs in a random stratified sample of 10 million sentences in the indicative mood from the Araneum Polonicum corpus. Exploration of the raw data reveals that 1) the majority of verbs are biased towards one aspect, with only 194 verbs (11%) being equiprobable in either aspect, i.e., having a bias in the range of 0.4 – 0.6 and 2) that usage overall is biased towards the imperfective (70.7%), the bulk being consumed by the present tense (57.0%). In the future, the perfective takes the lion share (9.2% versus 1.0% for the imperfective). Only in the past do we see a situation that could demand a choice to be made between imperfective and perfective, with imperfective (12.7%) and perfective (20.1%) past both occurring in decent numbers.

For the learning simulation, we employed the Naïve Discriminative Learning model (NDL; Baayen, Milin, Đurđević, Hendrix, & Marelli, 2011), which implements the Rescorla-Wagner rule of associative, error-correction learning. NDL requires a frame of cues and outcomes for learning, and we employed 3 different types of cues (following Romain et al. 2022): n-grams or groups of 1 to 4 contiguous words in a sentence to represent the context; the verb’s meaning (through so-called superlemmata that encompass the aspectual pair or triplet);

and its tense (past, present or future). We trained a number of models on 8 million sentences using a different combination of cues and tested them on 2 million sentences. The results show that our algorithm achieves the highest accuracy (95% predicting imperfective and 90% predicting perfective) with a combination of lexical semantic and tense information.

We will discuss how these results suggest the distribution of aspect usage is such that aspect is likely learned as a lexical phenomenon, on a lemma-by-lemma basis, taking into account whether the event has already taken place (past), is taking place (present) or will take place (future). We will also use our results to explain why so-called redundant contexts (Janda & Reynolds 2019) are not surprisingly infrequent, as has been claimed, but exactly as frequent as they need to be.

References

- Baayen, R.H. & Milin, P. & Đurđević, D.F. & Hendrix, P. & Marelli, M. 2011. An amorphous model for morphological processing in visual comprehension based on naïve discriminative learning. *Psychological Review* 118, 3, 438-481.
- Janda, L.A. 2003. A user-friendly conceptualization of Aspect. *Slavic and East European Journal*, 47, 2, 251-281.
- Janda, L. A. & Reynolds, R. J. 2019. Construal vs. redundancy: Russian aspect in context. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 30, 467-497.
- Rescorla, R. A. & Wagner, R. A. 1972. A theory of Pavlovian conditioning: variations in the effectiveness of reinforcement and non-reinforcement. In: BLACK, H. & PROKSAY, W. F. (eds.) *Classical conditioning II*. New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Jelena Tušek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, jtusek@ffzg

Jelena Parizoska, Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Zagreb,

jelena.parizoska@ufzg.hr

Gradability of figurative meanings of Croatian ingesting verbs

Verbs of ingesting provide a rich source of metaphorical conceptualizations in Croatian, e.g. *jesti živce* komu (lit. eat someone's nerves) 'drive someone up the wall', *žderati resurse* (lit. devour resources) 'use up resources', *gutati knjige* (lit. swallow books) 'read eagerly'. Corpus-based studies of Croatian (Parizoska and Tušek 2022) show that some of those verbs are particularly productive in figurative usage. For example, in SVO constructions, *žderati* 'devour' and *gutati* 'swallow' typically occur with objects which do not designate food, and those uses are mostly figurative. Corpus data also shows that Croatian ingesting verbs commonly occur with inanimate subjects, e.g. *aplikacije gutaju bateriju* (lit. apps are swallowing the battery), and those uses may also be classified as figurative. Furthermore, some authors (Hanks 2006) argue that metaphoricity is gradable and depends on the number of semantic properties shared by two concepts. However, this is based on corpus data rather than speakers' judgments.

This paper explores speakers' perceptions of the figurativeness of three Croatian ingesting verbs – *jesti* 'eat', *žderati* 'devour' and *gutati* 'swallow' – in SVO constructions. We hypothesize that a meaning will be perceived as more figurative if the object is a noun which does not refer to food and if the subject is inanimate. We also hypothesize there will be individual differences between the three verbs. Fifty native speakers of Croatian filled in a questionnaire with 60 sentences, 30 of which contained the three ingesting verbs. The SVO constructions comprise four groups based on the verbs' common collocates: 1) Human V Food (*Iva jede sendviče* 'Iva is eating sandwiches'), 2) Human V Non-Food (*Ana ždere cigarete* 'Ana is devouring cigarettes'), 3) Inanimate V Inanimate (*Lampica jede žarulje* 'The lamp is eating light bulbs'), 4) Abstract Entity V Human (*Recesija guta trgovce* 'The recession is swallowing sellers'). The participants rated a verb's meaning in each sentence from 1 ('completely literal') to 5 ('very figurative'). We conducted ANOVA tests, with the cutoff threshold for figurativeness set at 3.5.

We obtained three groups of results. Firstly, the SVO constructions form a scale from the most literal meaning (Human V Food, $M = 1.327$) to the most figurative meaning (Abstract V Human, $M = 4.485$). Secondly, among the non-literal meanings, the group Abstract V Human was rated as more figurative than Inanimate V Inanimate. Finally, the literal meaning was rated

higher for *žderati* ‘devour’ ($M = 1.324$) and *gutati* ‘swallow’ ($M = 1.678$) than for *jesti* ‘eat’ ($M = 1.008$). In all three groups of results the differences were significant, with large effect size. Overall, the degree of figurativeness of the three verbs’ meanings depends on the type of SVO pattern in which they occur, with those containing the least prototypical subject (abstract noun) and object (human) being perceived as the most figurative. Furthermore, the differences in speakers’ perceptions of literal meanings are in line with corpus data: *jesti* is predominantly used literally, whereas the uses of *žderati* and *gutati* are mostly figurative. The findings suggest that the gradability of figurative meanings may have psychological reality.

References

- Hanks, Patrick. 2006. “Metaphoricity is gradable.” In *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, edited by Anatol Stefanowitsch and Stefan Th. Gries, 17–35. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Parizoska, Jelena, and Jelena Tušek. 2022. “Figurative Expressions with Verbs of Ingesting in Croatian.” In *EUROPHRAS 2022: Computational and Corpus-Based Phraseology*, edited by Gloria Corpas Pastor and Ruslan Mitkov, 175–189. Cham: Springer.

How to request permission in Slavic languages? A comparative corpus-based study of modal constructions used in speech acts of request

Requests for permission are a common speech phenomenon. A request is a directive speech act for which the illocutionary purpose is to get the hearer to do something when it is not obvious that the hearer will perform the action in the normal course of events (Searle 1969). In this case, the speaker wants the hearer to give them permission to do something. In Russian a specific construction with the modal word *можно* ‘be possible’ (*можно* + INF) is used by speakers to request permission to carry out an action (Choi 1994). The modal adverbs with the same meaning exist in other Slavic languages: *možno* in Belarusian, *možno* and *można* in Polish, *možná* in Czech etc., however they are not typically used for requesting permission in all of them.

In this talk, I will show how requests for permission to carry out an action are coded in eight Slavic languages, namely Belarusian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Serbian, Slovak, and Ukrainian compared to Russian. The preliminary analysis of data retrieved from the parallel corpus InterCorp (part of the Czech National Corpus <http://www.korpus.cz/>) for Belarusian, Bulgarian, Czech and Russian shows that the central means to express request in Belarusian and Russian are by use of impersonal constructions with the modal adverb ‘be possible’: *možna* + INF and *možno* + INF correspondingly, whereas Bulgarian and Czech tend to resort to constructions with the modal verb ‘can’: *mòga* + *da* + INF and *(ne)moci* + INF correspondingly. Both Bulgarian and Czech also demonstrate a more varied inventory of constructions for requesting that includes conditionals, constructions with modal verbs such as ‘need’ *trjabva* + *da* + INF, ‘to dare’ *smět* + INF or ‘to bother’ *(ne)vadit* + *by* + INF or direct questions.

I will present networks of constructions used for requesting permission to carry out an action for each language separately, taking into consideration factors such as the modality type of construction (possibility, necessity), information structure, and politeness strategy. These findings allow me to group languages according to the prototypical means used to express requests.

References

- Choi, Sung-ho. 1994. “Modal predicates in Russian: semantics and syntax.” PhD diss., dissertation, UCLA.

Searle, John Rogers. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Empty negation? Two competing contrastive constructions in Russian

I address two competing constructions with the contrastive multi-word conjunctions *a to* and *a ne to* in Russian that might be rendered in English as ‘or’ or ‘otherwise’:

- (1) — *Lučše otkroj, a to dver' vyloma-em!*
better open.IMP.SG and that door.ACC.SG break-FUT.1PL

[Elena Xaeckaja. Sinie strekozy Vavilona/ Sud'ja nepodkupnyj (1997)]

‘You better open the door, or I’ll break it!’

- (2) *Otkroj, a ne to vyb'-ju dver'!*
open.IMP.SG and NEG that smash-FUT.1SG door.ACC.SG

[Ales' Paškevič. Sim pobediši // «Sibirskie ogni», 2013]

‘Open the door, or I’ll smash it!’

Despite the presence of the negation marker *ne* in (2), but not in (1), these constructions may be considered synonymous in certain contexts. Based on data from the Russian Constructicon (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>) and the Russian National Corpus (<https://ruscorpora.ru/>), I propose a radial category for the two constructions and show that they have partly overlapping and partly different distribution in the category network. I furthermore show how this distribution has changed over time. Preliminary results suggest that the negation marker is not semantically empty but adds an expressive nuance to the constructions.

These constructions have attracted considerable attention in scholarly literature (e.g., Podlesskaja 2000; Uryson 2008, 2010; Levontina 2013; In'kova 2020). These studies provide numerous valuable insights, but do not involve systematic analysis of corpus data and do not investigate diachronic change. Furthermore, earlier studies do not apply the tools of cognitive linguistics and do not explore the semantic neighborhood of the relevant constructions, involving variants, such as *a to i*, *ne to*, *a ne to čto*, *a ne to čtoby*, *ne to čto*, *ne to čtoby*. My goal is to fill this knowledge gap.

I have constructed a database from the Russian National Corpus and created a radial category with six sub-categories organized around a prototype. While all examples involve juxtaposition of two or more situations, the relationships between these situations vary with regard to emphasis, contrast, and causation. My analysis illustrates how cognitive linguistics

enables us to uncover the semantic nuances of partially interchangeable constructions.

References

- Levontina, Irina. 2013. "O pričinnom značenii sojuza A TO." *Komp'juternaja lingvistika i intelektual'nye texnologii: Po materialam ežegodnoï Meždunar. konf. Dialog* 12(19): 434–445. <https://www.dialog-21.ru/media/1261/levontinaib.pdf>
- In'kova, Olga. 2020. "A TO i ego formal'nye varianty." In *Struktura konnektorov i metody ee opisaniya* edited by Olga In'kova, 48-86.
- Podlesskaja, Vera. 2000. "INAČE, A TO, A NE TO: rezumtivnye sojuzy kak sposob vyraženiya otricateľ'nogo uslovija." In *Složnoe predloženie: tradicionnye voprosy teorii i opisaniya i novye aspekty ego izučeniya*. Vol. 1.
- Uryson, Elena. 2008. "Sojuzy A TO i A NE TO: počemu v nekotoryx kontekstax oni sinonimičny." *Komp'juternaja lingvistika i intelektual'nye texnologii. Trudy Meždunarodnoj konferencii «DIALOG 2008»*. https://www.dialog-21.ru/digests/dialog2008/materials/html/82.htm#_ftn1
- Uryson, Elena. 2010. "Sostavnye sojuzy A TO i A NE TO: vozmožnosti semantičeskogo kompozicional'nogo analiza." *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 2010 (1): 61-73. <https://vja.ruslang.ru/ru/archive/2010-1/61-73>

Workshop

New digital pedagogical tools for teaching L2 Russian

The pandemic has made the development and use of digital teaching materials more important than ever, and it is therefore timely to think through the benefits of and obstacles to digital media.

This workshop will propose that it is possible to optimize current practices of teaching and learning L2 Russian by making them more strategic, student-oriented, and research-based. The three sections will present three newly launched pedagogical resources created by members of the CLEAR group at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. The novelty and high quality of these resources is recognized by the prestigious Education prize granted in 2021 by the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education at UiT.

The workshop will open with the *SMARTool* that brings the focus to most frequent wordforms identified via corpus methods for a basic vocabulary of 3,000 Russian lexemes. *SMARTool* reduces the burden of learning new forms by 90%.

Next, we turn to the *Russian Constructicon* and its practical application *Construxercise!*, a resource inspired by the view of language as a structured inventory of grammatical constructions, as argued by Construction Grammar. Here the user finds a searchable database of over 2200 frequent multiword constructions that are thoroughly described and illustrated and can upgrade the learner's language skills to a native-like proficiency level with the help of over 150 exercises.

The final section presents *My Russian Journey*, a new digital textbook for teaching elementary Russian that contains texts, grammar, and interactive exercises as well as videos and songs. The textbook unfolds a detective story that brings the reader to various remote unorthodox places of Russia and reveals its multifaceted reality.

Each section introduces a novel pedagogical resource, provides an overview of how it is organized, and offers a number of scenarios of its use in the classroom.

Elena Bjørgve, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, elena.bjorgve@uit.no

Elmira Zhamaletdinova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, e.zhamaletdinova@uit.no

Svetlana Sokolova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, svetlana.sokolova@uit.no

Daria Kosheleva, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, daria.kosheleva@uit.no

My Russian Journey: New Teaching Practices for Elementary Russian

This paper discusses essential issues in teaching elementary Russian as a Foreign Language and analyzes the process of creation of a digital curriculum along with ways to integrate it into the classroom. We provide insight into recently emerged researched-based methods of language analysis based on corpus research (Sokolova and Endresen 2022) and build corresponding teaching practices.

Through an overview of *My Russian Journey* (MRJ), a new digital beginner course in L2 Russian available on the open MOOC platform Open EdX (<https://mooc.uit.no/courses/course-v1:UiT+C001+2020/about>), we approach several important issues in the teaching of Russian at beginner level. MRJ contributes to the discussion about student-centered learning (Hoidn 2017) through active student involvement in the design of the resource. The students have given valuable feedback on the structure and content of the grammar instructions and have contributed to the creation of the media module.

Furthermore, in the curriculum, language serves as a cultural medium, as MRJ's texts are rooted in the rich cultural, national, religious, and geographic diversity of Russia and place special emphasis on the long-established amicable relations between Russia and Norway. The texts around which the resource is built present a detective story about two siblings from Norway who travel to Russia to find their relatives and learn about their family history. The historical credibility of the events mentioned in the texts has been checked by consulting relevant literature and experts in Russian and Norwegian history.

Finally, we investigate whether digital platforms can completely replace paper textbooks. We analyze how the resource can be integrated into the classroom by presenting the experiences from the pilot semester with MRJ at UiT The Arctic University of Norway and Kongsbakken High School in Tromsø. We conclude by highlighting student feedback that was particularly impactful in MRJ course design and discussing ways to facilitate student engagement.

References

Hoidn, Sabine. 2017. *Student-Centered Learning Environments in Higher Education*

Classrooms. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sokolova, Svetlana, and Anna Endresen, eds. 2022. *Russian Language Journal* 72 (1–2): Collaboration Beyond the Classroom: Undergraduate Research in Russian Language Studies.

Daria Demidova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, dashademidova1998@gmail.com

Georgy Lonshakov, University of Trento, Italy, gglonshakov@gmail.com

Gamification targeting high-frequency wordforms in Russian language learning

The current study discusses two designs to gamify L2 learning of Russian inflectional morphology: Treasure Hunt and Story Time. The goal of these designs is to focus learning on high-frequency word forms that are most strategic and effective for L2 acquisition in a way that stimulates engagement and builds lifelong learning skills.

Russian is a language with rich inflectional morphology, words can have many different forms to signal grammatical categories. However, only a handful of the potential forms of a word occur frequently, while the remainder are rare: three word forms account for the majority of uses of an average high-frequency inflected Russian word (Janda and Tyers, 2018).

Janda and Tyers's (2018) experimental results suggest that learning should be focused on the most-frequent inflected forms rather than on whole paradigms, which has inspired the development of the SMARTool (Janda, 2019). The aim of the SMARTool is to give learners and instructors access to Russian word forms stratified by frequency, with the focus on the word forms and contexts that are most strategic for learners to acquire.

The SMARTool is a free, publicly available resource which represents over 3,000 nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The SMARTool reflects a basic minimal vocabulary for proficiency levels A1 through B2 (Common European Frame of Reference). The SMARTool gives users access to up to three most strategic inflected forms for each word, as well as their usage contexts. However, the resource is relatively static: users need instructions on how to use the SMARTool and a motive to do so. We offer two designs that encourage students and instructors to employ the SMARTool in L2 learning.

The Treasure Hunt design encourages users to explore various peculiarities of the Russian language in phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax. Each Treasure Hunt begins with a Prompt, an instruction on how to use a SMARTool search function to extract a target set of sentences, and a question to consider. We have created 36 exercises stratified for proficiency levels A1 through B2. Treasure Hunts are designed to inspire linguistic curiosity (without needing to know any linguistic terms) and to encourage learners to gather data and deduce patterns.

The goal of Story Time is to build skills and confidence in productive communication in Russian. The task for learners is to use the models of word forms and their typical contexts

presented in the SMARTool to build their own sentences and, ultimately, paragraphs. Story Time provides ample opportunities for learners at all levels from A1 to B2: currently there are 5 Story Time prompts on various topics for each level.

Both gamification designs can be a part of self-study, a homework assignment, or a classroom assignment.

URL: <https://smartool.github.io/exercises/>

References

- Janda, Laura A., and Francis M. Tyers. 2018. "Less is More: Why All Paradigms are Defective, and Why that is a Good Thing." *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 14 (2): 109–141. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2018-0031>.
- Janda, Laura A. 2019. "SMARTool: The Strategic Mastery of Russian Tool." <https://smartool.github.io/smartool-rus-eng/>.

Anna Endresen, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, anna.endresen@uit.no

Valentina Zhukova, UiT The Arctic University of Norway, valentina.a.zhukova@uit.no

Construxercise!: how to implement a construction-based approach to language pedagogy

We propose a construction-based approach (Ellis 2013; Herbst 2016) to learning and teaching Russian as a second language (L2) and present an innovative pedagogical resource called *Construxercise!* *Hands-on learning of Russian constructions* (<https://constructicon.github.io/construxercise-rus/>) that implements this approach. *Construxercise!* is a free open-access website that offers over 150 exercises designed to improve the learners' text production skills both in speaking and writing. The exercises target 57 Russian discourse constructions, such as (1):

(1) (a/tak) čto nasčët XP?

Čto nasčët pjatnicy? Kakie u tebjá plány?

'How about Friday? Do you have any plans?'

In (1), we represent the open slot as XP, because apart from a noun in the genitive (like *pjatnicy*) this slot is often filled infinitives (*Čto nasčët pojti v bassejn?* **'How about** going to the swimming pool?') or adverbs (*Čto nasčët zavtra?* **'How about** tomorrow?').

The *Construxercise!* resource is built in close collaboration with our students and benefits from both native and non-native perspectives on L2 Russian. *Construxercise!* is a practical application of the Russian Construction (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>), a large searchable database of over 2200 Russian constructions, where the selected discourse constructions are thoroughly described.

The exercises challenge the learners with real-life problem-solving tasks that engage them in conversation, such as job interview, ordering in a restaurant, explaining a health problem to a doctor, applying for a tourist visa, etc. By means of this resource, we show that it is possible for learners to train in speaking and writing even at early stages of learning Russian (CEFR levels A2-B1). We offer exercises that feature neither sophisticated vocabulary nor advanced grammar, but nevertheless let the learners gain self-confidence by upgrading the coherence and fluency of their speech production. The constructions are grouped by 12 lessons (such as *Getting around* or *Cooking and eating*) and by the 9 functions they perform in text (such as *Give an example* or *Add information*). Review lessons 5 and 12 offer strategic templates of text

organization at the micro-level by combining constructions in strings. Such templates can be employed to produce texts of various topics and genres.

We argue that the *Construxercise!* resource fills an essential gap in available educational materials and provides a powerful alternative way to successfully organize conversational practice in L2 Russian. Targeting 57 strategic and highly frequent discourse constructions in language learning brings the focus to conversation and strengthens text production skills. In this talk, we will detail our methodology, explain the choice of constructions and the structure of lessons, and discuss the architecture of the website.

References

- Ellis, Nick. 2013. "Construction Grammar and Second Language Acquisition." In *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar*, edited by Thomas Hoffmann and Graeme Trousdale, 365–378. Oxford University Press.
- Herbst, Thomas. 2016. "Foreign language learning is construction learning – what else? Moving towards Pedagogical Construction Grammar." In *Applied Construction Grammar*, edited by Sabine De Knop and Gaëtanelle Gilquin, 21–52. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.