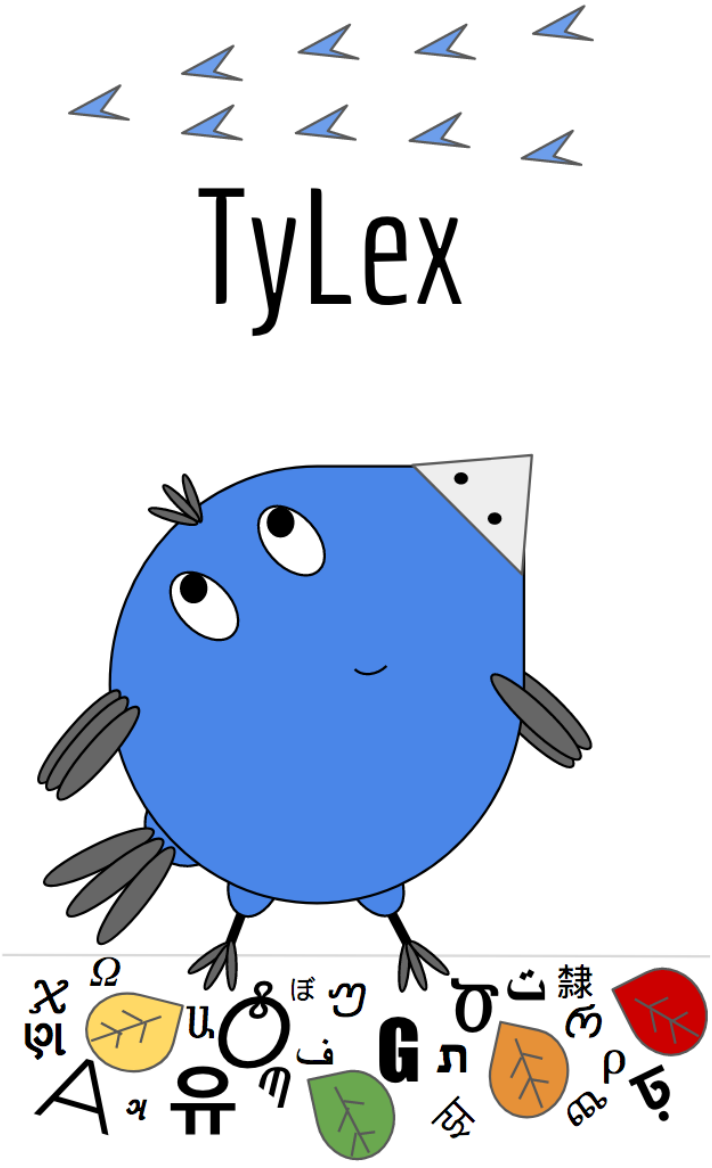
Poster Session Abstract Book

International Summer School on Typology and Lexicon
(TyLex)



September 1-8, 2017

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Constructions with names of body parts from a typological perspective

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Introduction

For several decades, the human body has not ceased to be an object of study and debate in the field of lexical typology. Despite of this, methods, which are used to collect vocabulary and its further analysis are very monotonous. For example, one of approaches is to sign a drawing in detail (Enfield 2006).
The obvious disadvantage of this approach is that not all of the obtained lexemes are used in real language contexts. As it turns out, an object in an individual nomination can be called in a different way than the same object in the composition of an utterance.
The research was based on Fillmore's theories of the Construction Grammar (CxG) where a construction is a unit of language (Fillmore 1988).

Goals

The main aim of the research is to determine how the body parts are categorized through the prism of constructions. It is expected that the division of the human body into parts represented in constructions does not coincide with the usual concepts that can be obtained from a picture.

The second goal is to develop a system of body-part concepts that is not based on English. All of the researches in the field of BP (body part) categorization use concepts based on English lexemes. At this rate it turns out that the body part conceptualization in English is the gold standard, and not just another lexical variation of more neutral category system. This causes some confusion in the perception of body parts concepts for non-native speakers of English, because everyone thinks in terms and categories of his/her language

The third task is to create a new visual test type for body part categories build upon constructions. It follows the hypothesis of the mismatch of the nominal division of the body into parts and the functioning of the names of parts of the body in the language. If this is the case, then collecting the vocabulary of this semantic field only through existing methods is inexpedient, the methodology for collecting linguistic material in this area requires improvement.

Methods

The main approach was a corpus research in RNC and Sketch Engine for Russian, Czech, German, English. The search was specified by 2-grams (verb + body part) and 3-grams (verb + preposition + body part). In general, the search formula looks like following:

V(verb) + <P(preposition)> + BP(body part)
For example:
опираться(v) на(p) руку(bp)
толкнуть(v) локтём(bp)
von(p) der Schulter(bp) rutschen(v)

The outputs were checked by native speakers for these 4 languages.

Constructions
All the constructions were divided into 3 groups:

group (a)
constructions that are relevant for any body part:
look at your hand, look at your toes, smell your fingers, touch your forearm etc.

group (b)
constructions where a body part might be replaced by another one that is similar in form or functionality:
bend a knee, bend an elbow, *bend a hip

group (c)
fixed constructions in which it is only possible to use a certain body part:
sšibit' s nog, *sšibit' s plečej (rus.)
'ride down (lit. from legs)' *'ride down from shoulders'

Only the constructions from groups (b) and (c) were used for the further work.

Results:
All the BP-categories were named with Greek letters as a part of the new neutral BP-system. And here is one of them - **Concept (ρ)** (pic.1).
The concept 'knee' (ρ), which is habitually represented as 'колено' (rus.), 'koleno' (cz.), 'knee' (eng.), 'Knie' (ger.). All constructions with these words fall into 3 contexts, which allow us to distinguish 3 different subconcepts (1-3).
(ρ.3) physically coincides with the 'hip' concept (σ), which can also be divided into subconcepts (σ.1) and (σ.2). However, the constructions possible for the concept's lexeme (ρ.3) are not possible with the same lexemes for the hip (σ.1) and (σ.2) (4), and vice versa (5). (ρ.1) in a biological sense is a shin. (ρ.2) is a usual way to determine a knee.

(ρ.1)

(1) a. vstat' s **kolen** (rus.)
*vstat' s **goleni**
b. polzat‘ na četveren›kah (rus.)
polzat‘ na **kolenjah**
*polzat' na **golenjah**

(ρ.2)

(2) a. ‘she pushed the door by her **knee**' (eng.)

(ρ.3)

(3) a. ‘rebjonok sidit na **kolenjah** u materi› (rus.)
b.'a kid sits on his mother's **lap**' (eng.)
c.‘ein Kind sitzt auf dem **Schoß** seiner Mutter›,
‚ein Kind sitzt auf den **Knien** seiner Mutter› (ger.)
d.sedět na **klíně** (cz.)

(4) *rebjonok sidit na **bjodrah** (rus.)

(5) shvatit' za **ljazhku** (rus.)
?shvatit' za **koleno**

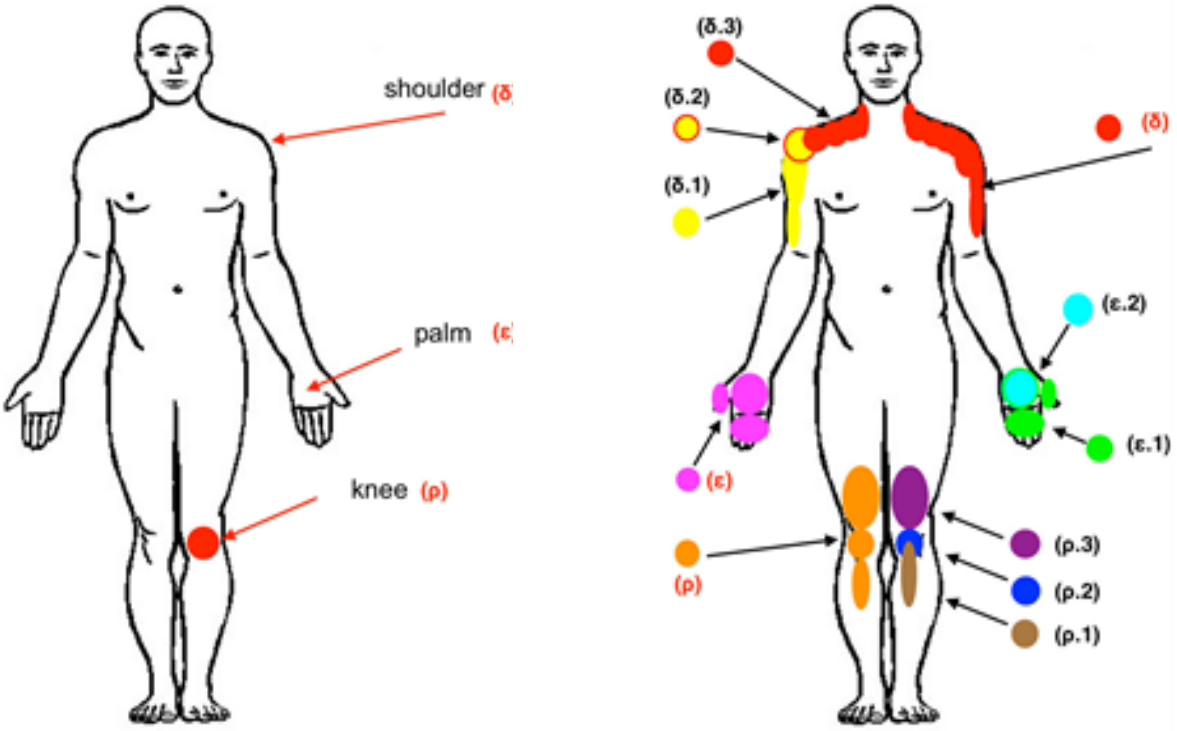
The main hypothesis of the mismatch of the nominal division of the body into parts and the functioning of the names of parts of the body in the language is confirmed. And here is one more result of the research - a new visual test type for body part categories - ‹Context› test. It has 3 different stages.

Stage 1.
In this stage we can use existed test to collect lexemes. For instance, Body Colouring Task (van Staden, Majid 2006). After this part interviewers are divided into 2 groups.

Group 1. Stage 2.
The interviewers are asked to describe a picture-situations, using body parts. This is needed to get a small corpora of contexts, which is used for the 3rd part.

Group 2. Stage 3.
Checking the 2nd part. Giving interviewers sentences / constructions (groups (a), (b), (c)), asking to shade used body parts.

Pic. 1. Constructions as a new tool in the conceptualization of body parts:
A. Some of the concepts, based on picture tagging / colouring tasks;
B. Some of the concepts, based on constructions.



A B

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On lexical restrictions in grammar: Hill Mari verbs and lative constructions

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There are 11 cases in Hill Mari (<Finno-Ugric) and three of them are locative: inessive, illative and lative (see (Alhoniemi 1993), (Savatkova 2002)). Illative encodes a directional meaning (1), while inessive refers to location (2). Lative can mark both endpoint (3) and location (4).

As can be seen from these examples, lative sometimes competes with illative or inessive. I claim that the use of lative depends on the semantics of a verb. Traditional Mari grammars ignore the factor of verbal semantics (see also (Pengitov 1961) and (Galkin 1964)). This issue was touched upon in (Biryuk, Rozhanskiy 2002) dealing with Meadow Mari, but it does not suggest any full-scale investigation of verbal semantics.

My data was collected mostly by elicitation in fieldwork (the village of Kuznecovo, 2016 – 2017). I have examined about 100 verbs from different semantic domains and their compatibility with locative arguments in different spatial cases. I have distinguished the following groups of verbs which can attach a lative argument:

- conversion to a new state (amalen keäš ‘to fall asleep’, šačaš ‘to be born’, šəläš ‘to hide oneself’, kolaš ‘to die’, jamaš ‘to disappear’)
- process of development or transformation (kuškaš ‘to grow’, jə̑lataš ‘to burn smth.’, šoltaš ‘to boil smth.’, mə̑škə̑ltaš ‘to wash’)

verbs which refer to a long-term stay of the subject / object at some location when the action is comple ted (säkäš ‘to hang smth.’, kodaš ‘to leave smth.’, šäräš ‘to spread’, pižäš ‘to get stuck’)

Lative is impossible with the following groups of verbs:

- motion verbs which do not imply that the subject / object remains at some location for a long time (keäš ‘to go’, kə̑dalaš ‘to go away’, tolaš ‘to come’, šuaš ‘to throw’)
- stative locative predicates when the subject / object does not undergo changes (ə̑laš ‘to be’, amalaš ‘to sleep’, və̑čaš ‘to wait’, šənzäš ‘to sit’)

I have tried to verify the contrast between the verbs implying vs. not implying a long-term stay against the definitions of their Russian counterparts coming from (Apresjan et al. 2014) (since there is no detailed semantic account of Hill Mari verbs). Thus, the verb vbit’ ‘to hammer in’ (Hill Mari pə̑dalaš compatible with lative) is defined as “A person A1 ... caused A2 to enter completely or partially inside an object A3” (vol. 2, p. 25), whereas the verb brosat’ ‘to throw’ (Hill Mari šuaš incompatible with lative) has the following definition: “A person A1 keeping an object A2 in their hand(s), swings their arm and leaves hold of it, directing A2 so that it flew into A3, onto A3 or towards A3” (vol. 1, p. 360-361), which provides no information on whether A2 is intended to stay at A3 for a long time.

The semantics of change common for other verbs from the list can probably be the result of an implicature: the entity is in some location for a long time -> the entity undergoes changes in this location. This shift should be discussed in light of data about implicature in lexical and grammatical semantics, see e.g. (Kearns 2010), (Traugott 2012), (Rakhilina et al. 2010).

Examples

(1) mən' xala-š(kə)/ *xala-štə/ *xala-eš tol-ən-am
I town-ILL town-IN town-LAT come-PFV-1SG
'I came to the town.'

(2) mən' xala-štə / *xala-š(kə)/ *xala-eš əl-en-äm
I town-IN town-ILL town-LAT live-PFV-1SG
'I lived in the town.'

(3) vas'a sündək-əškə/ sündək-eš šəl-ən
Vasya big.box-ILL big.box-LAT hide-PFV.3SG
'Vasya hid into a big box.'

(4) tədə sad-əštə/ sad-eš kod-eš
he garden-IN garden-LAT stay-NPST.3SG
'He will stay in the garden.'

Abbreviations

ILL - illative, IN - inessive, LAT - lative, NPST - nonpast tense, PFV – 2nd past tense, SG – singular

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Verbs referring to waving of animals' tails, wings and ears in typological perspective

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Introduction

Although some previous research on the verbs of waving, swinging and moving has already been done (E.V.Raknilina, 2001; T.V.Velejshikina, 2015; E.V.Raknilina, I.A.Prokofjeva, 2005; M.M.Shapiro, 2015), it never focused on the movements of animals' parts of body. In order to look at this sub-group more closely, we narrowed the semantic field to waving, swinging and moving of animals' tails, wings and ears. Based on relevant data collected from various languages, we have the objective of making frames for these verbs in this specific field and making a comparison between their prototype meanings. We also intend to look at distribution of the prototype meanings of the verbs by collecting data from the corpora.

Research question

After the data on moving of tails was collected, we found an interesting effect: for example, in Russian there is a distinction between verbs referring to moving of cow's (maxat') and dog's (vil'at') tails. In view of this fact, the next step is to look at the opposition of different movements among different animals' body parts and whether there is any influence of the way they are performed (e.g. mood, intensity, etc.).
Then, we determined the groups of direct objects besides animals' parts of body, which go with the chosen verbs. Based on analysis of these groups, the paths of lexicalization of the verbs were defined.

Methodology

The data on verbs connected with tails and ears movement was collected from corpora and dictionaries of the chosen languages. The data on movement of wings was collected by using exactly the same methods.
In order to get a representative selection of collocations of verbs with objects, we picked the languages that are provided with a well-filled corpus. For each verb, we took an equal amount of random entries, analysing them manually and uniting them into the wider groups (a piece of fabric, a tail, a leg, stick-like objects, etc.).
After that, we made a visualization for this information and compared the verbs inside each language and among the chosen languages. Within each language we investigated strategies of lexicalization for verbs referring to tails, wings and ears movement.
Then, we checked if our method is relevant to the languages left, those that do not have a reliable corpus, by contacting the native speakers.

Obtained results

For now, we collected and analysed the data on six languages: Russian, Italian, English, Polish, Chinese and Albanian. We noticed a considerable variation depending on the way the actions are performed or the

size of the animal. Thus, for each language, we received the lists of verbs up to twelve in length, many of which could go with several parts of animals' body. After that, we formed the groups of the objects that collocate with the chosen verbs and thus it helped us to determine prototype meanings of those verbs. Based on the data of collocations with parts of bodies as well as prototype meanings, two visualizations were made: one for prototype meanings and another one for the frames we made. Interestingly, in addition to object-like sources, onomatopoeic ones were also found, what was also reflected on the visualization.

Further research

As a result, we have a set of frames which can be used for creating a questionnaire. The visualization of the information we collected is aimed to form some future expectations. It can clearly be seen that there is a number of parameters that define the meaning of the verbs. However, it is based almost exclusively on data from corpora and dictionaries with quite limited consultants' confirmation.

In future, we intend to expand the number of languages up to 15. Also, it is essential to check the data with a fair number of consultants.
After collecting and checking all the data, we are going to look more closely at the distribution of prototype meanings using quantitative methods.

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Rutul and Tsakhur attributivizer in a typological perspective

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This study is inspired by a suffix in Rutul (Lezgic brench of East Caucasian; Daghestan), whose morphological behavior is highly intriguing. The function of the suffix -d(ɨ) is to mark nominal dependency. It means that all forms with functions comparable to genitive, participle and adjective in other languages carry this suffix. Below, this marker is called attributivizer. It attaches to some bound stems (oblique[1] stem of nouns (1) and (im)perfective stem of verbs (2)) and to some morphologically autonomous forms (some case forms (3), predicative (4), infinitive (5), adverb (6)) as well. The form ending in -d(ɨ) modifies the head noun. When the head noun is elided, this modifier can attach nominal morphology (oblique morphemes and case markers), becoming a head itself (7).

We can see that the attributivizers are at the same time integrated into paradigms (in the nominal one in both languages and also in verbal and one of predicatives in Rutul) and can attach to the whole wordforms. Moreover, it has its own nominal morphology, i.e. it attach number and case markers when a head noun is elided.

The attributivizer in Tsakhur behaves in a very similar way. The main difference is that it has several allomorphs whose choice depends on the noun class, plurality and obliqueness of the head noun: -n for a singular direct head of 1-3 classes, -na for other (4 class or plural) direct heads and -ni for a head in an oblique case or in the attributive form (see Kibrik (1999: 193)). According to Alekseev (1985: 44), the Tsakhur attributivizer originates from the common Lezgic genitive *-n, while the Rutul one is a reflex of the common Lezgic attributivizer *-t:V. Thus, the two genetically close Lezgic languages share a common pattern of a polyfunctional attributivizer also serving as a genitive, but the one in Tsakhur is originally the genitive marker detached from nouns and the one in Rutul is originally the adjectivizer that acquired genitive function.

How it could happen? Since the two attributivizers came from the different sources, I suggest that a language contact played a role.

I suggest that firstly, when the Rutul attributivizer substitutes the genitive, it enters into the nominal paradigm. The resulting nominal forms have aligned with the forms of all other oblique cases. Interestingly, this process seems to be parallel to the one observed in Slavic possessive adjectives ending in -in by Zaliznjak (1991: 155-156). In some Slavic languages, a special morphonological process (one of the palatalizations) takes place before the possessive adjectivizer but not before inflectional case suffixes. At present, in all Slavic languages the morphophonological processes triggered by –in and case inflections are the same.

[1] We use the term oblique as opposite to the nominative. All other cases are oblique and attach to the oblique stems, which are formed by the oblique morphemes from the direct stem (see Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 292-294).

In other words, in these languages the possessive adjectivizer started to behave like other members of the case paradigm.

After this process, the Tsakhur atributivizer expand its usage on the predicatives, being influenced by the Rutul one.

Examples

(1) **wɨɣɨl-now-dɨ** q'uwa
man-OBL.SG-ATR power(NOM)
man's power

(2) za-s ø-hac'a-r-a **su‹ø›q'-u-d** edemi
I-DAT 1-know-CVB-AUX1 **‹1›seat-PFV-ATR** man(NOM)
I know the seated man.

(3) za-d li-ʔ-i-r **gad-ije-s-dɨ** xuw
I-ERG eat-4-PFV-CVB **boy-OBL-DAT-ATR** bread(NOM)
I ate the bread which was for the boy.

(4) za-d li-ʔ-i-r-a-j **ir-dɨ** eč
I-ERG eat-4-PFV-CVB-AUX1-PS **red-ATR** apple(NOM)
I ate the red apple.

(5) sat-as-dɨ
leave-INF-ATR
who will leave / be left (Alekseev 1994: 235)

(6) k'ɨbdi-d
early-ATR
early (adj), fast (adj), ancient (Makhmudova 2002: 99)

(7) musa j-irq'-ɨ-r ǯag^{w}ar-dɨ xejwan-a-k^{w}an ali j-irq'-ɨ-r **liχ^{ʕ}-dɨ ø-k^{w}an**
Musa 1-arrive-PFV-CVB white-ATR horse-OBL-COM Ali 1-arrive-PFV-CVB **black-ATR-COM**
Musa arrives on the white horse, Ali on the black one. (Mikhailov S., field data)

Abbreviations

1 — 1st lexical class (males);
2 — 2nd lexical class (females);
3 — 3rd lexical class;
4 — 4th lexical class;
ATR — attributivizer;
AUX1 — auxiliary verb;
CVB — converb;
DAT — dative case;
ERG — ergative case;
INF — infinitive;
NOM — nominative;
OBL — oblique stem;
PFV — perfective;
PST — past tense;
SG — singular number

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Metaphorical uses of verbs of animal sounds in Swedish

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Metaphors with the animal domain as a source are common in languages. Verbs of animal sounds, such as the English verb bark which expresses the sound emitted by dogs, constitute a well-defined lexical domain and lend themselves easily for metaphorical uses. For example, bark can be used with a human subject, to bark a command. Verbs of animal sounds, specified to type of sound and prototypical animal emitting them, are common and often numerous in European languages (Chahine 2017). In recent years, studies of the metaphorical uses of verbs of animal sounds have been conducted on several languages, such as Russian, English, and Modern Chinese (see for example Rakhilina 2010, Merle 2017, and Kholkina 2017). Studies show how the same types of human sounds recur in metaphoric expressions, for example 'laughter', 'crying', or sounds like a growling stomach or hoarse voice (Rakhilina and Parina 2017). Rakhilina and Parina (2017) have developed a classification of these recurring situations. However, the source for these metaphorical expressions, that is the verb that expresses specific animals and sounds, differs cross-linguistically. For example, Rakhilina and Parina (2017) describe how the human non-verbal situation 'laughter' is expressed metaphorically with different animal sources: the neighing of horses in Russian, the bleating of sheep in Armenian, or the hooting of owls in English. In Swedish, one can gnägga 'neigh' when you laugh, or böla 'bellow' when you cry. The verbs of animal sounds in Swedish and their patterns of metaphorical uses have so far not been investigated.

The present study investigates the metaphorical use of 13 verbs of animal sounds in Swedish. It seeks to describe which situations can be expressed by metaphorical use of the chosen verbs, which different situations can be expressed metaphorically by one and the same verb, and how the classification of situations presented in Rakhilina & Parina (2017) suit the metaphorical use of Swedish verbs of animal sounds. The data is collected from Swedish blog and newspapers corpora (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal). The prototypical contexts of the chosen verbs are analysed using the method of combinatorial lexical typology, developed by the Moscow School of Lexical typology (Rakhilina & Reznikova 2016). The metaphorical uses of the verbs are classified with the classification presented in Rakhilina and Parina's (2017) as a starting point. The results show that the classification of situations can be applied to the Swedish data, with a few modifications. Three types of changes were made to the classification to adequately describe the use of the Swedish verbs: situations were moved, situations were added, and situations were removed. One point the discussion explores is distinctions that can be made between the situations. The original classification describes a verbal/non-verbal distinction. In the data of the thesis, it is found that a distinction between vocal/non-vocal situations also can be useful in describing situations where verbs of animal sounds are used metaphorically.

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Typology of Iconicity patterns in Sign Languages: a quantitative approach

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It has been suggested that iconicity in Sign Languages is expressed by a number of common strategies, such as **tracing**, **contour**, **object** and **handling** (Taub 2012). However, most of the previous research was mainly devoted to only two types of iconicity expression - handling and object ((Brentari et al. 2015b), (Brentari et al. (TopiCS) 2015a), (Padden et al. 2013), (Padden et al. 2015b)). To understand the iconicity patterns more generally, we conducted a large-scale analysis of iconicity in various sign languages.
We found that these patterns depend on the semantic field of a lexical item, its iconicity base, and there is a cross-linguistic variation.

Methodology

Words were obtained from an online dictionary https://www.spreadthesign.com/ and annotated according to their iconicity base (form similarity, associated action, parts/wholes, property/holder, spatial) and iconicity pattern by hand. For instance, the following figure represents a sign for “giraffe” in Spanish Sign Language:

Figure 1.

word	semantic field	iconicity base	iconicity pattern	language
giraffe	animals	form similarity	object	Spanish Sign Language

In this case the signer's handshape resembles a giraffe itself, not by holding/riding a giraffe or by tracing a giraffe's shape, so it's classified as the object pattern. Furthermore, the iconicity base is that of the form similarity.

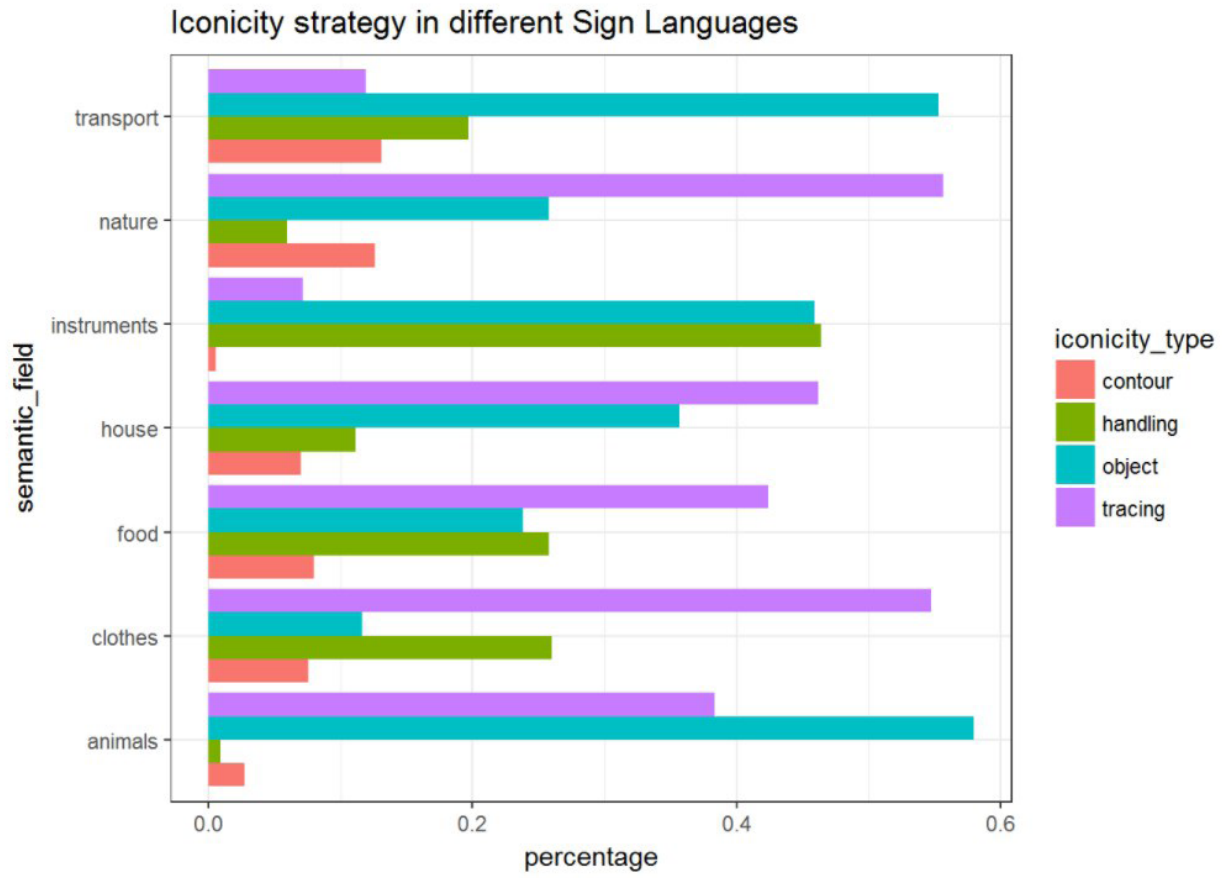
The research was based on a dataset with 1597 annotated words from 19 languages. We analyzed 7 semantic fields. The table below shows how many lexical items from each semantic field were annotated:

	transport	animals	nature	food	clothes	house	instruments
Number of words	14	14	20	10	10	10	10

Results

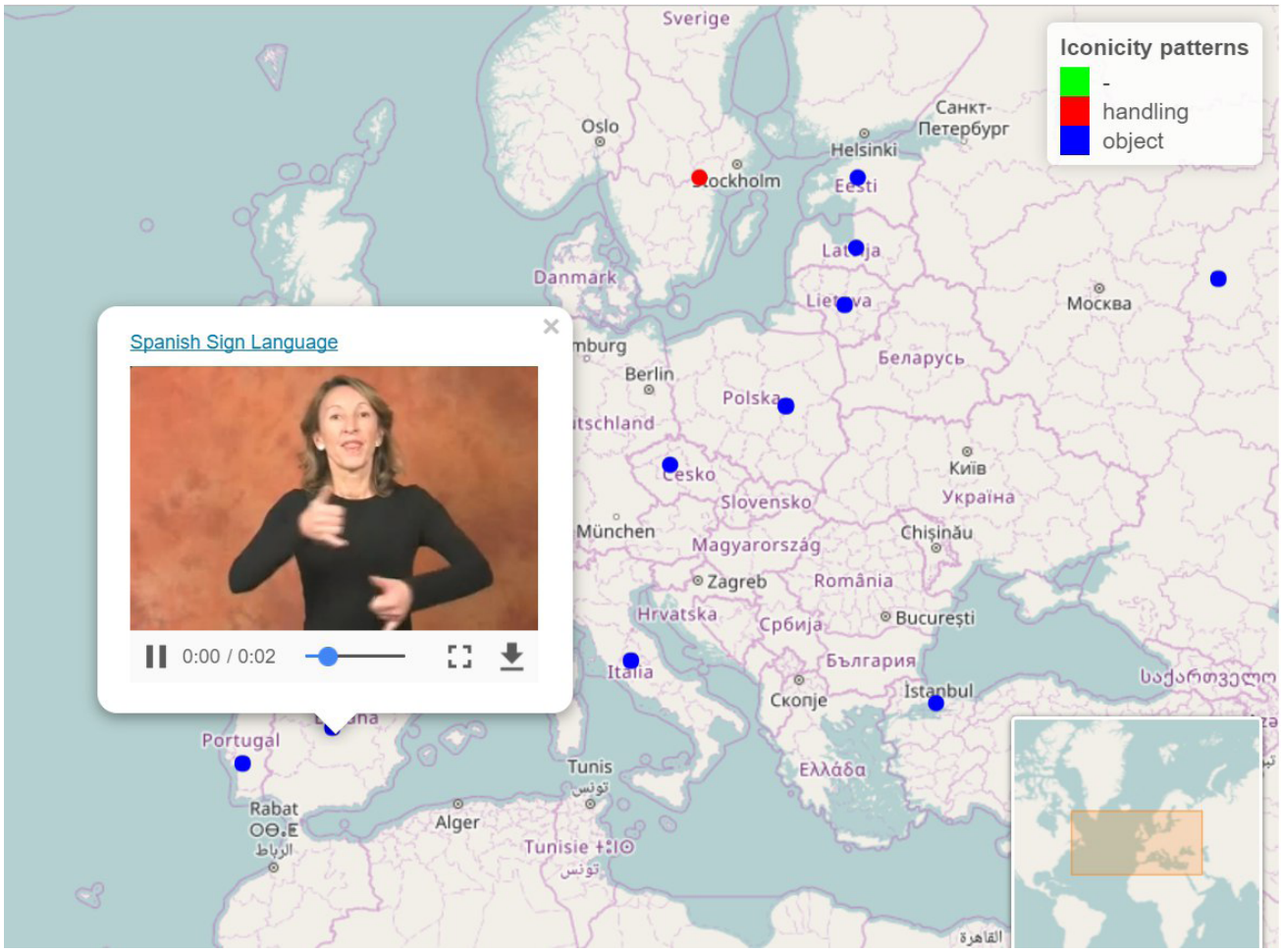
The graph below (Figure 2) depicts the correspondence between the semantic field and the type of iconicity. It is clear that the "transport" and "animals" semantic fields show preference for using the object strategy, while for the semantic fields "nature", "house", "food" and "clothes", tracing is the most common strategy. Words related to instruments use handling and object as the most frequent patterns.
Similarly, other relations were found between iconicity base and iconicity pattern, language and iconicity pattern, semantic field and iconicity base.

Figure 2.



We are also developing a website where the results of the research will be represented in graphs as well as maps, showing iconic patterns in different sign languages of the world. Figure 3 is an example of a page with a map for a word “bicycle”. The map shows which language uses which iconicity pattern for this sign, and also allows the user to view each video.

Figure 3.



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Shughni web portal: towards creation of online resource for minority language

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The project aims at systematizing the data available on Shughni language, specifically that dealing with lexicon. The main outcome is an online tool that makes Shughni investigations available to a wide range of researchers. It consists of a dictionary and a small corpus.

Shughni language (Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Eastern, Southeastern, Pamir, Shughni-Yazgulami) is spoken in mountainous areas of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. There are 80,000 speakers according to Ethnologue.

There are two Shughni-Russian dictionaries published in Russia: one was compiled by Ivan Zarubin (Zarubin 1960) in the first half of the 20th century, the other by Dodkhudo Karamshoev in the second half of 20th century (Karamshoev 1988). Besides, Zarubin includes a collection of spontaneous texts (Zarubin 1960). On the basis of these publications we are building an electronic dictionary and a corpus. The corpus is based on the texts from (Zarubin 1960) and Gospel of Luke.

As the online dictionary is based on two sources, the user can choose which one to use or observe two translations simultaneously – that can be interesting because the data were collected in different periods of XX century, so some evolution of meaning can be noticed. Reverse translation (to Shughni) is possible from two languages: Russian and English. Apart from the translation, it provides the information on inflection classes, word paradigms, dialectal variants etc. Most entries are illustrated with annotated examples. In addition, there is a morpheme dictionary describing the morphemes, their meaning accompanied by examples.

During the activity of HSE research group more texts have been collected and added to the corpus. This has enriched the tool with the most modern language material. Activity of the group is closely interrelated with Shughni community in Moscow so the project provides an insight into present-day condition of this language.

As a further activity there is an idea to create an independent web page that will contain all the tools and materials, including texts that were published in the USSR and have been available for a small group of linguists. The idea of internationality of the project means that there is a plan to translate at least some of the data into English.

Sociolinguistic situation in the Pamir region is also quite unusual so there is an intention to illuminate that part of Shughni reality as well.

To sum up, the web portal providing Shughni materials in a systemized way will prove to be very useful for a wide range of linguistic studies. A variety of tools will be available: a dictionary, a corpus, a transliterator and a few reading materials. The portal aims to be used by researchers of Shughni and other Pamir languages and all concerned.

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Nouns on fire in Mainland Scandinavian

A lexico-typological study of selected nouns referring to FIRE in Danish, Norwegian (Bokmål) and Swedish

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Research questions

1. How is the FIRE domain carved up by means of the selected lexemes, and what semantic similarities and differences are manifested by these lexemes across Danish, Norwegian and Swedish?

2. How can the relevant lexemes be combined with other nominal stems into compounds? What semantic restrictions are manifested in such compounds and how can these be explained? What can such restrictions tell us about the semantic differences among the different fire words?

3. What metaphorical uses of the lexemes can be found and how do these differ or overlap among the languages? What may these indicate about the semantic restrictions among the different fire words?

The 'compound' of interest here consists of two nominal stems (N+N) where the 'fire word' functions as the head.

Approach

This lexico-typological study focuses on the domain of 'fire', which as far as I am aware not have received attention in the specific field of study. An extensive edited work focusing on an associated phenomenon is "The linguistics of temperature" including more than 50 languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2015). Unlike typological research that generally seeks to include a diverse set of languages, this study focuses on only three (closely related) languages. Such studies have however proven to be useful, as it "often shows amazing discrepancies and allows revealing some fine-grained parameters of semantic variation" Bonch-Osmolovskaya, Rakhilina & Reznikova (2007:112). Danish, Norwegian and Swedish (Germanic) share geographical borders and origin but nevertheless differ in a number of syntactic, prosodic and lexical aspects.

Methods, data

The study follows the frame-method as formulated by Rakhilina & Reznikova (2016). Lexica (see reference list) were used to collect relevant nouns, which were checked with native speakers and in corpora (table 2). The chosen nouns are:

Danish: brand, ild, bål, flamme

Norwegian: ild, brann, bål, flamme

Swedish: eld, brand, eldsvåda, bål, brasa, låga

Table 2. Corpora

Language	Corpus	Time period	Million words
Danish	KorpusDK[1]	1983-2002	56
Norwegian	NoWaC[2]	2009-2010	700
Swedish	KORP[3], Språkbanken	1992-2017	217.5

Results

Four parameters are formulated.

1. *Controllability* of the fire, i.e. if humans are capable of mastering it. Typical for controllable fires are that they are mastered, intentionally created and established by humans. Examples of uncontrollable fires are natural phenomena, typically outdoors, constituting a threat. Relevant lexemes for uncontrollable fires are (Da) brand, (No) brann and (Sw) brand 'conflagration'.

2. *Social cohesion*. When humans make fire on purpose, it may have a socially beneficial effect, hence labelled social cohesion. A lexeme denoting this type of fire is for example (Sw) brasa 'log-fire', see example (1).

(1) I morgon är det september och vi kan i höst se fram emot en massa mys med tända ljus,
(Sw) sprakande ***brasor*** i kaminen och filmkvällar.
'Tomorrow is September and we look forward to a lot of cosy times with candles, crackling **log fires** in the fireplace and movie nights.'

If e.g. (Sw) brand were used in (1), it would be perceived as odd and even contradictory, as one would never combine movie nights with fires of conflagration type. The 'cohesive' variable refers to the fire and its effect, in short to strengthen the community, closely linked to the domestic needs of fire for light, cooking and warmth.

3. Extinctive purpose, for lexemes referring to fires ignited in situations of symbolic or ritual character. It can be linked to certain times during the year and may have certain cultural or political undertones, e.g. the executions of women accused for 'witch-craft' during the 16-18th century in Europe.

[1]http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk/
[2]http://tekstlab.uio.no:10556/?corpus=nowac_1_1
[3]https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/

4. Subcomponents of fire processes (in spatial and temporal range). As opposed to durative bonfires and conflagrations, these fires are shorter in duration, countable, may emerge and vanish quickly.

The semantic map in figure 1 displays the results of the specific nouns in the study.

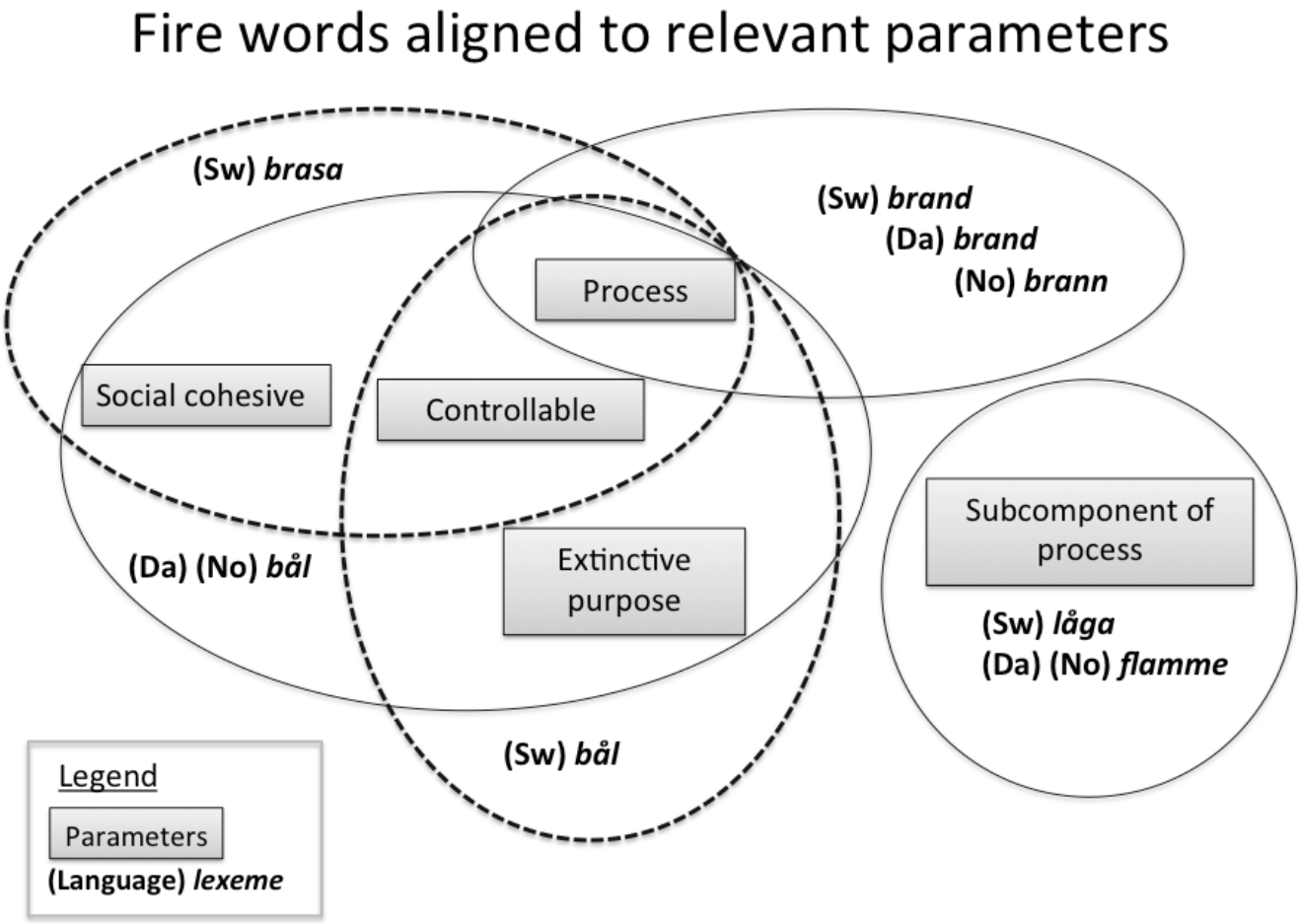

Fig 1. Semantic map displaying the results

The main difference is found among words referring to controllable fires. Swedish tend to lexify socially cohesive fires (Sw, brasa) versus fires ignited with extinctive/political purposes (Sw, bål), whereas the cognates in Danish and Norwegian (bål) seem to be relevant for both parameters. The metaphorical use of the lexemes supports that fire is a rich source domain for metaphors expressing love, hope, interest, willpower, sexual desire and high level of activity, also in destructive situations, e.g. for medical conditions, diseases and for infected topics in political debates. On the whole, the controllability of the fire is lexically encoded possibly because that property is crucial for survival.

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The distribution of Russian telic-extent adverbials with the prepositions *v* 'in' and *za* 'behind'

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Introduction

In adverbial constructions, expressing the time required for a telic situation to be completed (telic-extent adverbials (M. Haspelmath 1997: 130)) two Russian prepositions can be used, namely v 'in' and za 'behind':

(1) *Ya spravilsya s etim zadaniem v/za minutu*
I managed with this task in behind minute
'I did this task in a minute'

In this regard, Russian does not follow the typologically widespread strategy, which is to use spatial interior marker, like English in (ibid.). Instead, the preposition za, whose primary meaning in the spatial domain is 'behind', is implied. At the same time, some contexts impose the restrictions on the distribution of the two prepositions:

(2) *On v/ ?za odin mig sostarilsya*
he in/ behind one instant got old
'He got old in an instant'

The present work analyzes how v and za are distributed in Russian telic-extent adverbials and discusses the possible reasons for the appearance of two prepositions in the same function.

Methodology

It was assumed, that it can be the semantic features of the time spans, to which adverbial constructions refer, that influence the choice of the preposition. Several common Russian nouns with temporal meanings were divided into the three groups, according to the criterion of length and degree of conventionality. The distributional properties of prepositions were studied in each group separately.

Table 1. Types of context

Time units	Cyclic time-spans (Nesset 2013)	Indefinite time-spans
mig, mgnovenie, secunda, minuta, chas, den, sutki, nedelya, mesyats, god	utro, vecher, noch, leto, osen, zima, vesna	vremya, srok

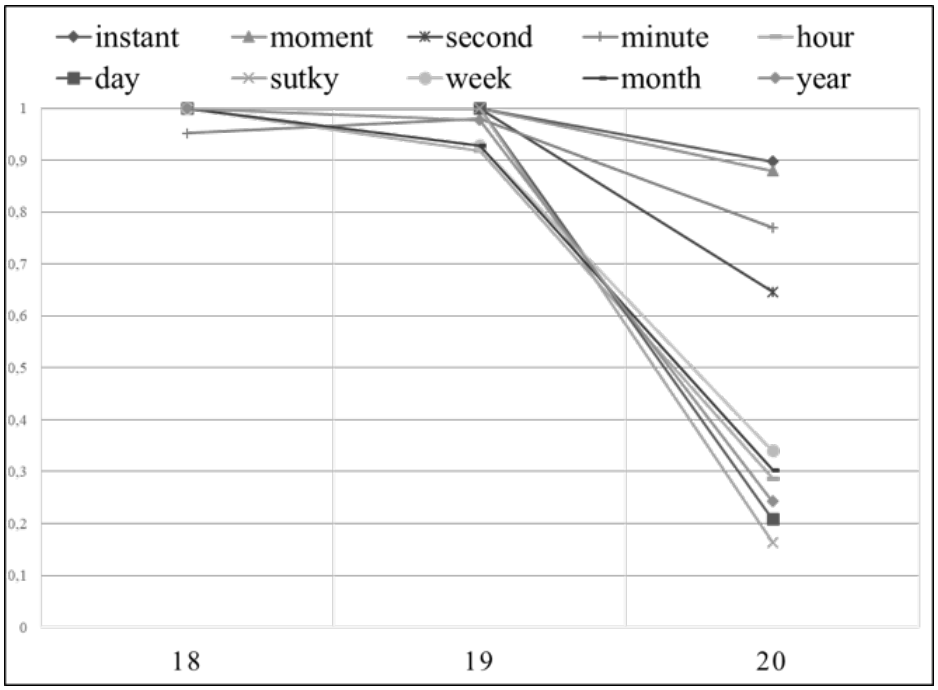
The study is based on a continuous sample from the main corpus of the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru) with subsequent manual filtration. The sample obtained includes 1820 examples of Russian sentences with telic-extent adverbials from the three periods (XVIII, XIX and XX centuries)

Data analysis

●Time units.

Figure 1 provides the information on the distribution of v and za in Russian telic-extent adverbials with words for time units from 18th up to 20th century. It can be seen that after the 19th century there was a significant recession in usage of the preposition v, so that it was replaced by za in very much part of the contexts. The observed shift was asymmetric: for nouns mig and mgnovenie v remains preferred option, while telic-extent adverbials formed by minuta and secunda reveal a greater degree of freedom in using za. Finally, in the XX century some of the considered nouns, mainly denoting rather long time intervals, almost completely switched to marking with the preposition za.

Figure 1. The dynamics of the distribution of preposition v and za with time units (the number denotes the relative frequency of the preposition v 'in'; measured in fractions).



●Cyclic time-spans

The analysis of the data on the next group reveals that the cyclic time terms (noch[j], utro, leto) were almost never successfully combined with the preposition v.. Thus, the restriction placed upon the combinations of v with nouns for cyclic intervals, is obvious, while combinations with za in the XX become not so occasional. As we propose it, this fact can be explained through the perception of cyclic periods as continuing time gaps without exactly defined limits, rather than as time units.

●Indefinite time units.

In combinations with ITUs v turns out to be even a more frequent than za. However, this fact not only does not contain any contradictions to the previously claimed tendency, but, moreover, is due to the same principles. A possible factor of the emergence of one or another preposition, seems to be not the individual semantic characteristics of the temporal noun (which in this case are neutral to the duration of the time interval), but the properties of the modifier, which in most of the considered examples was one of the words with a common sema "short": short / shortest / concise.

●Conclusions.

In this work it was established, that there was significant change in the composition of Russian telic-extent adverbials: in the 20th century the preposition za replaced its competitor v in a significant part of contexts. Now v is used in combinations with nouns, denoting short time-units, indefinite time-units (is a noun is accompanied by modifier, introducing the semantics of shortness or helping to concretize the actual duration), and also v can be found in sustainable expressions, which structure is less subject to the diachronical changes. Elsewhere za is more preferable.

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Wordhood and Polysynthesis/Analiticity in Coptic

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This paper aims to highlight the importance of rethinking the degree of synthesis of Coptic and its base, the concept of "word" in Coptic. Coptic is the final stage of the Ancient Egyptian language that was used in Egypt from ca. the third century. The analysis of synthesis in Coptic differs from scholar to scholar: polysynthetic (Loprieno 1995: 51, 92, 220), "rather synthetic" (Haspelmath 2015a: 121), and analytic (Egedi 2007, Reintges 2011, 2013). Evidence for synthesis in Coptic is found, e.g., in noun incorporation; i.e., a bound form of a transitive verb and an object noun without the accusative marker n-. For example:

(1) *a-u-či-sbô*
PST-3PL-receive-teaching
"they learned" (Psalms 105:35)

against

(2) *nne-tn-či* *n-ou-sbô*
NEG.OPT-2PL-receive ACC-INDEF.SG-teaching
"you won't receive a teaching" (Jeremiah 42:13).

Additionally, Coptic verbs incorporate a body part noun as it is typical crosslinguistically for the languages that have noun incorporation.

(3) *a-f-ahe-rat-f*
PST-3SG.M-stand-foot-3SG.M
"he stood" (AP.001.n135.mother [tokens 202-215])

However, the word segmentation of Coptic is unclear. Original Coptic manuscripts are written in scriptio continua; i.e., they contain no word boundaries. Since the unit of a word is required to judge whether a language is synthetic or analytic, the question of word segmentation is crucial.

European scholars divided words for the first time as early as the 17/18th century, based on interruptibility by a particle (Takla 1998-1999: 121). Till's (1942) spacing rule is also widely used. However, the current most significant electronic online Coptic corpus with linguistic annotations, Coptic SCRIPTORIUM (Schroeder & Zeldes 2016), places spaces between bound groups, a unit of morphs sharing one single stress, based on Layton (2011: §27-30). A bound group is similar to the phonological group suggested by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002). Haspelmath (2015a) referred to it as a stress group. A bound group can incorporate several morphs, such as (4).

(4) *ce-e-k-e-mere-p-et-hi-touô-k*

COMP-OPT-2SGM-OPT-love-DEF.SGM-REL-on-bosom-2SGM

n-g-meste-pek-čače

CONJ[1]-2SGM-hate-POSS.SGM:2SGM-enemy

"(you have heard) that you shall love your neighbor and you shall hate your enemy (Mt. 5:43)."

Because of the lack of clarity regarding the meaning of the "word" in Coptic, Coptic grammarians refrain from using the term "word" (Layton 2011, Shisha-Halevy 2002) Recently, typologists have begin to doubt the cross-linguistic validity of the concept of "word" (Haspelmath 2015b, Bickel & Zúñiga to appear; Haspelmath 2016 for Coptic). The wordhood of various Coptic parts of speech is explored in Haspelmath (2016) and Miyagawa (2015).

As a new approach to the wordhood in Coptic, I conducted a case study of mnt- using the online linguistic corpora of Coptic SCRIPTORIUM. mnt- is an unstressed morpheme that forms an abstract noun. This is usually regarded as a prefix. However, as this paper highlights, the prefixhood of mnt- is questionable. On the 31st of August, 2017, Coptic SCRIPTORIUM had 1,181 hits as the token frequency of mnt-. Coptic SCRIPTORIUM considers mnt- as a prefix. However, mnt- can be attached to more than one bound group.

(5) *hn-tek-mnt-šêre* *šêm*

in-DEF.SG.M:2SG.M-hood-child/son little

"in your youthfulness" (Ecclesiastes 11:9, cf. Psalms 42:4, Eccl. 11:10, 12:1, 1 Tim 4:12, etc.).

(6) *m-mnt-ref-fi* *ero-k*

ATT-hood-AGT-support DAT-2SG.M

"of supporting yourself (lit. of supporting-yourself-hood)" (AP.40.syncletica.08 [tokens 96-106]).

[1]"Forms a subordinate (dependent) clause consisting of subject + verb; signals that the clause is closely connected to what precedes it; does not express any tense or other content" (Layton 2007:100).

(5) can be regarded as lexicalized phrases . However, (6) contains a verb and its complement; as such, it should not be considered as a lexicalized item. The latter case of mnt-N(P) contains more than one bound group, and is a type of word formation with NP. Thus, mnt- acts as a phrasal affix scoping over the entire NP. Grossman (2016) suggested “N(P) incorporation” in Coptic and that incorporation can operate on units of varying levels of structure including providing examples from other languages such as Nivkh (isolated) and Warembori (Papuan). As such, we could describe the phenomenon like (6) as NP derivation with the phrasal derivational prefix mnt-. N(P) incorporation and N(P) derivation suggests that, generally, Coptic is one of the languages that allows morphological formation from phrases. Or, mnt- may have marked the head noun. In this case, we do not need to view mnt- as a phrasal affix.

In conclusion, Coptic is an indecisive language for the study of synthesis since the notion of “word” is problematic in this language. The synthesis of Coptic depends on which rules a linguist employs to define a word. In this paper, one of the most problematic cases of the ambiguity of affixhood in mnt- is presented. Thus, this paper proposes the necessity of performing a thorough evaluation of wordhood before we proceed to the debate on the polysynthesis/analyticity of Coptic.

[2]Normally, a lexalized phrase consists of one bound group, as per (i) and (ii).

(i) mnt-[rm-n-kême]
hood-man-ATT-Egypt
“Egyptian nationality/speech”.

(ii) n-ou-mnt-[rm-n-hêt]
OBJ-INDEF.SG-hood-man-ATT-heart
“a wisdom (a man-of-heart-hood)” (Psalms 46:8, also Deut 4:6).

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FORMATION OF ORDINALS IN NORTH-CAUCASIAN

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Many North-Caucasian languages share a peculiar strategy of forming ordinal numerals: an ordinal is derived from a corresponding cardinal numeral by means of participles of the verb 'say':

LEZGIAN

(1) q'wed lah-ay
two say.AOR-AOP
'second'
(Haspelmath 1993)

KHWARSHI

(2) qʕ'wene-iƛƛ-u
two-say-PTCP.PST
'second'
(Khalilova 2009)

In our work we suggest a possible explanation of the spreadness of this grammaticalization among the languages of North-Caucasian language family.

Formation of ordinals by means of the verbs of speech is typologically rare. To prove it, we have made a sample of 20 unrelated world languages from five areas (Africa, America, Asia, Europe, Polynesia). Only one of these languages forms ordinal numerals by means of affix that is probably related to the verb 'say' (Iatmul suffix -wa (Jendraschek 2012)).

Next, we have classified the ordinals in North-Caucasian by the way they are formed:

1. derived from 'say'
2. attributivization
3. borrowed marking
4. with unclear etymology

To the 'borrowed marking' category we include both languages which borrow ordinals entirely (e.g., Khinalug (Дешериев 1959)) and languages which borrow only the ordinals affixes: -umʒi/-unʒi in Udi (see (Schulze), Azeri loan).

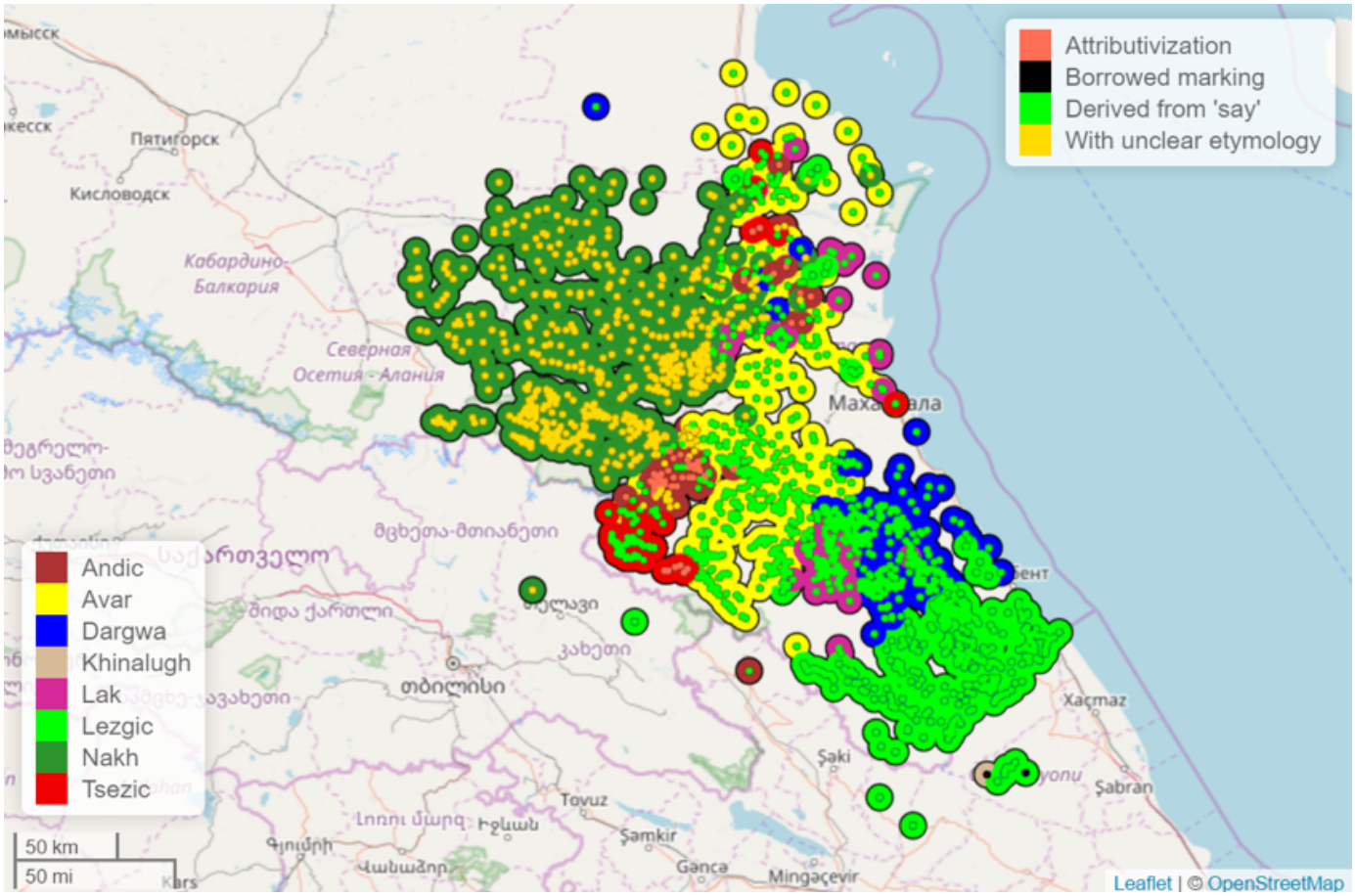
With the R package lingtypology (Moroz 2017) we have created a map showing the areal distribution of different categories of our classification – see. fig.1.

The strategy of forming ordinals by the means of the verb 'say' could not be inherited from Proto North Caucasian language, e.g. according to (Starostin 2015) luhun 'say' in Lezgian derives from *=iʔwV, but iλa 'say' in Khwarshi derives from *HiŁ_V (~ -ä-). Furthermore, the etymology of the affixes used for for-

ming ordinals is clear in majority of the languages and the corresponding participle of the verb ‘say’ can be used as an independent lexeme at least in some languages. If the say-strategy was inherited from proto-language, the verbs used for forming ordinals in different languages would be etymologically related; also they would be less morphologically analyzable.

T. Maisak in (Майсак 2016) observes the grammaticalizations which are common for Lezgian languages; the grammaticalization of ‘say’ into the affix of ordinal numerals is considered as an areal trend (ibid.). Basing on the areal distribution of the languages employing the say-strategy, we suppose that this way of forming ordinals has spread as a result of intense language contacts (in terms of (Heine, Kuteva 2010) this area can be considered as a ‘grammaticalization area’). Common genetic affiliation may have contributed in the diffusion of say-strategy (Heine, Kuteva 2005).

Fig. 1



Abbreviations

AOP	*aorist participle*
AOR	*aorist*
PST	*past*
PTCP	*participle*

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Morphosyntax of some metaphoric shifts in Moksha

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The traditional approach (Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Fauconnier 1985) views the phenomenon of metaphor as a result of a simple mapping between two semantic domains. Morphosyntactic shifts that sometimes accompany such mapping have only recently become the focus of research; see, for instance, (Reznikova et al. 2012) on the concept of re-branding. Interestingly, in some cases, morphosyntactic changes that correspond to metaphoric shifts do not end with acquiring a new type of event structure — additional restrictions can be imposed. Sound verbs of the Moksha language[1] (FinnoUgric < Uralic) provide some interesting evidence on the matter. The Moksha data that we are going to discuss has been collected during fieldwork in 2013–2015.

We observe non-standard morphosyntactic behaviour with specific additional restrictions in case of the following verbs: kaštərdəms ‘to rustle’, kec’ərdəms ‘to crackle’, galdərdəms ’to clatter’ and gəžəldəms ‘to rustle’.

The verb kaštərdəms ‘to rustle’ shifts to the domain of speech and means ‘to speak’ when applied to animate subjects. There is, however, a specific requirement for such use — the context of socalled “suspended assertion” (Paducheva 1985). Suspended assertion contexts include, for instance, negation, imperatives, unreal conditional sentences. Examples are given in (1)–(2).

The verb kec’ərdəms ‘to crackle’ in its metaphoric use receives a meaning from the domain of motion — ‘to run quickly’. It can be expected that in metaphoric constructions it will acquire arguments like PATH or GOAL, which are not used with sound verbs; but since predicates in both source (sound) and target (motion) domains are intransitive, it is also to be expected that the verb will keep its intransitive morphological marking. In fact, metaphoric use of kec’ərdəms requires obligatory transitive (direct object) marking, see (3). The object itself does not (and cannot) appear in the sentence. Standard Moksha grammar does not allow direct object marking in intransitive contexts; see also (Toldova 2015) for more information about DOM in Moksha.

Very similar is the case of the verbs galdərdəms ’to clatter’ and gəžəldəms ‘to rustle’. As a result of a metaphoric shift, they turn into falling predicates, and again, even though falling verbs, as well as sound verbs, are intransitive, we observe the direct object marking with a necessarily covert object — although in this case such marking is optional. Examples are given in (4)–(5).

Additional restrictions that are sometimes imposed on morphosyntax of metaphoric constructions are still severely understudied. The evidence from Moksha verbs of sound can serve as a context for subsequent typological studies. We believe that the general theory of metaphor would benefit from further research on the matter.

1 For general research on Moksha sound predicates see (Kashkin, Nikiforova 2015).

Examples:

(1) son mez'ə-vək af ***kaštərd-i***.
he what-ADD NEG rustle-NPST.3SG
'He is saying nothing'.

(2) *son ***kaštərd-i*** /***kaštərdə-z'*** koṛta-j.
he rustle-NPST.3SG rustle-CONV.ATD say-NPST.3SG
Expected meaning: 'He is speaking / saying sth.'.

(3) vas'ɛ ***kec'ər-fci***/ ***kec'ərci/***
Vasya crackle-CAUS.NPST.3SG.S.3SG.O crackle.NPST.3SG.S.3SG.O
kec'ər-ft-i / **kec'ərd-i*** (ki-t' ezga/ lafka-v).
crackle-CAUS-NPST.3SG crackle-NPST.3SG road-DEF.GEN in.PROL shop-LAT
'Vasya is running (along the road / to a shop)'.

(4) modamar' mešok-s' ***galdər-ft-əz'ə***/ ***galdərd-əz'ə***
potato sack-DEF.SG clatter-CAUS-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O clatter-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O
(*pr'a-nc/ *ki-t') al-u.
head-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN road-DEF.SG.GEN under-ILL
'The sack of potatoes fell (*itself/*the way) down with some noise'.

(5) maša ***gəžəld-əz'ə*** ***/gəžəl-ft-əz'ə*** moda-t' lank-s.
Masha rustle-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O rustle-CAUS-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O earth-DEF.SG.GEN on-ILL
Lit.: 'Masha rustled down to the ground'.

Abbreviations:

3 – 3rd person, ADD – additive, CAUS – causative, CONV.ATD – attendant circumstance, DEF – definite, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, LAT – lative, NEG – negation, NPST – non-past tense, O – object, POSS – possessive, PROL – prolative, PST – past tense, S – subject, SG – singular.

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Grammaticalization of take in Slavic

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The aim of this research is to describe the grammaticalization mechanisms of the constructions with the verb take in some Slavic languages. I analyzed verbs related to Russian взять (‘take’), взяться (antipassive form of взять, ‘take-AP’) in Bulgarian, Polish, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croatian and Czech languages.

Some cases of grammaticalization of take have been well-described in research literature. In particular, many papers are devoted to the construction take and V in the Indo-European languages (Coseriu 1966; Ekberg 1993; Vannebo 2003; Stojnova 2007). On the base of these descriptions and data from parallel corpora (ParaSol and Russian National Corpus) I collected contexts where the cognates of взять, взяться acquire grammatical meanings. Then collected data was checked and clarified with native speakers. It turned out that take grammaticalizes in constructions take and V, take V, take + Inf, take-AP + Inf, take-AP + PP.

The most widespread grammatical meaning of take in Slavic is inchoative. In Russian and Ukrainian inchoative appears with the antipassive form (1), other languages choose construction take (and) V for this meaning (2). The second grammatical meaning is associated with volitive and admirative (3-4). The third one is modal and more specifically it means “to set a goal to do something”, “to take responsibility of doing something” (5). This meaning was found only in the East Slavic languages and sometimes it can’t be obviously distinguished from inchoative. The last incitative meaning was discovered in Polish (6) and it seems that in this meaning the verb take achieved the highest degree of grammaticalization. It turned into the particle weź: note that there is no agreement between weź and lexical verb in (7). Results of this survey were visualized with semantic schemes.

The Russian verb взять goes back to Proto-Slavic verb *jęti «take, catch». Three verbs formed from *jęti: *jęti, jьmǫ, *jьmati and *jьměti. In the present study I analyzed verbs, only derived from *jęti, jьmǫ with prefix vъz-. But in other derivations from *jęti, jьmǫ (Pyatajeva 2016: 51) we can also find inchoative meaning: Slovenian jeźi, jaḿem ‘begin’, Czech jmouti ‘begin’, jmouti se ‘take, begin, start’, Russian приниматься ‘begin’, etc. Consequently, inchoative seems to be the oldest grammatical meanings of take and grammaticalization to inchoative probably started in Proto-Slavic language (or even earlier, see Lithuanian imti ‘take; begin’).

The last part of the study contains a try to describe connections between various grammatical meanings and to present Slavic take-constructions in a wider typological context.

Examples[1]

Russian (inchoative/modal)

(1) Он **взя-л-ся** **пили-ть** дерев-о.
he.NOM take-PST.M.SG-AP saw-INF tree-ACC.SG
He started to saw the tree. (lit. He took to saw the tree)

[1]Examples without reference to the source are elicited.

Bulgarian (inchoative)

(2)	**Взе**	(и)	**да**	**вали**	дъжд.
	take.PST.3SG	(and)	ADD	all.PRS.3SG	rain.NOM.SG

It started to rain. (lit. It took and rained)

Russian (admirative/volitive)

(3)	Она	ему	вс-ю	душ-у	отда-л-а,
	she.NOM	he.ACC	whole-SG.ACC	soul-SG.ACC	give-PST-F.SG
	а	он	**взя-л**	**и**	**уеха-л**.
	but	he.NOM	take-PST.M.SG	and	eave-PST.M.SG

She gave him all her soul but he left. (lit. She gave him all her soul but he took and left)

[Маша Трауб. Нам выходить на следующей (2011). RNC]

Polish (admirative/volitive)

(4)	Ona	jeszcze	iedy	**weźmie**	**i**	dom	**podpali**.
	she.NOM	else	when	take.FUT.3SG	and	house.ACC.SG	set.faire.FUT.3SG

One day she will also set fire on a house. (lit. One day she will also take and set fire on a house.)

[Maria Dąbrowska. Noce i dnie (1932—1934)]

Ukrainian (inchoative/modal)

(5)	Він	**узяв-ся**	**сруба-ти**	ці	дерев-а.
	he.NOM	take.PST.M.SG-AP	chop.down-INF	this.ACC.PL	tree-ACC.PL

He set a goal to cut down these trees. (lit. He took to cut down these trees)

Polish (incitative)

(6)	**Weź**	**pomóż**	Kilian-owi!
	take.IMP.2SG	help.IMP.2SG	Kilian-DAT.SG

Come on, help Kilian! (lit. Take help Kilian!) [Zinken 2013: 43]

Polish (particle, no obvious meaning)

(7)	**Weź,**	**skończ-my**	już	z	tym!
	take.IMP.2SG	finish.IMP-1PL	already	with	it.SG.INST

Well, let's finish it! (lit. Take, finish it!)

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Kinship terms in Hill Mari: interaction of lexical semantics and grammar[1]

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The research on Finno-Ugric kinship terms mostly focused on their semantics, etymology and word-formation (cf. (Andrianova 2000), (Grishunina 2002), (Meszáros 2008), (Koshkarjova 1991)), with the only possible exception of (Kuznetsova 2004, 2012) dealing with some grammatical properties. Grammatical points are also prominent in typological studies of kinship systems, see e.g. (Dahl, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Evans 2003).

I discuss Hill Mari kinship terms focusing on their morphosyntactic encoding in possessive constructions and on its interaction with vocative marking. I will show that the morphosyntactic properties of kinship terms correlate with their semantics.

The data was collected during my fieldwork in the villages of Kuznetsovo and Mikrjakovo in 2016-2017 (Russia, Republic of Mari El, Hill Mari district).

In possessive NPs (expressing kinship, body part, legal ownership etc.) the dependent (possessor) is marked with genitive and the head (possessee) bears a possessive marker (cf. (Pleshak 2016)). The possessive marker can be omitted, except kinship terms. For some of them possessive marking is obligatory (1), while the other ones allow its omission if the possessor is in the 1st or the 2nd person (2). Note that it cannot be analyzed as the prototypical alienability split, as body part terms are similar to other nouns in possessive constructions (3).

Those kinship terms which always require possessive marking have two more correlating morphosyntactic properties:

1) They have allomorphs *-m, -t* of the possessive affixes 1SG и 2SG respectively (the main allomorphs are *-em, -et)* (1).
2) They have a vocative affix *-i* specific for kinship terms (4).

According to these morphological criteria, kinship terms split into two groups which also differ in semantics, namely in whether they refer to the elder or to the younger generation.

(I) Elder kins (the possessive marker is obligatory):
papa (papam, papi)[2] – grandmother, *t'ot'a (t'ot'am, t'ot'i)* – grandfather, *ävä (äväm, ävi)* – mother, *ät'ä (ät'äm, ät'i)* – father, *äkä (äkäm, äki)* – elder sister, younger aunt; *kuaka (kuakam, kuaki)* – elder aunt

(II) Younger kins (the possessive marker can be omitted in 1SG, 2SG):
šol'a (šol'aem, -) – younger brother, *šəžar (šəžarem, -)* – younger sister, *ergə̈(ergem, -)* – son, *ədə̈r (ədə̈rem, -)* – daughter

[1]The work is supported by the RFBR grant № 16-24-17003
[2]The first form in brackets is the 1SG, and the next one is vocative.

The use of the vocative -i is interesting per se. Its vocative function (4) is primary (Bereczki 2002: 46), but it also occurs in the referential use (5).

In the vocative use, kinship terms compatible with -i can bear possessive markers (4) and do not allow a non-vocative possessive form 0. Kinship terms incompatible with -i appear in vocative contexts without a possessive marker 0.

Although the parameter of relative age is very important for Finno-Ugric kinship systems (Szíj 1982), the properties discussed above are not shared by genetically close languages (cf. (Melnik in prep.) on Moksha, (Edygarova 2010) on Udmurt). Considering a dense long-term contact of Hill Mari with Chuvash and other Turkic languages ((Isanbaev 1989), (Fedotov 1990)), I will discuss a possible contact-induced nature of this phenomenon.

The special properties of Hill Mari kinship terms in possessive constructions have typological parallels. Thus, in (Dahl, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001) kinship terms are claimed to require possessive marking in some languages, as well as to favour sometimes a special morphological marking. J. Jansen (2010) shows that in Sahaptin kinship system, first, there is a special vocative form for elder generation terms, and, second, 1SG and 2SG possessive marking is different for elder and younger generations. My Hill Mari data provides another example of how a culturally based semantic split is reflected in both morphology and syntax.

Examples

(1) *mən'-ən* *äkä-m/*äkä* *jažo-n* *tə̑men'-eš*
I-GEN elder.sister-POSS.1SG/elder.sister good-ADV study-NPST.3SG
'My elder sister studies well'.

(2) *mən'-ən* *šə̑žar-em/šə̑žar* *jažo-n* *tə̑men'-eš*
I-GEN younger.sister-POSS.1SG/younger.sister good-ADV study-NPST.3SG
'My younger sister studies well'.

(3) *mən'-ən* *kid/kid-em* *a-k* *šo* *jäm* *pə̑ndaš-ə̑š*
I-GEN hand/hand-POSS.1SG NEG.NPST-3 reach hole bottom-ILL
'My hand does not reach the bottom of the hole'.

(4) *t'ot'.i(-em),* *mə̑rə̑-m* *mə̑r-en* *pu*
grandfather.KIN-POSS.1SG song-ACC sing-CVB give(IMP.2SG)
'Grandfather, sing a song!'.

(5) *mən'-ən* *äk.i* *jažo-n* *tə̑men'-eš*
I-GEN elder.sister.KIN good-ADV study-NPST.3SG
'My elder sister studies well'.

(6) *t'ot'a(-m), mârâ-m mâr-en pu
grandfather-POSS.1SG song-ACC sing-CVB give(IMP.2SG)
'Grandfather, sing a song'.

(7) šol'a(-*em), pr'an'ik-äm pu-aj
younger.brother-POSS.1SG ginger.bread-ACC give-IMP.POL
'Brother, give me a ginger bread'.

Abbreviations:

ACC – accusative, ADV - adverbalizer, CVB – converb, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperative, ILL – illative, KIN – kinship vocative, NEG – negation, NPST – non-past tense, POL – politeness, POSS – possessive, SG – singular, 1-3 – person.

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Basic functional categories of polar questions: a typological analysis

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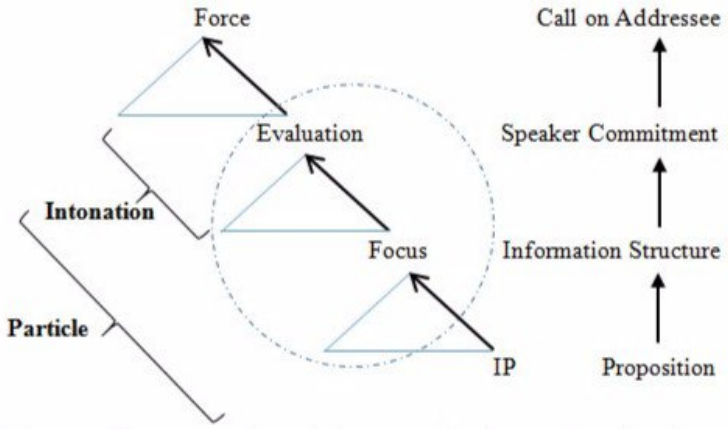
This study seeks to reveal the structure of basic functional categories of polar questions, by combining typological and generative approaches. First, I present a typology of polar question particle and intonation, based on their contributions to speech act, speaker commitment and information structure. Previous studies have demonstrated three main types of polar questions: neutral, biased and focused ones; and three main strategies for forming polar questions: exploiting a particle, a distinct intonation pattern or both. (Dixon 2012; Dryer 2013 a, b) Correspondingly, there are three types of polar question particles: Simplex, Commitment-Complex and Focus-Complex type. For polar question intonation, I also suggest three types: Simplex, Commitment-Complex and Combined type. The Combined type of intonation is recognized by two criteria: (i) the intonation pattern is distinct from the one of declarative sentences; at the same time, (ii) the particle cannot be omitted in polar questions or cannot occur in non-interrogative sentences. Particles which do not meet Criterion (ii) may be evaluation or focus markers, but not question particles. The following table illustrates the relation between types of polar questions and types of particles and intonations.

	Neutral polar question Force	**Biased polar question** Force + Evaluation	**Focused polar question** Force + Focus
Particle	Simplex type (e.g. *ma* in Mandarin)	Commitment-Complex type (e.g. *fo/fa* in Amele)	Focus-Complex type (e.g. =*ma* in Dyirbal)
Particle + Intonation	Combined type	Combined type	Combined type (e.g. Huallaga Quechua)
Intonation	Simplex type (e.g. Rumanian)	Commitment-Complex type (e.g. Slave)	—

To capture the cross-linguistic variation of polar question particles and intonations, I develop Heim et al (2016)'s proposal of two functional projections of the speech act structure by adding the projection of Focus. The Simplex type simply associates with Force. The Commitment-Complex type associates with both Force and Evaluation, whereas the Focus-Complex type with Force and Focus. (In the generative framework, head movement can yield these Complex types.) The following illustration summarizes the associations between polar question indicators and functional projection layers. At the same time, polar questions with the Combined type of intonation are noteworthy for manifesting that a particle and an intonation can simultaneously substantiate Force.

Simplex	Commitment-Complex	Focus-Complex
Force	Force	Force
—	Evaluation	—
—	—	Focus



The three-layer structure of functional categories proposed above enables us not only to derive types of polar questions, but also to analyze polar question answers (i.e. the equivalents of 'yes' or 'no' in different languages) from the typological point of view. It is generally approved that the basic meaning/function of polar answers is confirmation or disavowal, but here my analysis shows what they confirm or disavow varies from the speaker's belief (Evaluation), the focused item in a proposition (Focus) to the truth of a plain proposition (IP). To check the details about the types of polar question answers and the interaction between Evaluation and Focus, please refer to the data of Mandarin in the next page.

Polar answers in Mandarin

As shown in Guo (2000) and Schaffar & Chen (2001), particle questions with ma usually cannot be answered by polarity words, except there is a contrastive focus in the sentence. The answers of V-neg-V questions are VPs, whereas the answers of shi-neg-shi questions are always polarity words, for shi is a common focus marker in Mandarin. In the current study, I propose that the application condition of polar answers is that the Evaluation head must be valued (as [+believe] or [–believe]). That is to say, polarity words are only used to answer biased polar questions in Mandarin. In rhetorical questions, the Evaluation head simply can be valued by the rising intonation at the end of sentences, since the intonation belongs to Commitment-Complex type. In particle questions and V-neg-V/shi-neg-shi questions, the contrastive focus must choose [+believe] for Evaluation, because it is the speaker's belief that excludes other candidates in the alternative set. Finally, given the answers of negative rhetorical questions (i.e. the so-called "polarity-based answer system"), I draw the conclusion that what polar answers in Mandarin confirm or disavow is yielded by the projection of Focus.

a.

Q: ni	xi-le	yifu	ma?	A: xi-le/*dui/*shide
2SG	wash-PERF	cloth	Q	wash-PERF/*Yes/*Yes
Have you washed the clothes?				Yes, I have.

Speaker's belief: not know p

b.

Q: ni	zhi	xi-le	yifu	ma?	A: *xi-le/dui/shide
2SG	only	wash-PERF	cloth	Q	*wash-PERF/Yes/Yes
You have washed only the clothes, right?					Yes, I have.

Speaker's belief: believe p; Contrastive focus

c.

Q: ni	xi-bu-xihuan	ta?	A: xihuan/*dui/*shide
2SG	like-not-like	3SG	like/*Yes/*Yes
Do you like him/her?			Yes, I do.

Speaker's belief: not know p; Additional meaning of "on earth" when the verb is stressed

d.

Q: ni	shi-bu-shi	xihuan	ta?	A: *xihuan/dui/shide
2SG	Focus-not-Focus	like	3SG	*like/Yes/Yes
You like him/her, right?				Yes, I do.

Speaker's belief: believe p; Compatible with contrastive focus

e.

Q: ni	xihuan	TA↑	A: xihuan/dui/shide
2SG	like	3SG	like/Yes/Yes
You like HIM/HER↑			Yes, I do.

Speaker's belief: not believe p; Rhetorical question (Intonation question with rising pitch)

f.

Q: ni	bu	xihuan	ta↑	A: ?xihuan/dui/shide
2SG	not	like	3SG	?like/Yes/Yes
You don't like him/her↑				Yes. ("I don't like him/her.")

Speaker's belief: not believe ¬p; Rhetorical question

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Semantic shifts with the meanings ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ in Dravidian languages.

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Kinship terminology is being under research for many years both in anthropology and in linguistics. This field is lexicalized differently across languages and cultures, though it seems easy to compare the meanings (Greenberg 1966). Nearest relatives are very important for a human, even they can determine a language, like father’s language in the North Australia (Evans 2009). The names of nearest relatives constitute a model of society, with its positive, supportive attitude and with its dislike. This diversification is reflected in different ways in semantics and semantic extensions of kinship terms. In this work we examine the meanings ‘uncle‘ and ‘aunt’ in Dravidian languages from the point of view of the typology of semantic shifts. We compare the semantics of kinship terms in 15 Dravidian languages, namely: Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Kui, Malto and Kota, Koḍagu, Kolami, Kuṛukh, Gondi, Naiki, Parji, Tulu, and Kuwi and search for semantic changes involving meanings ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’. Our sources are elicitations (in case of Tamil) and dictionaries (other languages).

Our theoretical background is the theory of «semantic shifts» - the theoretical approach of Anna A. Zalizniak (Zalizniak 2012), which is close to the «semantic associations» of Martine Vanhove and “colexifications” of Alex François (Vanhove 2008). The “semantic shift” relation between two different meanings is established if such relation is realized by synchronous polysemy in one lexeme, diachronic semantic change, semantic derivation, cognates or other means (Zalizniak 2012). The starting point of this study is the data from the database DatSemShift – the catalogue of semantic shifts in languages of the world, being developed under the guidance of Anna A. Zalizniak in the Institute of Linguistics (RAS) (DatSemShift 2017).

The antropologists say that Dravidian kinship terms system is bifurcative unlike the linear modern Indo-European systems (Allen1995). It distinguishes paternal and maternal uncles in a particular way (Trautmann 1995). For example, in Tamil terms māmanar ‘maternal uncle‘ and periyappan ‘father‘s elder brother’, ‘husband of mother‘s elder sister‘ are distinguished (Smirnitskaya 2016a). After discussions with the native speaker of Tamil, we decided to distinguish two subgroups in Dravidian collateral kinship system: (1) JHP (jointly held property) subgroup: uncle (JHP), aunt (JHP) - relatives who are considered one community and inherit their property together – Cf. Tam pankāḷikaḷ, from pankāḷi ‘partner, companion’, ‘co-heir’, ‘male relative’. (2) PS (possible spouse) subgroup: uncle (PS), aunt (PS) - a group of relatives who are considered more distant, but traditionally, one should seek among them a partner for marriage – Cf. Tam māmaṉmarkaḷ from māman̲ ‘mother’s brother’ (Smirnitskaya 2016b).

In this work we distinguish between field-internal and external shifts (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Juvonen 2016). Also we use etymological sources to trace the semantic development - like the narrowing of the meaning from PDrav *ávai ‘elder female relative, grandmother, wife of elder brother’ to telugu avva

'mother', 'old woman' (STARLING: 2017).

We found out that the semantic shifts are different in both groups of meanings (PS) and (JHP). This may be considered as confirmation that this distinction of meanings is correct. For example, **uncle (JHP) – grandfather (JHP):** Morph derivation in Mal valiyappan - appan̲, Polysemy in Kui prehenḍa and **uncle (PS) – father-in-law:** Polysemy in Kan māma, Tam ammāṉ, Tel māmakũḍu, Pa māma, Kol māma, Kuwi, Go māma, Nk māma. Also **aunt (JHP) – mother:** Polysemy in Tamil ampikai, and **aunt (PS) – mother-in-law:** Polysemy in Tamil māmi, attai, Ma ammāyi, Kan atte, Kuwi amma. As conserning to external semantic shifts, they also differ in both groups: **aunt (JHP, elder) – a polite form of addressing the hostess of the house:** Polysemy in Tamil periyamma̲, and **aunt (PS) – term of address to the familiar elder woman:** Polysemy in Tel māmi.

After the analysis we found that four types of semantic shifts are distinguished in our data: 1) "Anthropological", or "attitude": MB = SpF, FZ = SpM. People labeled with this name can be the same person, because traditionally cross-cousin marriages prevail. Furthermore, the same attitude is attested by anthropologists towards these people: F=FB, FF = FB, FB = FBS, M=MZ, MyZ = yZ, MeZ=MM. 2) "Functional": to terms of address. This type of shifts is widespread especially in India, also attested in Indo-Aryan languages. 3) "Associative": to different lexical meanings, as 'miser'. One possible explanation is based on associative connection. 4) "Emotional": to interjections. These meanings are connected emotionally, though the precise explanation remains our future task.

Further research can reveal more information about semantic shifts potential of kinship terms in Dravidian languages and languages of other groups.

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Typological Atlas of Guatemala

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Guatemala is a region of high language density. According to Glottolog (Hammarström, Forkel & Haspelmath 2017) there are three language families (Mayan, Arawakan and Cariban) and at least two unclassified language unions (Mixe-Zoque languages and Xincan languages) spread in this region.

As linguistic area Guatemala received insufficient attention from scholars: WALS covers only half of 32 Guatemalan languages and PHOIBLE (Moran, McCloy & Wright 2014) describes only 6 languages. There is a volume on languages of Guatemala (Mayers 1966) published by Summer Institute of Linguistics that includes language descriptions, but lacks adequate typological comparisons.

The following project aims to demonstrate geographical distribution of specific typological features of the languages of Guatemala. Our objective is to create an extended version of WALS project (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) for a smaller area. Language specific information extracted from grammars is visualized in an unified and easily perceivable way. Distribution of each feature is presented on a map and provided with brief annotation.

Maps represent language distribution across villages and municipalities, based on information provided by National Institute of Statistics of Guatemala (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011) and sociolinguistic information contained in grammars. Typological maps deal with phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of Guatemalan languages.

Despite the typological atlas itself another outcome of the project is an open-source dataset of typological features of Guatemalan languages available for future research and statistical analysis. Alfa version of online atlas is available at link: https://sasha-kozhukhar.github.io/guatemala_atlas/.

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The many ways to find “right” and “left” in Katharevousa Greek

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In many languages, static spatial relations can be described by means of dynamic expressions, without any actual motion implied in the context. Such dynamic projections are mostly used in encoding a spatial relation for which no specialized adposition exists, such as “right” and “left”, cardinal directions, etc. Examples (1-2) illustrate alternative ways of encoding static spatial relation in English.

We can find such examples also in Russian and in other ancient and modern Indo-European languages (Mackenzie 1978). The Ancient Greek system of dynamic projections is quite complicated: it uses both ablative and allative marking of static locations, and their distribution is not arbitrary (Nikitina 2017). My research focuses on the encoding of “right” and “left” in the later Greek language stages, especially in Katharevousa Greek, which provides us with worth-exploring data on intentionally archaizing, artificial language of the XIX-XX centuries (for more details see Mackridge 2009). The research is carried out on the basis of the Corpus of Modern Greek; all the contexts which include the words “right” and “left” were collected in a special database (500 examples) and annotated for linguistic and extralinguistic features, such as the type of marker, part of speech, semantic role, type of the Ground, explicit viewpoint, verb, genre of the text, creation date. Another primary source of data are translations of two Classical Greek texts (“Anabasis” by Xenophon and “The History of the Peloponnesian War” by Thucydides) into Katharevousa and Modern Greek.

Since Katharevousa is an archaizing language, one can suppose that it would copy the ancient means of marking “right” and “left”. However, according to the available data, the translators used utterly different strategies than the ancient writers; moreover, the strategies are much more similar to those of Modern Greek.

The analysis of the data showed that Katharevousa does not copy the Ancient Greek system: this language prefers dynamic projections and adverbs to static prepositions, which is obvious not only from the translations (see example 3, with partial glossing), but also from the distribution of the markers (only 7% of the locative contexts “on the right/left” are described by locative markers). In both Katharevousa and Modern Greek we can observe the emergence of a new way of marking location, which is not attested in Ancient Greek texts: adverbs without any adpositions or affixes. It is the most popular way of expressing locative contexts in Katharevousa (32% of all contexts are expressed by this means). The extensive usage of ablative affix –θεν in Katharevousa static contexts represents an exquisite archaization: this means is extremely archaic and did not use productively after Homer (Lejeune 1939: 6), whereas Katharevousa revitalizes such forms. In addition, Katharevousa has higher level of marker variation in comparison to natural varieties of Greek: it demonstrates twice as many different strategies for marking location (eight, and four of them are dynamic) than Ancient and Modern Greek.

Examples:

(1) ***On the left of the waterfall***, most of the way up, are wet boggy areas full (BNC)
(2) The sandy beach is only 200 meters away ***to the left of the hotel*** (BNC)
(3)Xenophon, "Anabasis", 2.4.28:

From there they marched four desert stages, twenty parasangs, keeping the Tigris **river on the left.**

a. Original:

<…>	τὸν Τίγρητα	ποταμ-ὸν	***ἐν***	***ἀριστερ-ᾷ***	ἔχ-οντες
	The Tigris	river-ACC	**in**	**left-DAT.SG**	have-PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.PL

b. Translation into Katharevousa, 1846, by K. Vardalahos

<...>	τὸν Τίγρητα	ποταμ-ὸν	***ἐξ***	***ἀριστερ-ῶν***	ἔχ-οντες
	The Tigris	river-ACC	from	left-GEN.PL	have-PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.PL

c. Translation into Katharevousa, 1911, by D. Anastasopoulos

<…>	ἔχ-οντες		***ἀριστερά***	τὸν	Τίγρητα ποταμ-όν.
	have-PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.PL		**left**	the	Tigris river-ACC

d. Translation into Modern Greek, 1979, by G. Zeugolis

<…>	έχ-οντας	***προς τα***		***αριστερά***	τον	Τίγρητα ποταμ-όν
	have-CVB	to	ART.ACC.PL	left	the	Tigris river-ACC

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Proximal and Distal Deictic Adverbs in Russian and Polish Languages

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This study considers Russian and Polish spatial deictic adverbs (Table 1), which can develop temporal meanings of proximity and distance and also can be used as discourse particles. Time-Space metaphor is a well-known phenomenon across languages, mostly manifested in spatial prepositions and adverbs (Fillmore 1971, Lakoff & Johnson 1980), yet also found in deictic markers (Levontina 2011, Apresjan V. 2014).

Language	Proximal adverb	Distal adverb
Russian	***tut*** 'here'	***tam*** 'there'
Polish	***tu*** 'here'	

Table 1

Data: Comparing adverbs in their spatial meaning, one can claim that distal adverbs are less deictic than proximal ones. In certain spatial contexts they can lose the semantics of distance

(2) and develop anaphoric function, while proximal adverbs are "strongly deictic in its spatial meaning and always points to the location of the speaker at the moment of speech" (Apresjan V. 2014):

(1) RUS[1]: ***Ja rodilsja v Moskve i provjol tut svojo detstvo.***

POL[2]: ***Urodziłam się w Moskwie i spędziłam tu dzieciństwo.***

'I was born in Moscow and spent here my childhood'

(2) RUS: ***Vse deti hodjat v školu. Tam oni učatsja čitat.***

POL: ***Wszystkie dzieci chodzą do szkoły. Uczą się tam czytać.***

'All children go to school. There they learn to read.'

[1]RUS - Russian
[2]POL - Polish

The data shows that in temporal meanings adverbs in both languages are not completely symmetric either: proximal ones can denote an event that is close to the moment of speech, while distal arenot used to denote events far from the moment of speech:

(3) RUS: ***Ja tut byla v Moskve.***
'I here been to Moscow'
I've just been to Moscow.

POL: ***Ja tu rozstrzygam ważny problem.***
'I here solving an important problem'
I'm solving an important problem right now.

Proximal adverbs can denote two consecutive events which follow each other immediately (marker of unexpected event):

(4) RUS: ***Ja načal delat uroki, i tut pogas svet.*** (narrative mode)
POL: On zaczął odrabiac lekcje, a tu zgasło swiotło.
'I started to do my homework, and here ('and suddenly') the lights went out

Russian ***tam*** separates events from each other, whereas Polish distal adverb does not develop the temporal meaning:

(5) RUS: Snačala ona stesnjalas, a tam razgovorilas.
'At first, she was shy, and there ('and later') she became more talkative'

Proximal adverbs can be used as discourse particles in exclamative constructions and express irritation(6), while distal ones can mark something unknown or inessential (7):

(6) RUS: Ty mne tut ne plač!
POL: Ty mi tu nie płacz!
'Don't cry me here!'(Shut up!)

On čto-to tam skazal.
'He something there said'
He has said something. (the speaker hasn't heard what was said and finds it inessential)

Conclusion:

We can assume that polysemy shown by both adverbs is not symmetric: proximal adverbs are more likely to develop temporal meanings than the distal ones. However they retain the semantics of proximity and distance even in their non-spatial meanings. Thus. using distal adverb when talking about something inessential, a speaker "distances" the unnecessary information and removes it from mind, while using proximal adverb to express anger, a speaker subconsciously shows that irritating situation is the focus of his attention.

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IMPRINT

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Published on December 15, 2017 as a result of Summer School poster session