

Founder: Cherkasy State Technological University

Certificate on state registration of the print media KB no. 24121-13961P from 14.08.2019

EDITORIAL BOARD

O. E. Pchelintseva	<i>Ukraine</i> , Cherkasy State Technological University – Editor-in-Chief
A. A. Barentsen	<i>Netherlands</i> , University of Amsterdam, UVA
D. Weiss	<i>Switzerland</i> , University of Zurich
B. Wiemer	<i>Germany</i> , Mainz University
D. P. Vojvodić	<i>Serbia</i> , University of Novi Sad
O. I. Vovk	<i>Ukraine</i> , Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkasy National University
A. Gattnar	<i>Germany</i> , University of Tübingen
S. Dickey	<i>USA</i> , Kansas, Kansas State University
V. Dubichynskyi	<i>Poland</i> , University of Warsaw
L. M. Koval	<i>Ukraine</i> , Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University
M. Lazinski	<i>Poland</i> , University of Warsaw
O. Leszczak	<i>Poland</i> , Jan Kochanowski University
H. R. Mehlig	<i>Germany</i> , Kiel University
Y. M. Pletenetska	<i>Ukraine</i> , National Aviation University, Kyiv
V. M. Trub	<i>Ukraine</i> , National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Ukrainian language
V. I. Yarmak	<i>Ukraine</i> , National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Potebnia Institute of Linguistics
L. M. Usik	<i>Ukraine</i> , Cherkasy State Technological University (deputy Editor-in-Chief)

Responsible for issue:

Elena Pchelintseva (Editor-in-Chief), Liudmyla Usik (deputy Editor-in-Chief),
Natalia Samara (Technical Editor)

Recommended for publishing by a Scientific Council of Cherkasy State
Technological University (Transaction no. 16 from 20 June 2022)

Address of the editorial office: blvr. Shevchenka, 460, building 2, off. 210,
Cherkasy, 18006, Ukraine. E-mail: movacom@chdtu.edu.ua

Official website: movacom.chdtu.edu.ua

The journal is presented in the following databases of scientific information, catalogues
and search systems: *Google Scholar; Index Copernicus Journals
Master List; Crossref; CiteFactor.*

The journal is submitted to the Journal Stories by Relawan Jurnal Indonesia.
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY NC)

© The authors, 2022

© Editorial, 2022

© Hrebenuk Alona, cover design, 2019

Засновник: Черкаський державний технологічний університет
Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію друкованого засобу масової інформації
КВ № 24121-13961Р від 14.08.2019

РЕДАКЦІЙНА КОЛЕГІЯ

О. Е. Пчелінцева	<i>Україна, Черкаський державний технологічний ун-т (головний редактор)</i>
А. А. Барентсен	<i>Нідерланди, Амстердамський ун-т</i>
Д. Вайс	<i>Швейцарія, Цюрихський ун-т</i>
Б. Вімер	<i>Німеччина, Ун-т Майнца</i>
Д. П. Войводіч	<i>Сербія, Новосадський ун-т</i>
О. І. Вовк	<i>Україна, Черкаський національний ун-т ім. Б. Хмельницького</i>
А. Гаттнар	<i>Німеччина, Ун-т Тюбінгена</i>
С. Дікі	<i>США, Ун-т Канзасу</i>
В. Дубічинський	<i>Польща, Варшавський ун-т</i>
Л. М. Коваль	<i>Україна, Донецький національний ун-т ім. В. Стуса</i>
М. Лазинські	<i>Польща, Варшавський ун-т</i>
О. В. Лещак	<i>Польща, ун-т ім. Яна Кохановського</i>
Х. Р. Меліг	<i>Німеччина, Кільський ун-т ім. Крістіана Альбрехта</i>
Ю. М. Плетенецька	<i>Україна, Національний авіаційний ун-т</i>
В. М. Труб	<i>Україна, НАН України, Інститут української мови</i>
В. І. Ярмак	<i>Україна, НАН України, Інститут мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні</i>
Л. М. Усик	<i>Україна, Черкаський державний технологічний ун-т (заступник головного редактора)</i>

Відповідальні за випуск:

Олена Пчелінцева (головний редактор), Людмила Усик (заступник головного редактора),
Наталія Самара (технічний секретар редакції)

Рекомендовано до друку вченою радою Черкаського державного технологічного університету (протокол № 16 від 20.06.2022)

Адреса редакції: бульв. Шевченка, 460, корп. II, каб. 210, м. Черкаси, 18006, Україна.
E-mail: movacom@chdtu.edu.ua

Офіційний веб-сайт: movacom.chdtu.edu.ua

Видання представлено: Google Scholar; Index Copernicus Journals Master List;
Crossref; CiteFactor.

Видання подано до Journal Stories by Relawan Jurnal Indonesia.

Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY NC)

© Автори статей, 2022

© Редакція журналу, 2022

© Гребенюк А. Ю., дизайн обкладинки, 2019

ЗМІСТ

Сторінка головного редактора	<i>Олена Пчелінцева</i>	5
АСПЕКТОЛОГІЯ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ МОВ	<i>Marek Łaziński, Karolina Józwiak, Grzegorz Krajewski</i> Imperfective and Perfective Verbs in Polish Legal Texts. Linguistic Analysis and Results of a Survey	7
ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ МОВ. СОЦІОЛІНГВІСТИКА	<i>Evan W. Bleakly</i> Upper Sorbian in Budyšin/Bautzen: Examples from Bautzen's Linguistic Landscape	20
ПОРІВНЯЛЬНО- ТИПОЛОГІЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ГРАМАТИЧНИХ СИСТЕМ	<i>Alice Bondarenko</i> The Dog Bites: On the "Aggressive" Antipassive in Slavic and Baltic	40
	<i>Simone Mellquist</i> Russian Correspondences to Swedish Bipartite Comitatives	62
	<i>Mariia Shchedrina</i> Language Feminization in Ukrainian and Russian	92
ET CETERA (есеї, роздуми, враження)	МОВА І ВІЙНА <i>Ljudmila Porović, Андрій Зінкевич, Сальваторе дель Гаудіо, Борис Норман, Людмила Сидоренко, Людмила Джулай, Гліб Фоменко</i>	103

THE CONTENTS

From the Editor	<i>Olena Pchelintseva</i>	5
ASPECTOLOGY OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES	<i>Marek Łaziński, Karolina Józwiak, Grzegorz Krajewski</i> Imperfective and Perfective Verbs in Polish Legal Texts. Linguistic Analysis and Results of a Survey	7
THE FUNCTIONING OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES. SOCIOLINGUISTICS	<i>Evan W. Bleakly</i> Upper Sorbian in Budyšin/Bautzen: Examples from Bautzen's Linguistic Landscape	20
RESEARCH ON COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR	<i>Alice Bondarenko</i> The Dog Bites: On the "Aggressive" Antipassive in Slavic and Baltic	40
	<i>Simone Mellquist</i> Russian Correspondences to Swedish Bipartite Comitatives	62
	<i>Mariia Shchedrina</i> Language Feminization in Ukrainian and Russian	92
ET CETERA (essays, reflections, impressions)	LANGUAGE AND WAR <i>Ljudmila Popović, Andrii Zinkevych, Salvatore del Gaudio, Borys Norman, Lyudmila Sidorenko, Liudmyla Dzhulai, Hlib Fomenko</i>	103

FROM THE EDITOR

The world around us has changed. We found ourselves in a different reality, in a turbulent flow of events that no one of us could even imagine before the 24th of February. Each of us is doing everything possible to protect our common home,



**O. E. Pchelintseva,
Editor-in-Chief**

to preserve the entire civilized world. We are not only confronting a real enemy. We make every effort to avoid sinking into barbarism and savagery that inevitably accompanies any war.

That is why in March our close-knit team decided to keep up with the research and publishing process under any circumstances since the word itself is our weapon. It seems that now we, like no one else, are aware of the value of freedom, and that is why we did not limit the authors to a specific topic, leaving the freedom of choice to them.

Moreover, we made no mistake here since this issue has become special. For the first time, the authors are exclusively non-Ukrainian scholars from Sweden, Poland, Germany, and Singapore, who responded to our invitation to publish the latest results of their research on grammar, derivation, and functioning of the Indo-European languages specifically on our publishing platform.

I hope that the readers of this special military issue will find the second part of the journal equally interesting, the pages of which contain reflections on the topic “Language and War” expressed by scientists and ordinary citizens, adults and children, Ukrainians, and foreigners.

I am sincerely grateful to all the authors, reviewers, literary editors, and members of the international editorial board who, despite any obstacles, have inspirationally contributed to the creation of this issue.

We are sincerely grateful to the De Gruyter Poland Sp. z o.o. company and its representative Sciendo for the selfless initiative to cooperate with us and sign the contract for publishing and distributing our magazine. We are sure – this is another step towards our joint success!

I wish all readers and colleagues a free scientific space and a peaceful sky!

СТОРІНКА ГОЛОВНОГО РЕДАКТОРА

Світ довкола нас змінився. Ми опинилися в іншій реальності, в турбулентному потоці подій, які неможливо було уявити до 24 лютого. Кожен з нас робить усе, що може, для захисту нашого спільного дому, для збереження всього цивілізованого світу. Ми не тільки протистоїмо реальному ворогові. Ми протистоїмо зануренню у варварство та здичавіння, які завжди неминуче приходять разом із будь-якою війною.

Саме тому у березні наш дружний колектив прийняв рішення за жодних умов не зупиняти науково-видавничий процес, адже слово – це наша зброя. І ми, мабуть, як ніхто зараз усвідомлюємо цінність свободи, тому не стали обмежувати авторів конкретною темою, залишаючи їм свободу вибору.

І не помилились – цей випуск став особливим. Уперше авторський колектив журналу – виключно закордонні науковці зі Швеції, Польщі, Німеччини та Сингапуру, які відгукнулись на наше запрошення опублікувати актуальні результати досліджень з граматики, словотвору та функціонування індовропейських мов саме на нашому видавничому майданчику.

Сподіваюсь, що не менш цікавою стане для читачів цього воєнного випуску друга частина журналу, на сторінках якої ми розмістили роздуми науковців та пересічних громадян, дорослих та дітей, українців та іноземців на тему «Мова і війна».

Щиро вдячна усім авторам, рецензентам, літературним редакторам, членам міжнародної редакційної колегії, які незважаючи на жодні перешкоди натхненно долучились до створення цього випуску.

Ми щиро вдячні компанії De Gruyter Poland Sp. z o.o. та її представнику Sciendo за безкорисливу ініціативу щодо співробітництва з нами і підписання договору про видання та розповсюдження нашого журналу. Упевнені: це ще один крок до нашого спільного успіху!

Бажаю усім читачам та колегам вільного наукового простору та мирного неба!

Олена Пчелінцева

АСПЕКТОЛОГІЯ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ МОВ

DOI: 10.2478/lccc-2022-0001

UDC 811.162.1'367.625 : 81'42] = 111



Marek Łaziński, Karolina Józwiak, Grzegorz Krajewski

IMPERFECTIVE AND PERFECTIVE VERBS IN POLISH LEGAL TEXTS. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OF A SURVEY¹

The article presents factors influencing the choice of verbal aspects in Polish legal texts. The Polish legal language norm generally uses imperfective verbs (hereinafter: ipf) in the present tense. The reason is not only the universal directive function of the present tense but also a specific function of the imperfective aspect in Polish, i.e., its definitional meaning. Other Slavic languages use perfective verbs (hereinafter referred to as: pf) as a standard legal norm in codes. The first part of the text, based on Łaziński, Józwiak 2017 and Łaziński 2020, is a theoretical analysis with the use of linguistic and legal background.

In the second part of the article, the authors present the results of a survey using a fictional statute where respondents had to choose an appropriate verbal aspect. By applying such a strategy it is possible to evaluate the significance of different factors influencing the aspect choice described in the first part of the texts and other factors considered in the survey. In the authors' opinion, the conclusions of the survey and theoretical discussion have important consequences for both linguistics and law, especially for the grammatical interpretation of the law.

Key words: verbal aspect, Polish, legal language, survey.

Theoretical background.

1.1 Verbal aspect in Polish and Slavic languages². The verbal aspect is a lexically based grammatical category. The functions fulfilled by the perfective and imperfective aspects are affected by the encoded lexical meaning of a verb, i.e.,

¹ Research presented in this article was performed as part of the project "Development of the Polish Aspect System in the Last 250 Years" (<http://www.diaspol.uw.edu.pl>), funded by the German Research Foundation DFG (WI 1286/19-1) and the Polish National Science Centre NCN (2016/23/G/HS2/00922) in the joint Beethoven II programme.

² This part of the article uses the analysis presented in Łaziński, Józwiak 2017 and Łaziński 2020.

its belonging to one of the actional classes: achievements, accomplishments, states, or activities. According to Vendler (1957), all situations denoted by verbs in contexts can be divided into achievements, accomplishments, states, and activities. Achievements and accomplishments refer to a change of state aimed or achieved by the action. An accomplishment can be described as a telic situation (from Greek *telos* ‘aim’). It comprises an event, generally denoted by a *pf* verb (e.g. *napisać* / to write) and a process leading to it, generally denoted by an *ipf* verb, e.g. *pisać list* / to write (to be writing) a letter, *splacać kredyt* / to repay (to be repaying) a debt (ongoing situation).

Achievement is an event without a preceding process, e.g. *umrzeć* ‘to die’ or *zabić* ‘to kill’. A semelfactive is similar to achievement but no change of state takes place with the event, e.g. *mrugnąć* ‘to blink’ (semelfactives were added later to Vendler’s classification as a category with equal status). An imperfective partner verb of achievements and semelfactives generally denotes repetitiveness of events: *umierać* (to die), *zabijać* (to kill), *mrugać* (to blink).

Other types of situations, namely states and activities, are not telic, they can last for a long time without leading to an event, and generally, they do not occur in the so-called aspect pairs, i.e. pairs of one *pf* and one *ipf* verb with the same meaning when translated into a non-Slavic language. States are thoroughly static, e.g. *spać* ‘to sleep’, *podlegać karze* ‘to be subject to a penalty’. Activities are monotonously dynamic, not leading to a change, e.g. *tańczyć* ‘to dance’, *działać* ‘to act’. The difference between activities and states was not considered distinct or important to this research. It must be noted that the actional classification divides entire predicates, i.e. verbs with subjects, objects, and circumstances. In aspectology, it is often simplified, and when referring to it, similarly to this case, we may simplify it and divide verbal lexemes into their typical uses.

Perfective verbs denote events, or holistically viewed situations interpreted as singular points on the time axis. They are physically indivisible in time, as *zabić* ‘to kill’, or may actually extend over a time period (e.g. the event *napisałem książkę* ‘I write-past-pf a book includes the situation *писаłem książkę* ‘I write-past-ipf a book’). In the narrative register, the aspect is not selected only based on the semantics of the situation. The perfective aspect refers to a situation (event) which is temporally definite and perceived as one in a narrative sequence.

The majority of verbs form verb aspect pairs, although there is also a group of perfectiva and imperfectiva tantum. The most frequent adapted condition of an aspect pair is the ability for the imperfective verb of the pair to be used in the iterative event sense or in the historical present, e.g. *napisał - pisze list/listy* ‘he write-past-pf – he write-present-ipf letter(s)’. The primary aspectual meaning of an imperfective verb is processual. In the case of accomplishment verbs, the processual meaning will be enriched to telic meaning. Aspect pairs containing an accomplishment *ipf* verb can be proved by a special test of negated perfective (comp. Maslov 1948): *pisal list, ale nie napisał* ‘he was writing a letter, but he did not write (complete) it’. However, verbs like *pisać* ‘to write’, which can express an accomplishment, may also denote a holistically viewed iterative event, a past event narrated in the historic present or a general fact.

1.2 Aspect in legal texts. In legal texts, such as criminal law codes, and other rules and regulations, the use of language units and categories should not only conform to their intuitive understanding within the general register but should also yield their non-ambiguous interpretation as legal terms and quasi-terms. The grammatical construction of a legal text and the values of grammatical

categories used are important to both the naïve (direct) interpretation of the norm and its interpretation in the court of law. This also applies to the use of imperfective and perfective verbs in such types of texts in Polish and other Slavic languages.

Much has been said and written about the importance of the grammatical gender of the noun. Many legal documents in Poland and abroad were recently altered to comply with gender-fair language use. Less attention is paid, however, to the similar problem of other grammatical categories, and no attention at all – to verbal categories.

The most obvious case of special Polish use of aspect against the background of other Slavic languages is the imperfective in the provision of sanction in a penal code. The formulation present in the Polish Penal Code uses the imperfective verb *Kto zabija człowieka, podlega karze* ‘Whoever kills-ipf a human being, shall be subject to penalty...’¹ (art. 148 of the Polish Penal Code), and this has been so for the last 150 years. All the other West and South Slavic languages, on the other hand, apply a perfective verb in analogous contexts, e.g., Czech and Slovak *Kdo jiného úmyslně usmrtí...*, Bulgarian *umàrtvi*, Serbian *liši života*. In East Slavic languages, the subject of the sentence is the name of the crime expressed as an aspect-free form of a deverbal noun, e.g., the Ukrainian *vbivstvo [...] karajet’sja...* or Russian *Ubiystvo nakazyvayetsya...* ‘Murder shall be punishable...’.

The grammatical difference between the structure of Russian and other Slavic penal codes reflects the different legal traditions and different balance between three main elements of a legal norm: the hypothesis, the dispositions, and the sanction. The hypothesis of a legal norm specifies the addressee and the conditions of application of the norm, e.g., Whoever / any person or a soldier, public official. The disposition, which is of most importance to us, describes the behaviour (prohibition, injunction, or permission). The sanction sets consequences prescribed by law if an addressee carries out the action described in the disposition. The descriptive model of a penal code, adopted in the English, German, West and South-Slavic tradition, contains an elaborate disposition and only the subject who (*kto*) is shared with the hypothesis: *kto zabija, podlega karze*. The nominalised model of penal code, adopted in French and East Slavic tradition, conceals the hypothesis since the addressee or the special circumstances are not defined: *vbivstvo [...] karajet’sja, ubiystvo nakazyvaetsja*.

The prevalent opinion among most Polish legal professionals is that the imperfective aspect of the Polish code is necessitated by the requirement of a present tense interpretation, as the use of perfective forms would render a future time reference (see: Gizbert-Studnicki 1982, Przetak 2014, Zieliński 2002). However, the perfective forms do not obligatorily imply a future-reference interpretation, and theoretically, they could be used with a universal time reference as in Czech. A similar use of the imperfective aspect can be also observed in Polish proverbs: *Kto sieje wiatr, zbiera burze* ‘He who sows-ipf wind, reaps-ipf whirlwind’, while their Ukrainian or Russian counterparts deploy the perfective aspect: *Xto sije viter, požne-pf burju, Kto poseet-pf veter, požnet-pf buryu* (this common proverb has a Biblical origin).

The use of the *ipf* aspect in Polish criminal law codes may actually pose the danger of implying the interpretation of an ‘attempt’ rather than an ‘accomplished deed’. In the case of achievement verbs, it is impossible to interpret the imperfective aspect as an attempt, e.g. *zabija (ipf)* as ‘attempts to kill’. The other verb classes, however, do not exclude such an interpretation, cf. Article 18.2 of the Penal Code:

(1) *Odpowiada za podżeganie, kto chcąc, aby inna osoba dokonała czynu zabronionego, nakłania ją do tego.*

‘Whoever, desiring for another person to commit a prohibited act, persuades-*ipf* that person to do so, is guilty of incitement’.

Here, lawyers are not unanimous on whether the punishable act should be understood solely as successfully inducing in another person an intention to commit a prohibited act (an intention which was subsequently fulfilled), or as a mere attempt to induce such an intention. The Supreme Court of Poland has ruled in favour of the former interpretation. Of course, the Polish Penal Code, like other criminal-law codes, does explicitly distinguish between a criminal act as a deed and as an attempt and preparatory steps, but as the above-mentioned example suggests, the boundaries are not always clear-cut.

It should be apparent that the prevalence of the imperfective aspect in the Penal Code is not necessitated by the present time-reference interpretation, which could also be afforded with *praesens perfecti*. It is not an iterative use of the imperfective aspect either since the code penalizes a single occurrence of a criminal act. That said, an alternative explanation is offered for this phenomenon. Namely, the use of the imperfective verbs in the criminal-law code exploits a certain function thereof, i.e., the definition of a certain situation which is subject to legal sanctions. This definitional or illustrative function of the imperfective aspect occurs in all Slavic languages, where it is deployed in encyclopaedic and dictionary entries, with Polish being the only language which extends this use to legal codes and nearly all proverbs. This may be due to a relatively weakly represented exemplary function of perfective verbs.

The situation types presented in 1.1 can be illustrated by verbs from codes or general legal context:

- States: *obowiązywać* ‘to be in force’, *zamieszkiwać* ‘to reside’
- Activities: *nawoływać* ‘try to incite’, *handlować* ‘to trade’
- Accomplishments: *splacać (ipf)/splacić (pf)* ‘to repay’, *nakłaniać (ipf)/nakłonić (pf)* ‘to persuade’, *niszczyć(ipf)/zniszczyć(pf)* ‘to destroy’
- Achievements: *zabijać (ipf) /zabić (pf)* ‘to kill’, *znieważać (ipf) /znieważzyć (pf)* ‘to insult’

According to the basic interpretation of accomplishment verbs, the difference in aspect can be generalised as an opposition between an event (*pf*) and an ongoing process. See:

(2) *Mój ojciec splacił (pf) w końcu kredyt.* ‘My father has finally repaid his loan.’

(3) *Mój ojciec długo spłacał (ipf) kredyt.* ‘My father repay-past-*ipf* his loan for a long time’ (It is not clear whether the loan has been completely paid off).

The verb form *splaca (ipf)* ‘repays’ in the article 302 of the Polish Penal Code refers to the iteration of finished or partial repayment of many loans and creditors, not to gradual repayment of a single loan.

(4) *Kto, w razie grożącej mu niewypłacalności lub upadłości, nie mogąc zaspokoić wszystkich wierzycieli, spłaca (ipf) lub zabezpiecza (ipf) tylko niektórych, czym działa na szkodę pozostałych [...]*

‘Whoever in the event of threatened insolvency or bankruptcy is not able to satisfy all his creditors, repays or satisfies only some of them, thereby acting to the detriment of others [...]. [translation from www.imolin.org]

The Polish penalty code, like the Czech, German, and English codes, is based on the grammatical structure of a subject clause with the culprit as the subject: “Whoever does X, is punishable with Y”. Norms taking the form *Kto X, podlega karze Y* make up 188 of the 226 chapters in the special part of the code; repetition of this construction is an important factor for the code’s text cohesion and genre identity. Such a structure was used back in ancient law: in the Code of Hammurabi or in the biblical norms (Book of Leviticus). In all Polish translations of the Bible, the perfective verb is usually used in the sanction’s provision, e.g. *Ktokolwiek zabije (pf) człowieka...* ‘whoever kills a man (Book of Leviticus 24,17). Polish Penal Code uses predominantly imperfective aspect here (compare *kto zabija (ipf)...*).

There are 1553 imperfective verbs and only 215 perfective verbs (tokens) in the special part of the Polish Penal Code. The most frequent *ipf* verb is *podlega karze* - ‘is subject to punishment’) repeated in 1888 chapters, but the rest are various achievement or accomplishment verbs denoting punishable deeds in sanction’s provisions.

While imperfectives in the present tense denote all kinds of offences and their circumstances, the perfectives in the Polish Penal Code are generally used to specify extenuating and exempting circumstances, such as compensation paid to the victim by the perpetrator, etc.:

(5) *Kto bierze (ipf) lub przetrzymuje (ipf) zakładnika [...] podlega karze [...]. Nie podlega karze za przestępstwo [...], kto odstąpił (past pf) od zamiaru wymuszenia i zwolnił (past pf) zakładnika. (art. 252)*

‘Whoever takes or holds a hostage..., is subject to the penalty... [...] Whoever abandoned the intention to extort and released the hostage shall not be subject to the penalty for the offence...’

This role of perfectives in the code can be explained by the main narrative function of this aspect value as temporally definite. The event denoted by a perfective becomes foregrounded against the background of the macro-situation expressed by imperfectives. Such use of perfectives is more common in the Polish Civil Code which – contrary to the Penal Code – describes situations more vividly and “tells stories” using perfectives as a standard narrative form:

(6) *Za szkodę odpowiedzialny jest nie tylko ten, kto ją bezpośrednio wyrządził (past pf), lecz także ten, kto inną osobę do wyrządzenia szkody nakłonił (past pf) albo był jej pomocny, jak również ten, kto świadomie skorzystał (past pf) z wyrządzonej drugiemu szkody. (art. 122)*

Liability for damage is borne not only by the direct perpetrator but also by any person who incites or aids another to cause damage and a person who knowingly takes advantage of damage caused to another person.

(translation from supertrans2014.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/the-civil-code.pdf)

To sum up: the primacy of the imperfective verb in the present tense in Polish codes can be explained in terms of a tendency for making legal norms increasingly

generalized, e.g. *kto zabija (ipf)*. However, there are more factors which play a role here: The perfective verb in formal present tense *kto zabije* with the default meaning indicating the future would present the omnitemporal rule as a predictable, albeit untypical situation. The perfective is used in the Penal Code and Civil Code to build a narration of “short stories” specifying the circumstances and the situation to which a legal norm refers. Polish Penal Code uses imperfectives in general rules much more often and without fear of a possible ‘attempt’ of a misinterpretation. Nonetheless, the case of the Polish verb *nakłania (ipf)* shows that such fear is not entirely groundless. The last factor is the Polish illustrative function of the imperfective aspect, also used in proverbs and regulations. The interpretation of the *ipf* aspect in the codes also depends on the semantic class of the verb whether it denotes an event, a process, or a state.

Methods.

2.1 Survey³. In order to verify the significance of various factors influencing the choice of aspect in legal texts, the authors have conducted a survey questionnaire. The choice is understood as, first of all, the influence of the arrangement of linguistic factors on the grammatical form, which is not realized by the speaker or much less frequently, the speaker’s (writer’s) conscious decision whether to use the *ipf* (imperfective) or *pf* (perfective) verb in a given text and context. The survey prompts the respondents to decide which aspect value to choose. The survey also provides space for reflection and theoretical justification for the respondent’s decision.

2.2 Interpretation of aspect choice in the survey. The survey examines the choice of aspect value in the charter of the Elementary School named after Zeno Vendler. The school and its charter are fictional. Zeno Vendler, unknown to the general public, was a philosopher of language who laid the foundation for the action classification of verbs, see bibliography. Individual sentences, identical or similar, can be found in the statutes of various schools, the discontinued numbering is to give the impression that this is an extract of an authentic document. The authors tried to make the verbs represent different action classes, and contexts typical for legal and quasi-legal texts.

There were 328 individuals taking part in the survey, out of which 119 had a legal background (law students were included), and the remaining participants were mostly students of philology studies. The authors did not assume that lawyers would generally choose a different aspect value than the other respondents, but some contexts in the statute are formalized in legal language, and some verbs have corresponding interpretations in law.

The dependent (explained) variable in the study was the aspect value. Its value had to be selected as *pf* or *ipf* in 19 contexts. The independent variables were education (see above) and actional class. The verbs in which aspect had to be chosen, and the predicates they represented, belong to different classes: six to the accomplishment class and thirteen to the achievement class, cf. examples below (limited to *ipf* verbs):

- Accomplishment, eg. *sekretariat wykonuje-ipf/wykona-pf polecenia, komisja rewizyjna ocenia-ipf/oceni-pf wywiadywanie się, biblioteka gromadzi-ipf/zgromadzi-pf podręczniki,*

³ This questionnaire, along with another aspect questionnaire, is also described in Łaziński, Józwiak, Krajewski (in print).

e.g., the secretary follows instructions, the audit committee evaluates performance, the library collects textbooks,

• Achievement (non-divisible event), eg. *biblioteka udostępnia-ipf/udostępnia-pf uczniom podręczniki, dyrektor decyduje-ipf/zadecyduje-pf o dniach wolnych, dyrektor ustanawia dzień wolny*

e.g., library makes textbooks available to students, the principal decides on days off, the principal establishes a day off

• In some of the examples, the verb allows for an additional state interpretation (cf. analysis of sentences 28a and b).

Results and discussion. Below are all the questions of the test, i.e., the items of the statute with the alternative *ipf* and *pf* verbs, which were the objects of choice. The letter symbols denote the action class: accomplishment - D, achievement - Z, state or activity - S.

22. *Sekretariat wykona-pf/wykonuje-ipf (D) [14/28] polecenia dyrekcji dotyczące administrowania danymi osobowymi uczniów zgodnie z Ustawą o ochronie danych osobowych (Dz. U. 2018 Nr 157)*

The Secretariat follows (D) [14/28] the instructions of the management regarding the administration of students' personal data in accordance with the Personal Data Protection Act (Journal of Laws 2018 No. 157)

23. *Wywiązywanie się nauczycieli z obowiązku prowadzenia dokumentacji szkolnej oceni-pf/ocenia-ipf (D) [32/296] Komisja Rewizyjna raz w semestrze.*

Teachers' fulfilment of their obligation to keep school records is evaluated (D) [32/296] by the Audit Committee once a semester.

24. *Biblioteka szkolna zgromadzi-pf/gromadzi-ipf (D) [14/314] i udostępni-pf/udostępnia-ipf (Z) [14/314] uczniom podręczniki ze wszystkich przedmiotów objętych podstawą programową dla klas 1-8.*

The school library collects (D) [14/314] and makes available (Z) [14/314] to students' textbooks in all subjects covered by the core curriculum for grades 1-8.

25.

a. *Dyrektor w porozumieniu z Radą Rodziców i Radą Pedagogiczną zadecyduje-pf/decyduje-ipf (Z) [54/274] o dniach wolnych od zajęć szkolnych ponad liczbę 13 dni ustawowo wolnych od pracy. Limit takich dni wynosi 5 w skali roku.*

The Principal, in consultation with the Parent Council and the Pedagogical Council, decides (Z) [54/274] on days off beyond the number of 13 public holidays. The limit of such days is 5 per year.

b. *W szczególnych przypadkach, na wniosek Rady Rodziców, dyrektor ustanowi-pf/ustanawia-ipf (Z) [82/245] dodatkowy dzień wolny od zajęć ponad wskazany limit.*

In special cases, at the request of the Parents' Council, the Principal establishes (Z) [82/245] additional days off beyond the specified limit.

26. *Raz w miesiącu odbędą-pf/odbywają-ipf (Z) [46/282] się spotkania rodziców z wychowawcami.*

Once a month parent-teacher meetings are held (Z) [46/282].

27.

a. *Dyrektor w porozumieniu z Radą Pedagogiczną sporządzi-pf/sporządza-ipf (D) [61/267] Wewnątrzszkolny System Oceniania (WSO).*

The Principal, in consultation with the Pedagogical Council, prepares (D) [61/267] an Intra-School Grading System (IGS).

b. *Na podstawie WSO zespoły przedmiotowe określają-pf/określają-ipf (Z) [74/254] Przedmiotowe Zasady Oceniania.*

Based on the IGS, subject teams determine (Z) [74/254] Subject Grading Rules.

28.

a. *Nauczyciele i pracownicy niepedagogiczni oraz kadra zarządzająca stworzą-pf/tworzą-ipf (D) [18/310] w szkole przyjazną atmosferę.*

Teachers and non-teaching staff and management create (D) [18/310] a friendly atmosphere at the school.

b. *Starają się również wspomóc-pf/wspomagać-ipf (Z) [17/311] rozwój intelektualny, emocjonalny i moralny uczniów.*

They also strive to support (Z) [17/311] students' intellectual, emotional, and moral development.

29. *Uczeń ze specjalnymi potrzebami edukacyjnymi otrzyma-pf/otrzymuje-ipf (Z) [147/181] wsparcie terapeuty pedagogicznego oraz szkolnego psychologa.*

A student with special educational needs receives (Z) [147/181] support from an educational therapist and a school psychologist.

30.

a. *Uczeń, który złamie-pf/łamie-ipf (Z) [178/150] postanowienia kontraktu o porozumieniu bez przemocy (przyjętym przez Radę Rodziców i Radę Pedagogiczną uchwałą z 25.03.2015 r.), podlega-ipf naganie.*

A student who breaks (Z) [178/150] the provisions of the non-violent agreement (adopted by the Parents' Council and the Pedagogical Council with a resolution dated 25.03.2015) shall be reprimanded.

b. *Uczeń, który uporczywie łamie-ipf ww. postanowienia, zostanie-ipf/zostaje-pf (Z) [184/144] zawieszony w prawach i obowiązkach na czas, który określi dyrektor po konsultacji z wychowawcą oddziału i psychologiem szkolnym.*

A student who persistently breaks the aforementioned provisions is (Z) [184/144] suspended from his/her rights and duties for a period of time to be determined by the Principal after consultation with the class teacher and the school psychologist.

c. *Okres zawieszenia określi-pf/określa-ipf (Z) [64/264] dyrektor po konsultacji z wychowawcą oddziału i psychologiem szkolnym.*

The period of suspension is determined (Z) [64/264] by the Principal after consultation with the classroom teacher and school psychologist.

31.

a. *Zabrania się uczniom używania telefonów komórkowych na terenie szkoły.*

Students are prohibited from using mobile phones on school premises and grounds.

b. *Uczeń, który skorzysta-pf/korzysta-ipf (Z) [132/193] z telefonu bez wyraźnego polecenia nauczyciela, otrzyma-pf/otrzymuje-ipf (Z) [184/144] punkty ujemne z zachowania, których liczbę określi WSO.*

A student who uses (Z) [132/193] a mobile phone without clear instruction from a teacher receives (Z) [184/144] negative conduct (penalty) points.

32. *Mottem szkoły jest „Pomóc-pf/pomagać-ipf (Z) [28/300] innym zbudować-pf/budować-ipf (D) [42/286] lepszy świat”.*

The school motto is “Help (Z) [28/300] others to build (D) [42/286] a better world”

The number of selected *pf* and *ipf* verbs separated by a slash is given in square brackets. The analysis of these results can be found further.

3.1 Analysis of survey variables. As could be expected based on the general trends of the use of the *ipf* aspect in the codes (Section 1.2), also in our survey the verb *ipf* was chosen more often than *pf*. 328 respondents were asked to choose the aspect in 19 verb forms. In sentence 24, we unintentionally placed two verbs from different action classes so that the aspect of the first one: *gromadzi-ipf/zgromadzi-pf* (collects) affected the aspect of the second one *udostępnia-ipf/udostępnia-pf* (makes available). The authors have realized that this was the case during the analysis, so they excluded both pairs from the statistical calculation and were left with 17 *pf/ipf* pairs. Since there were 328 respondents, this amounts to 5576 single-choice options.

0.76 of the selected forms were *ipf* verbs, and 0.24 - *pf* verbs. The prevalence of the *ipf* aspect over the *pf* aspect depends significantly on the action class. In the case of events, respondents chose the *pf* aspect in 27 per cent of verbs, and in the case of accomplishment in only 10 per cent. Based on the logistic regression model, which also included random effects of respondent and sentence, it can be assumed that the probability of choosing the *pf* form for accomplishment verbs is only 0.05 and for achievement verbs, it amounts to 0.19. This difference is statistically significant, $B = 1.5$, $z = 2.85$, $p = 0.004$ (test probability is significantly less than 0.05).

The respondents' decisions were influenced by their legal education or lack thereof, with this influence concerning not the choice of aspect in general, but the relation of that choice to the class of action described above. If the average respondent chose the *pf* aspect of the verb for events with a probability of 0.19 and for accomplishment with a probability of 0.05, then lawyers chose the *pf* aspect with a probability of 0.15 for events and 0.06 for accomplishment, and non-lawyers chose the *pf* aspect with a probability of 0.21 for events and 0.04 for accomplishment. The difference in the non-lawyer group is statistically significant, $B = 1.78$, $z = 3.31$, $p < 0.001$, and in the lawyer group it is nonsignificant or on the borderline of significance with a p-value just above 0.05, $B = 1.05$, $z = 1.93$, $p = 0.053$. The interaction of (lack of) legal education and action class is statistically significant, $B = 0.72$, $z = -3.3$, $p < 0.001$.

A possible, though probably not the only, explanation for this tendency is that the group made up of non-lawyers was dominated by students of philology (most often Polish philology studies). Although action classes are mentioned only occasionally in university didactics programs, they are more comprehensible and institutionally operationalized concepts for philologists than for lawyers. The few legal analyses of the use of aspect ignore the distinction between semantic classes of predicates (cf. Gizbert-Studnicki 1982, Łazinski 2020, 114).

3.2. The choice of aspect in individual contexts. Having determined the influence of macro-level factors, let us look at the answers to specific questions, i.e., aspectual choice in individual examples (the numbers of selected *ipf* and *pf* verbs are given next to the survey text). All *ipf* verbs have an illustrative function, such as the one included in the penal code.

In six examples, the share of *ipf* verbs selected by respondents is higher than 90%. Four examples contain accomplishment verbs, respectively: *wykonuje polecenia* 'follows instructions' (sentence 22, 314 *ipf*), *ocenia wywiązywanie się* 'evaluates the fulfilment of' (sentence 23, 296 *ipf*), *gromadzi podręczniki* 'collects textbooks' (24, 314 *ipf*), *tworzą atmosferę* 'create an atmosphere' (28a, 310 *ipf*). (The verb *create* in this sentence can be interpreted as accomplishment or state). The high proportion of *ipf* verbs allows for a telic interpretation of the examples

discussed. The statute states that the library should collect more and more books. There are three sentences with the verb achievement: *udostępnia podręczniki* ‘makes textbooks available’ (24, 314 ipf) and *(starają się) wspomagać rozwój* ‘(strive to) support the development’ (28b, 311), *(mottem jest) pomóc* ‘(the motto is) to help’ (32, 300). In example 24, the idea is that the library makes books available concurrently with its collection; that is, it makes available each addition to the collection. In example 28b, *wspomagać* ‘support’ can be interpreted as an achievement or as a state, or rather a relation, just as *tworzą atmosferę* ‘create an atmosphere’ in 28a. *Pomagać* ‘help’ in sentence 32 does not allow an interpretation related to the verb describing a particular state, it is clearly a goal-directed action: *zbudować lepszy świat* ‘to build a better world’, but it is not telic in the sense of Maslow’s test - impossible: *pomagał, ale nie pomógł!* was helping but failed to help.

In the eight examples, the proportion of indications of the verb *ipf* ranges from 0.5 to 0.9. Most of them are achievement verbs: *dyrektor decyduje o dniach wolnych* ‘the principal decides on days off’ (25a, 274 ipf) and *ustanawia dzień wolny* ‘establishes a day off’ (25a, 245), *odbywają się spotkania rodziców* ‘parent-teacher meetings are held’ (26, 282), *uczeń otrzymuje wsparcie* ‘the student receives support’ (29, 181), *korzysta z telefonu* ‘uses the telephone’ (31a, 193). There are also accomplishment verbs: *dyrektor sporządza system oceniania* ‘the principal prepares a grading system’ (27a, 27), *zespoły określają systemy oceniania* ‘teams determine grading rules’ (27b, 254), *dyrektor określa czas* ‘the principal determines time’ (30c, 264), *(pomóc) budować lepszy świat* ‘(help) build a better world’ (32, 286).

In the three examples, the share of the selected verbs *ipf* is smaller than *pf*. For the interpretation of the quasi-legal text, this choice is unique in terms of the tradition of interpreting the time/tense and aspects of legislative technique (see 1.2). Here are the contexts: *uczeń łamie-ipf postanowienia* ‘the student breaks the provisions’ (30a, 150 ipf, 178 pf - *złamie*), *uczeń zostaje-ipf zawieszony* ‘the student is suspended’ (30b, 144 ipf, 184 pf - *zostanie*), *uczeń otrzymuje-ipf punkty karne* ‘the student receives negative conduct (penalty) points’ (131, 144 ipf, 184 pf - *otrzyma/receives*). To explain the choice of the *pf* verb, it is useful to extend these contexts. The verb *pf* is chosen in the superordinate sentence specifying the punishment from the offence presented in the subordinate appositive sentence: *uczeń który łamie-ipf postanowienia...* ‘the student who violates the provisions...’, *zostanie-pf zawieszony...* ‘is suspended...’; *uczeń, który korzysta-ipf z telefonu...* ‘the student who uses the phone...’, *otrzyma-ipf punkty karne...* ‘will receive penalty points...’. Comparing this to the structure of the penal code of the *pf* verb, we consider these contexts as a sanction of a specific penal norm, not a disposition. In the criminal code, the sanction is most often expressed with the *ipf* state verb: *podlega karze* ‘is subject to punishment’. The sanction in the regulation forms together with the disposition a logical sequence of two events, so the *pf* aspect is preferred here, just as *pf* verbs are used for sequences of events in the criminal and civil codes (see 1.2).

Let us now compare the verbs in the dispositions of the two norms under discussion: sentence 30a: the student who breaks ‘*złamie-pf* (more often than *łamie-ipf*)’ the provisions, sentence 31a: the student who uses the phone ‘*korzysta-ipf* (more often than *skorzysta-pf*)’. One of the primary functions of the *pf* aspect is to emphasize the distinctiveness of the events in the sequence. This separateness is more pronounced in the case of unexpected, unusual events. This is undoubtedly the case with breaking the rules. Using the phone is not a surprising event in itself,

only the context of the ban makes it so. This is probably why the respondents more often chose the *pf* aspect: *złamię postanowienia* ‘breaks the rules’, and more often the *ipf* aspect: *korzysta z telefonu* ‘uses the phone’.

3.3 Comments from respondents. About 17 per cent of the responses were accompanied by additional comments. Respondents with and without legal training commented just as frequently. The comments on the choice of aspect *ipf* often repeat arguments that have already been made in the aspect analysis in the codes (cf. 1.2):

(7) The content of general norms of conduct is formulated using the grammatical present tense.” (Treść generalnych norm postępowania formułuje się używając czasu gramatycznego teraźniejszego.) (ref.: sentence 22)

(8) The form appropriate to the legal act; present not future tense; does not refer to a single future event, but to every event occurring at the time of the legal act being in force. (Forma odpowiednia dla aktu prawnego; czas teraźniejszy nie przyszły; nie dotyczy jednego przyszłego zdarzenia, tylko każdego zdarzenia występującego w czasie obowiązywania aktu prawnego.) (ref.: sentence 23)

The interpretation of the *ipf* verb as representing repeated action often appears in the commentaries - in our opinion, such a conclusion is incorrect because the offence does not have to be committed repeatedly for the sanction to be imposed. Cf. the commentary on the choice of aspect *pf* breaks/ *złamię* in the disposition of sentence 31a:

(9) Łamię-*ipf* represents multiple occasions/repeated actions and złamię-*pf* refers to a single case/occasion. (Łamię to wiele a złamię wystarczy raz.)

(10) In such a case it is clear that each breach of the contract results in a reprimand. (Wówczas wiadomo, że każde złamanie kontraktu skutkuje nagana.)

The fear of interpretation of the *ipf* form *łamię* ‘breaks’ is the most common argument for choosing the form *złamię-*pf**. A question arises whether respondents with legal backgrounds would also be apprehensive of the use of a standard *ipf* aspect in the criminal code. *Uczeń, który złamię postanowienia, zostanie zawieszony.../ A student who breaks-*pf* the provisions will be suspended...* (sentence 31) and *Kto zabija człowieka.../Whoever kills-*ipf* a person..., shall be punished* (article 148 of the CC) are two sentences with similar structure. Although the first is a subordinate appositive, the second a subjective, both similarly link the disposition to the sanction. Such a reflection appears rarely in our survey:

(11) It sounds more suggestive of a threat, although an imperfect form is always used in the Penal Code. (Brzmi bardziej sugestywnie, jak groźba, chociaż w kodeksie karnym jest zawsze forma niedokonana). (ref: złamię-*pf* ‘break’ in sentence 31).

Conclusions. The respondents’ choices of the *ipf* verbs or (much less frequently) *pf* verbs confirm the general rule of using the *ipf* aspect and the present tense in rules and regulations. However, in certain situations, the likelihood of choosing the *pf* aspect increases, e.g. “*uczeń, który złamię-*pf* postanowienia Regulaminu, [...] zostanie-*pf* zawieszony w prawach ucznia.../ A student who breaks-*pf* the provisions of the School Regulations, [...] is suspended...”. Breaking the rules and suspension are exceptional events, that is why they probably choose the *pf* aspect. The probability of using the *pf* form was generally higher for events*

not preceded by actions (achievements) and this relation was more clearly perceived by respondents with legal education than other survey participants. However, the conclusion concerning the marked influence of legal education on the choice of the aspect in all situations cannot be justified in all situations.

References

- Gizbert-Studnicki, T. (1982). Znamiona czasownikowe w kodeksie karnym. Zagadnienie czasu gramatycznego i aspektu. *Studia Prawnicze*. 1/2. 106-115.
- Łaziński, M. (2020). *Wykłady o aspekcie polskiego czasownika*. Warsaw.
- Łaziński, M., Józwiak K. (2017). Verbal Aspect and Legal Interpretation: the Use of Verbal Aspect in the Polish Penal Code. *Polonica*. XXXVII. 167-177.
- Maslov, Ju.S. (1948). Vid i leksičeskoe značenie glagola v sovremennom russkom literaturnom jazyke. *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*. 7 (4). 307-316.
- Przetak, M. (2014). *Struktura tekstu prawnego na przykładzie kodeksu karnego*. Gdańsk.
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and Times. *The Philosophical Review*. 66 (2). 143–160.
- Zieliński, M. (2002). *Wykładnia prawa*. Warsaw.

Резюме

Лазінські Марек, Юзвяк Кароліна, Краєвські Грегор

ДІЄСЛОВА НЕДОКОНАНОГО ТА ДОКОНАНОГО ВИДІВ У ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ЗАКОНОДАВЧИХ ТЕКСТАХ. ЛІНГВІСТИЧНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ТА РЕЗУЛЬТАТИ ОПИТУВАННЯ

Постановка проблеми. У статті представлено фактори, що впливають на вибір дієслівного виду в польських правових текстах. У польській правовій нормі дієслова недоконаного виду (далі: *ipf*) зазвичай вживаються в теперішньому часі. Інші слов'янські мови використовують дієслова доконаного виду (далі: *pf*) як стандартну правову норму в кодексах.

Мета статті. Підготовлено та проведено опитування з метою оцінки значущості різних факторів, що впливають на вибір дієслівного виду, описаного в теоретичній частині тексту. Опитування мало форму вигаданого статуту школи, який респонденти мали заповнити, обираючи видові форми дієслів.

Результати. Загалом респонденти обирали дієслова *ipf* набагато частіше, ніж дієслова *pf*. Це підтверджує загальне правило використання форми *ipf* і теперішнього часу в правилах і положеннях польської мови. Імовірність вибору аспекту *pf* зростає, коли статут говорить про порушення правил або про виняткові події. Вірогідність використання форми *pf* була загалом вищою для подій, яким не передували дії (досягнення), і цей зв'язок чіткіше усвідомлювали респонденти з юридичною освітою, ніж інші учасники опитування.

Дискусія. Різні фактори вибору виду дієслова мають різну вагу та значення. Висновки опитування та теоретичної дискусії мають важливі наслідки як для лінгвістики, так і для права, особливо для граматичного тлумачення закону.

Ключові слова: дієслівний вид, польська мова, юридична мова, опитування.

Abstract

Łaziński Marek, Józwiak Karolina, Krajewski Grzegorz

**IMPERFECTIVE AND PERFECTIVE VERBS IN POLISH LEGAL TEXTS.
LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND RESULTS OF A SURVEY**

Background. The article presents factors influencing the choice of verbal aspect in Polish legal texts. The Polish legal language norm generally uses imperfective verbs (hereinafter: *ipf*) in the present tense. Other Slavic languages use perfective verbs (hereinafter referred to as: *pf*) as a standard legal norm in codes.

Purpose. A survey has been prepared and conducted in order to evaluate the significance of different factors influencing the aspect choice described in the theoretical part of the text. The survey had the form of a fictional school statute which respondents had to fill in choosing aspectual forms of a number of verbs.

Results. The respondents were generally prone to choose the *ipf* verbs rather than *pf* verbs. This fact confirms the general rule of using the *ipf* aspect and the present tense in rules and regulations in Polish. The likelihood of choosing the *pf* aspect increases when the statute mentions breaking the rules or exceptional events. The probability of using the *pf* form was generally higher for events not preceded by actions (achievements) and this relation was more clearly perceived by respondents with legal education than other survey participants.

Discussion. Different factors of aspect choice have different weight and significance. The conclusions of the survey and theoretical discussion have important consequences for both linguistics and law, especially for the grammatical interpretation of the law.

Key words: verbal aspect, Polish, legal language, survey.

Відомості про авторів

Łaziński Marek, професор, Інститут польської мови, Варшавський університет (Польща), e-mail: m.lazinski@uw.edu.pl

Łaziński Marek, Professor of Humanities, Institute of Polish Language, University of Warsaw (Poland), e-mail: m.lazinski@uw.edu.pl

ORCID 0000-0001-5718-4435

Юзвяк Кароліна, магістр права, здобувач, e-mail: karo.jozwiak@gmail.com

Józwiak Karolina, master degree in law, freelance researcher, e-mail: karo.jozwiak@gmail.com

Краєвські Грегор, доктор філософії, Факультет психології, Варшавський університет (Польща), e-mail krajewski.psych@uw.edu.pl

Krajewski Grzegorz, PhD, Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw (Poland), e-mail: krajewski.psych@uw.edu.pl

ORCID 0000-0002-6222-9359

Надійшла до редакції 15 липня 2022 року

Прийнято до друку 15 серпня 2022 року

ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ МОВ. СОЦІОЛІНГВІСТИКА

DOI: 10.2478/lccc-2022-0002

UDC 811.162=111

Evan W. Bleakly



UPPER SORBIAN IN BUDYŠIN / BAUTZEN: EXAMPLES FROM BAUTZEN'S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

This article investigates the frequency of Upper Sorbian, an endangered Slavic minority language, in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin / Bautzen. The analysis in this article focuses on the languages used in specific functions (hours of operation, operational instructions, and street names) on signage along a major street in the center of Budyšin / Bautzen.

Key words: Linguistic Landscape, Upper Sorbian, Budyšin / Bautzen, Saxony, Signage.

1.0 Introduction. Upper Sorbian is an autochthonous Slavic language spoken in the Lusatian area of the eastern German state of Saxony. The use of this language has declined steadily and at present there may be fewer than 10,000 speakers of the language in the whole country. The German federal government has recognized Upper Sorbian as a minority language and the Saxon state government has guaranteed Sorbs the right to their language as well as the right for Upper Sorbian to appear on public signage in the Sorbian areas of Lusatia. Linguistic landscape analysis, or in other words, the analysis of language in public space is a practical method to assess where and in what contexts a language or languages are used in public space. Such analyses are frequently done in multilingual areas to examine the relationship between dominant (and often official) languages and unofficial, minority, or immigrant languages. This article examines the languages used on signage in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape with the following functions – *hours of operation*, *street names*, and *operational instructions*. Section one provides background information on the concept of linguistic landscapes and the history of the Upper Sorbian language as well as its current situation in Germany. Section two delves into relevant linguistic landscape research both in a more general context and relating specifically to Upper Sorbian as theoretical groundwork for this analysis. Section three details the methodology of this article's analysis, clarifying terms important to this research such as *sign* and *function*, and gives an example of the methodology in practice. Section four presents and analyzes the findings of the research. Section five summarizes and discusses the findings before final

© Bleakly Evan W., 2022

conclusions are drawn and the future outlook of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape is presented in section six.

1.1 The Concept of Linguistic Landscape. In comparison to other linguistic disciplines, the study of language on signs has a relatively short history. Rosenbaum et al. (1977) analyzed the languages on signs along Keren Kayemet Street in Jerusalem and later, in 1991, Spolsky and Cooper examined language on signs in Jerusalem further, analyzing not only the languages on the sign but also types of signs. Although linguists have used the term in other disciplines, the term linguistic landscape was first used to describe written language in public space by Rodrigue Landry and Richard Y. Bourhis in their 1997 paper *Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality an Empirical Study*. In this study, Landry and Bourhis examined the effects of French in Canada's linguistic landscape on the perception of the vitality of Canada's francophone communities. In the abstract of the paper, the pair define linguistic landscape as «[...] the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 23). They later elaborate on this by stating: «The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).

This definition of linguistic landscape serves as the basis for many analyses of linguistic landscapes, including this one. While Landry and Bourhis's definition is the most frequently cited in linguistic landscape studies, some scholars have suggested other definitions for linguistic landscapes. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) for example, proposed the idea of linguistic landscape as a *Gestalt*, the collection «[...] of physical objects – shops, post offices, kiosks, etc. – associated with colours, degrees of saliency, specific locations, and above all written words that make up their markers.» (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006. p. 8). This suggestion provides interesting implications but has not been frequently cited in linguistic landscape research.

1.2 Upper Sorbian in the context of Germany. Upper Sorbian is one of two closely related West Slavic languages spoken in the Lusatia area of Germany. The history of Sorbian and the Sorbs can be traced to the sixth and seventh centuries CE, during which much of the land around and east of the Elbe and the Saale rivers in what is now northern and eastern Germany was settled by Slavic tribes (Herrmann, 1970, p. 10). After defeating the Slavic tribes between the Elbe and the Oder, colonization of those lands by Germans began in the mid-12th century CE and lasted until around the year 1300 (Herrmann, 1970, p. 407). The influx of German settlers led to cultural and linguistic contact which can be seen in loan words, such as Upper Sorbian *štom* (tree) from German *Stamm* (trunk/stem), but also in loan structures such as the use of the verb *wordowaś* (itself a borrowing of the German verb *werden* 'to become') in the passive construction of Lower Sorbian (Šrejdař & Zakar, 2017, p. 48).¹

After initial contact and colonization, the German speaking ruling class seemed relatively uninterested in imposing German on the Sorbian peasantry until the 17th century (Stone, 2016, p. 76), at which time the Duke of Saxony-Merseburg and Margrave of Lower Lusatia, Christian I, through his supreme consistory enacted a policy of Germanization (Stone, 2016, p. 145). Likewise, in Upper Lusatia,

¹ Take for example the sentence *Ježa wordujo zjěžona* [The food will be eaten.] (Šrejdař & Zakar, 2017, p. 48)

Sorbian authors were censored by Saxon authorities (Stone, 2016, p. 152), although by 1702 the first Upper Sorbian translation of the bible was printed (Stone, 2016, p. 159). The suppression of the Sorbian language intensified after Lower Lusatia and much of Upper Lusatia passed from Saxony to Prussia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Prussian authorities forbade the use Sorbian as the language of instruction for older students and allowed its use amongst younger students only in a role secondary to German (Stone, 2016, p. 225). Church services in Sorbian were also initially reduced until backlash from Sorbian parishioners forced authorities in 1845 to allow them to continue (Stone, 2016, pp. 225-227). Even in Saxon Upper Lusatia, where authorities were more tolerant of Sorbian, the German language became the language of instruction in elementary schools and beginning in 1836, increasing amounts of German church services were held in the traditionally Sorbian (since 1619) St. Michael's church in Budyšin/Bautzen (Stone, 2016, p. 227). The Germanization of the Sorbs continued into the nation building period of the late 19th century, and after the creation of the German Empire in 1871, «[...] the German state actively sought to restrict the use of Sorbian and tolerated it only when the use of German blocked communication» (Marti, 2007, p. 34). After the First World War, the situation for the Sorbs improved slightly. Article 113 of the constitution of the Weimar Republic recognized the right of non-German speaking minorities within Germany, including the Sorbs, to use their native language in education and in internal administration as well as in the administration of justice (§ 113 Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs).²

This improvement was short-lived, however, and by 1937 Sorbian use was banned and Domowina³ disbanded by the Nazi regime. Shortly after the Red Army entered eastern Germany, Domowina was reestablished and in the first two decades of the GDR, an attempt was made to give Sorbian co-official status in Lusatia (Pech, 1999, p. 71). Unfortunately, this attempt never came to fruition as efforts to develop German-Sorbian bilingualism in Lusatia were rejected primarily by the German population (Pech, 1999, p. 74). In the 1950s and 1960s the GDR planned to develop the lignite, energy, and chemical industries in Lusatia (Pech, 2012, pp. 194-195). These plans notably culminated in the construction of Großkombinat Schwarze Pumpe (Sorbian *Čorna Pumpa*), a massive coal and energy production center, which was described as «[...] *row Serbstwa*. [...the grave of the Sorbs]» (Pech, 2012, p. 195).⁴ Cities such as Chóšebuz/Cottbus in Brandenburg and Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda in Saxony experienced intense urbanization and the populations of both cities increased significantly (Pech, 1999, pp. 164-165). This increased urbanization led to a population shift, causing the Sorbs to become the minority in many Lusatian cities. For example, in 1880/84 58.2% of the population of Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda's administrative district was Sorbian, but in 1955/56 Sorbs accounted for only 24.8% of the population (Pech, 1999, p. 167). At this time, schools in Lusatia were divided into A-type schools, in which all subjects including German were taught in Sorbian and B-type schools, in which classes were taught in German but Sorbian courses were compulsory (Stone, 2016, p. 335). In 1962, however, German replaced Sorbian as the language of instruction in science courses A-type schools (Pech, 2012, p. 200) and Sorbian classes at B-type schools, which had been compulsory, became optional in 1964 (Pech, 2012, p. 203). As a result of these changes, the numbers of Sorbian

² Verfassung des deutschen Reichs. (2022, January 15). In *Wikisource*. Last updated 2021, May 15. [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Verfassung_des_Deutschen_Reichs_\(1919\)#Artikel_118](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Verfassung_des_Deutschen_Reichs_(1919)#Artikel_118)

³ Domowina is a registered association which acts as an umbrella organization for the Lusatian Sorbs representing the Sorbian people and protecting the Sorbian languages and culture.

⁴ The full phrase reads «*Čorna Pumpa je row Serbstwa*.»

speakers and learners dropped. By the 1960s, the use of Sorbian in public was no longer encouraged (Pech, 2012, p. 202).

Since reunification, Upper and Lower Sorbian have been recognized as a minority languages within the Federal Republic of Germany. Additionally, the German federal government has signed and ratified both the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework for the protection of National Minorities. Since signing however, «[...] the German state has repeatedly been criticized in the official monitoring reports for not taking care sufficiently of the Sorbian language, in particular with regard to Lower Sorbian» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 84). Rather than creating policy concerning the protection of the Sorbian languages at the federal level, the German federal government has instead delegated responsibility to the states in which Upper and Lower Sorbian are spoken. In Saxony, Sorbian and the Sorbs are mentioned in the state constitution (§6 of the *Verfassung des Freistaates Sachsen*) and the rights of both language and people are spelled out in detail in the *Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen* (hereafter *SächsSorbg*) which came into effect in 1999.⁵ In the *SächsSorbg*, the right most pertinent to this research is the right to bilingual signage (§10 *SächsSorbg*). The first paragraph of this section requires public buildings and institutions, streets, paths, squares, and bridges to have bilingual signage and the second paragraph states that the Saxon government is working toward labeling other buildings in both languages, provided that they have importance to the public. Through this law, Upper Sorbian is legally required to appear in the linguistic landscape of Sorbian municipalities in Saxony.

Presently, it is unclear how many speakers of Upper Sorbian there are. An estimate frequently given, even on the Upper Sorbian Wikipedia page, is 20,000 – 25,000 (Howson, 2017, p. 359). An unofficial estimate from 2012 dropped this number to 12,000 (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2012, p. 47) and in 2014, T. Lewaszkiwicz went as far as to estimate that there were at most only 9,000-10,000 speakers of Upper and Lower Sorbian in all of Germany (Lewaszkiwicz, 2014, p. 44). Due to low numbers of speakers, Upper Sorbian is deemed «Definitely Endangered» by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010).

This lack of a definitive number can be traced to the irregularity of German censuses and the apparent lack of interest in language data by the German federal government. Prior to German reunification in 1990, censuses were taken in 1981 in the GDR and 1987 in the FRG⁶ but since reunification there has only been one census, in 2011, with a second census coming in 2022.⁷ In the sole census in the last three decades, respondents were not asked about what language was spoken at home. This has been partially addressed in the micro census – a census of around 1% of the German population (~810,000 people) which began in 2017.⁸

⁵ *Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen (Sächsisches Sorbengesetz – SächsSorbg)* (1999). https://revosax.sachsen.de/vorschrift_gesamt/3019.html

⁶ Liste der Völkerzählungen in Deutschland. (2022, August 27). In *Wikipedia*. Last updated 2022, May 13. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Volksz%C3%A4hlungen_in_Deutschland

⁷ Additionally, there was a census test taken in December 2001, conducted in order to audit civil registers for multiple entries. However, the census test was limited to residents born on January 1, May 15, and September 1 of any year as well as residents who provided only partial birthdates. *Gesetz zur Vorbereitung eines registergestützten Zensus (Zensusvorbereitungsgesetz)* (2001). http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl101s1882.pdf (accessed 28.08.2022)

⁸ *Was ist der Mikrozensus?* <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Haushalte-Familien/Methoden/mikrozensus.html>

The 159th question of the micro census asked «Welche Sprache wird in Ihrem Haushalt vorwiegend gesprochen? [Which language is predominantly spoken in your household?]». In addition to German, several other languages are listed as potential responses, Upper Sorbian was not one of the options given. Instead, if Upper Sorbian is spoken at home, it would have to be listed as «...eine sonstige europäische Sprache [another European language]».⁹

2.0 Theoretical Framework. In 2006, several linguistic landscape studies were published in one volume, including those of Cenoz and Gorter, Ben-Rafael et al., and Backhaus. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) applied similar methodology to Rosenbaum et al. (1977) by documenting and analyzing multilingualism along an individual street in a larger urban area. Their research, however, documented the linguistic landscape in two cities Donstia – San Sebastian and Ljouwert – Leeuwarden, focusing on minority languages Basque and Frisian, and their relationships to the dominant languages spoken in Spain and The Netherlands. This study differs notably from other linguistic landscape research, in that, instead of focusing on individual signs, they chose to focus on storefronts as their unit of analysis. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) examined Hebrew, Arabic, and English in the linguistic landscapes of multiple locations within Israel and East Jerusalem and how the choice of language or languages reflected the dynamics (rational considerations, preservation of self, or power relations) present between Israeli Jews, Palestinian Israelis and non-Israeli Palestinians. As part of this research, Ben-Rafael et al. distinguished between top-down signs and bottom-up signs, a distinction also made by Landry and Bourhis (1997).¹⁰

Top-down signs were coded according to their belonging to national or local, and cultural, social, educational, medical or legal institutions. Bottom-up items were coded according to categories such as professional (legal, medical, consulting), commercial (and subsequently, according to branches like food, clothing, furniture etc.) and services (agencies like real estate, translation or manpower) (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 11).

This distinction has been used in other linguistic landscape research including Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Backhaus (2006). Backhaus focused on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of largely monolingual Japan. His analysis centered on Tokyo subway stations, places where there could be large numbers of foreigners in need of multilingual signage. In his analysis, Backhaus gave a definition of what would be considered a sign in his research, instead of relying on the reader's inherent understanding of the term sign or naming the specific signs he was going to be investigating. In his research «A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame» (Backhaus, 2006, p. 55).

In 2010, Sebba pointed out that previous research had focused on static objects in the linguistic landscape and identified newspapers, T-shirts, books, currency, stamps, and tickets as mobile linguistic objects that exist within a place and should also be taken into consideration when analyzing a location's linguistic landscape (Sebba, 2010, p. 61). Sebba then applied this to his examination of the linguistic landscape of the Isle of Man, noting that on mobile objects in the linguistic landscape «Manx is largely 'marginal', confined to symbolic spaces such as headers» (Sebba, 2010, p. 73).

⁹ *Mikrozensus 2017 und Arbeitskräftestichprobe 2017 der Europäischen Union*. [Questionnaire] https://www.forschungsdatenzentrum.de/sites/default/files/mz_2017_eu_zusatz.pdf

¹⁰ Landry and Bourhis, cited Leclerc's (1989) distinction between government and private signs. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 26).

Although Scarvaglieri et al. (2013) used the term «sign» as their unit of analysis in their examinations of the linguistic landscapes of the *Lange Reihe* and *Steindamm* areas of Hamburg, they also discuss an important basis for understanding the function of a sign: «From a communicative point of view, each sign documents a unit of textual linguistic action according to the systematic conditions of topological and chronical dislocation and serves its own purpose: it seeks to influence, or to generally activate the reader in a way determined by its linguistic and semiotic form-function-nexus and the communicative constellation in which it is used». (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013, p. 55).

Specifically in relation to Upper Sorbian linguistic landscape research, Marten and Saagpakk (2019) conducted a qualitative analysis of the linguistic landscape of Bautzen, analyzing the Sorbian elements of the physical and digital landscapes of the city, conducting interviews with inhabitants of the city concerning the perception of Sorbian by the populace, and examining the effects German language policy has had on the language. They found that Sorbian exists only in limited contexts in both the physical and digital linguistic landscape, the language is often used in only a symbolic sense in those contexts, and that people in the city were either aware of the language's existence but unbothered by its lack of spoken and visual use, totally unaware that Sorbian existed, or even firmly against its use because «they all know German [...]» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 96).

Most recently, Müller (2020) illustrates current issues in linguistic landscape research, focusing primarily on the lack of uniformity concerning the unit of analysis, and suggests her own definition of a unit of analysis. In doing so she identifies four aspects of linguistic landscape research methodology that require clarification, since they, especially the last two, can vary significantly from investigation to investigation. The four aspects she names are: «*Methode, Repräsentativität, Festlegung der auszuwertenden Kategorien, und Definition einer Analyseeinheit* [methods, representativeness, determination of the categories to be evaluated, and the definition of the unit of analysis]» (Müller, 2020, p. 91). Müller proposes her own definition of a unit of analysis that differs from the physical sign used by Backhaus (2006) and collective storefront used by Cenoz and Gorter (2006): «Hier soll eine Einheit in der LL deshalb funktional als ein mehr oder weniger prototypisches Mitglied einer gefundenen Kategorie definiert werden: Eine grundlegende funktionale Einheit ist eine Analyseeinheit für eine qualitative oder quantitative Untersuchung der LL. [Here, therefore, a unit in the LL is to be defined functionally as a more or less prototypical member of a found category: A basic functional unit is a unit of analysis for a qualitative or quantitative study of LL.]» (Müller, 2020, p. 105).

By her definition, signs can be grouped into categories based on the functions they express. However, they must also adhere, more or less, to a prototype, a mental representation of the meaning of the category. Essentially, this is the association of certain characteristics with certain signs and if a sign is a prototypical member of a category, it must display at least some characteristics that all members of the category share. She gives examples of opening times and door stickers. Signs that conform to the category *business hours*, have the name of the shop, the days that it is open, the opening times on those days, and the label “business hours” or some derivation thereof (Müller, 2020, p. 102). Signs that conform to the category *door stickers*, have physical similarities, i.e., generally small, hard to read, and stuck to the entry door of a business, that communicate information about acts possible

in the shop (e.g., paying with specific credit cards) or information about the shop's connections to other businesses, websites, or institutions (Müller, 2020, pp. 102-103).

These studies provide a firm basis upon which to conduct further linguistic landscape research. The research presented in this article has two objectives; first, to provide quantitative data on the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin/Bautzen, second, to analyze the languages present on signs within a given area in that linguistic landscape with the following functions: *street names*, *hours of operation*, and *operational instructions*. To achieve these objectives, the following research questions are given.

(1) What languages and which language combinations are present in the functions on the signs analyzed?

(2) Are the functions on the signs analyzed monolingual or bi/multilingual?

(3) Do the functions analyzed appear on top-down or bottom-up signs?

3.0 Methodology. The methodology of this research is largely based on those studies discussed in the previous section, particularly Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Backhaus (2006), and Müller (2020). Before detailing the exact methodology of this research, the four aspects of linguistic landscape research as discussed by Müller (2020) will be clarified as they pertain to this research and an example of the methodology in practice will be given.

In terms of method, the research in this article is intended to be a quantitative study of the presence of Upper Sorbian on signs in Budyšin / Bautzen. However, in the analysis of the data collected, qualitative assessments will be made. In far as representativity is concerned, this research analyzes visible language on static objects along one street within a larger urban setting - following the precedent set by Rosenbaum et al. (1977) and Cenoz and Gorter (2006). Budyšin / Bautzen was chosen because it serves as the cultural hub of Upper Sorbian housing various Sorbian institutions including the Serbski Institut/Sorbian Institute, Serbski Dom the headquarters of Domowina, and the Serbski Ludowy Ansambl / Sorbian National Ensemble amongst others. The focus area of this study is along Außere Lauenstraße / Innere Lauenstraße / Hauptmarkt / Fleischmarkt / An der Petrikirche between Dom St. Petri and Lauengraben/Friedensbrücke (ca. 350m see Map 1) in Budyšin / Bautzen. This area was chosen due to its central location in Budyšin / Bautzen and its inclusion of municipal buildings, religious institutions, and ample mixed consumer and residential space.

This research has three categories of evaluation: (1) which languages and language combinations were present, (2) whether the signs were monolingual or bi/multilingual, and (3) whether the signs were top-down or bottom-up. Top-down and bottom-up designations in this research follow the model presented by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), in that signs from governmental, religious, educational, and cultural institutions are considered to be top-down whereas signs from private businesses or individuals are considered to be bottom-up.

As seen in section 2, defining the unit of analysis has been tricky and far from universal in linguistic landscape research. The unit of analysis for this research were those signs with the following functions: *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, or *street names*. This unit of analysis requires two clarifications, what is meant by sign and what is meant by function.



Map 1. Focus Area of the Study

Linguistic landscape researchers tend to focus on specific types of signs or rely on the readers inherent understanding of what a sign is. Backhaus (2006) breaks this mold by giving a concrete definition of a sign. However, Backhaus uses of the phrase «...spatially definable area...» in his definition, which is problematic. The term spatial refers to anything that occupies space. This can be understood to mean both the physical sign itself as well as the space on it. According to Backhaus' definition, if a sign had multiple spatially definable areas, perhaps defined by color or shape, it could theoretically consist of multiple signs. Due to this lack of clarity, a definition for a sign was created for this research. In the scope of this research, **a sign is written or printed text designed for public consumption within a definable physical area that exhibits a function or functions.** This definition emphasizes the physical nature of a sign, its existence within a frame, the body or side of a vehicle, or the edge of a piece of paper, wooden board, or metal sheet, as well as the fact that it communicates a minimum of one function.

Function in this case is based on the definition of text function, «[...] der Zweck, den ein Text im Rahmen einer Kommunikationssituation erfüllt. [... the purpose that a text fulfills in the scope of a communicative situation]» (Brinker et al., 2018, p. 87). Functions describe the purposes of individual texts on a sign (as defined above) in the scope of the greater communicative purpose of the sign. At times, a sign may only have one function, which equals its communicative purpose (e.g., street signs, 'push' signs on doors), but when a sign

has more than one function, the individual functions are subordinate and together they form the greater communicative purpose of the sign. In this research, three functions have been selected for closer analysis, *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, and *street names*. Included in the *hours of operation* designation were the times of regularly scheduled events such as church services and letterbox collections.

3.1 Methodology in Practice: Examples from the Corpus of this Study.

Consider the signs in figures one and two. To fit the definition given in the previous section, these signs must have a definable physical area and must exhibit at least one function.



Figure 1. City administration sign



Figure 2. Parking meter instructions in German and Upper Sorbian

Both signs have a definable physical area, the edge of the metal sheet in figure one and the surrounding metal frame in figure two. The sign in *figure one* displays multiple functions namely *city name* (associated with the logo), *building name*, *address*, and *hours of operation* whereas the sign in *figure two* displays only one function, *operational instruction*. Both therefore, are signs eligible for analysis and are indeed part of the corpus of this study.

If the *sign* alone were the unit of analysis, then it is likely that both of these signs would be considered to be multilingual, because both signs do have information in more than one language. An issue arises when looking at *figure one* however. The *building name*, *address*, and *city name* functions on the sign are given in both German and Upper Sorbian, but the *hours of operation* function is only given in German. Should this sign be considered multilingual if all information is not

given in all languages? This is where the advantage of sign function as a unit of analysis presents itself. Instead of focusing on the sign as a whole, except in the cases in which the sign only has one function, one can focus on functions individually and, in this case, determine that in *figure one* all functions except *hours of operation* are bilingual, and in *figure two*, the only function of the sign, *operational instructions*, is bilingual. The focus on sign function allows for a more detailed analysis of a linguistic landscape, especially in research concerning multilingualism in the linguistic landscape.

3.2 Data Collection and Processing. The data for this research was collected using a digital camera on the 11th of December, 2021. For this analysis, there were two rounds of sampling. First, an object in the cityscape had to meet the definition a sign. In the focus area mentioned previously, 340 images of signs were taken. Sign duplicates or signs that were obscured in some way or unclear were not included in the first round of sampling. Then, in the second round of sampling, the signs consisting of or displaying *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, or *street names* were selected for analysis. Of the signs in the 340 images, 43 made it through both rounds of selection. These became the corpus of analysis for this research. This corpus was then analyzed based on the categories, number of languages present, whether the sign function was monolingual or multilingual, language combinations in the sign function, and whether the sign function was top-down or bottom-up.

4.0 Results. This section details the findings of this research described in subsections based on research questions one through three.

4.1 Languages and Language Combinations Present. As seen in Table one, three languages were present on the signage analyzed. Of the 43 signs analyzed, German appeared on 100% of the signs, Upper Sorbian appeared on nearly 28% of the signs analyzed, and English on only one sign.

Table 1. Languages Present

German (%)	Upper Sorbian (%)	English (%)
43 (100%)	12 (27.91%)	1 (2.32%)

The latter two languages appeared only in conjunction with German. Unsurprisingly, German is the dominant language on signage in Budyšin / Bautzen as evidenced by its appearance on all signs. The appearance of Upper Sorbian on over a quarter of signs was unanticipated based on the information given in Marten & Saagpakk's analysis before collection of the data. English appeared on only one sign and there are several possible reasons for the absence of English in the linguistic landscape. One reason could be the fact that the functions analyzed are those in which English would seldom appear in Germany. For example, outside of personal names, English would likely not appear in *street names* in Germany. Another possible reason, at least in the case of *hours of operation*, could be that several days of the week – Monday (Mo.), Friday (Fr.), and Saturday (Sa.) – have the same abbreviation in German and English and could therefore be easily understood by speakers of either.

Table two shows the language combinations present and as stated above, German appeared on every sign. Of the signs that were bilingual, there are two variants. The German/Upper Sorbian combination appeared on just over one quarter (27.91%) of the signs and the German/English combination appeared only once.

Table 2. Language Combinations

German Monolingual (%)	German/Upper Sorbian (%)	German/English (%)
30 (69.77%)	12 (27.91%)	1 (2.32%)

Table three breaks down language use by function. Most noteworthy is the distribution of Upper Sorbian use. The language can be found in all functions but appears most frequently on street names.

Table 3. Languages by Function

	Hours of Operation	Operational Instructions	Street Names
German (%)	32 (74.42%)	2 (4.65%)	9 (20.93%)
Upper Sorbian* (%)	2 (16.67%)	1 (8.33%)	9 (75%)
English* (%)	-	1 (100%)	-

* in conjunction with German

4.2 Monolingual or Bi/Multilingual. Pertaining to research question two, Table four illustrates that just under 70% (69.77%) of the total signs analyzed were monolingual signs and 30% (30.23%) were multilingual, in this case bilingual.

Table 4. Monolingual or Bi / Multilingual

Sign Function	Monolingual (%)	Bilingual (%)	Total (%)
Hours of Operation	30 (93.75%)	2 (6.25%)	32 (100%)
Street Names	-	9 (100%)	9 (100%)
Operational Instructions	-	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Total	30 (69.77%)	13 (30.23%)	43 (100%)

Monolingual in this case means monolingually German. The fact that nearly 70% of all functions analyzed were monolingually German confirms the notion that German is the dominant language in the linguistic landscape. An overwhelming majority (93.75%) of *hours of operation* signs were monolingual and only 6.25% were bilingual. This strongly implies that German is the de facto communicative medium in Budyšin/Bautzen. Both *street names* and *operational instruction* signs were 100% bilingual. It is not surprising that *street names* are bilingual as they are mentioned specifically in §10 of the SächsSorbg. It was surprising, however, that both signs with *operational instructions* functions were bilingual, particularly the parking meter, which had all information in German and Upper Sorbian.¹¹

¹¹ However, the Upper Sorbian in the *operational instructions* function of the parking meter was later confirmed by Lubina Hajduk-Veljkovic, lecturer of Upper Sorbian at the Technical University of Dresden, and Juliana Kaulfürst/Juliana Kaulfürstowa M.A., to be grammatically incorrect. For further discussion, see section 5.0

4.3 Top-Down vs Bottom-Up. To illustrate the division between top-down and bottom-up signs, Table 5 gives the percentages of the signs analyzed. Between the two there is nearly a 60/40 split between bottom-up (58.14%) and top-down (41.86%) signs. The bottom-up signs in this study were exclusively corporate, commercial, or hospitality related and the top-down signs originate from the local government, religious institutions, or cultural institutions.

Table 5. Top-Down v. Bottom-Up

Top-Down (%)	18 (41.86%)
Bottom-Up (%)	25 (58.14%)
Total (%)	43 (100%)

Table six breaks down which languages appeared in what contexts. German alone appeared most frequently in bottom-up signage. Upper Sorbian on the other hand, appeared exclusively on top-down signage. These two facts clearly show the dynamic at play in the linguistic landscape in Budyšin/Bautzen, namely that German is preferred by businesses and individuals whereas Upper Sorbian is implemented primarily by institutions. 11 of the 12 instances of Sorbian on top-down signage were from the city government, which is required by law to have bilingual signage. Nine of these 11 were *street names*, highly salient examples of compliance to the SächsSorbG. The two other instances came from *hours of operation* and *operational instructions* on a parking meter. Interestingly however, four of the six instances of top-down German monolingualism present in sign function were also from the city of Bautzen, all of them being *hours of operation* for local governmental agencies or other operations of the city government. Legally speaking, according to the SächsSorbG, these too should be in bilingual. It is important to note, that in these instances, all other functions on the signs are bilingual.

Table 6. Languages Present in Top-Down and Bottom-Up Contexts

	Top-Down (%)	Bottom-Up (%)
German monolingual	6 (20%)	24 (80%)
Upper Sorbian*	12 (100%)	-
English*	-	1 (100%)

* In conjunction with German

Table seven examines the functions analyzed found in top down and bottom-up contexts. An even three quarters of *hours of operation* functions were found on bottom-up signage. *Street names*, unsurprisingly were 100% top-down. *Operational instructions* functions were split 50/50 between top down and bottom up. This table, together with table six, indicates that German is the language of day-to-day interaction.

Table 7. Functions present in Top-Down and Bottom-Up Contexts

	Top-Down (%)	Bottom-Up (%)
Hours of Operation	8 (25%)	24 (75%)
Street Names	9 (100%)	-
Operational Instructions	1 (50%)	1 (50%)

5.0 Discussion. The evidence from this study shows is that although Upper Sorbian and English do appear in the linguistic landscape, German is clearly the dominant language, appearing on all signs and in all functions analyzed. This dominance is reinforced by the nearly 70/30 split between monolingual and bilingual functions. Bilingualism was rare in *hours of operation*, only 6.25%, but invariably present in *street names* and *operational instructions*. When other languages were present, they always appeared in conjunction with German. In terms of the top-down or bottom-up dichotomy, the majority (58.14%) of functions analyzed in this research were bottom-up. However, closer examination of this dichotomy provides interesting insights. Upper Sorbian appeared only in top-down contexts and monolingual German functions appeared primarily (80%) in bottom-up contexts. In terms of specific functions in specific contexts, *hours of operation* were overwhelmingly (75%) bottom-up. Intriguingly, these same exact bottom-up *hours of operation* functions are those that are monolingually German. When put together, it can be ascertained that, because the majority of *hours of operation* functions are not only bottom-up, representing private individuals and private businesses, but also monolingually German, the language of daily interaction between individuals is German.

In their research, Marten and Saagpakk write «There is symbolic bilingualism on signs established by local authorities, including place name signs and road signs, but this goes hardly ever beyond the level of symbolism and almost never provides any real information in Sorbian [...]» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 99). In the scope of the signs and functions analyzed in this study, this statement is largely true. *Street names* were 100% bilingual, but they do not communicate any “real” information. The *operational instructions* and *hours of operation* functions on the other hand do. *Operational instructions* in the analysis were 100% bilingual, but only occurred twice in the focus area and comprise only 4.65% of the corpus. Of these two instances, Upper Sorbian appeared only once, detailing the time in which fees could be collected on a parking meter. The significance of this will be discussed below. *Hours of operation* functions, the most frequent in the corpus, were nearly 95% monolingually German, the only exceptions coming from the Serbski Ludowy Ansambl/Sorbian National Ensemble the aforementioned parking meter, further validating Upper Sorbian’s symbolic role in the linguistic landscape.

Even in the instances when Upper Sorbian is used to communicate pertinent information, it may not always be correct. For example, the Upper Sorbian translations on the parking meter’s *operational instructions* function (cf. Figure 2) are not grammatically correct, indicating that the author of the text may not have had a working knowledge of the language. The issues in the Upper Sorbian text stem from the fact that it was translated verbatim from German and thus there are errors resulting from incorrect translations of words as well as grammatical and sentence

constructions that exist in German but do not exist in Upper Sorbian. The most noticeable of these translation errors are the two mistranslations of *Parkschein* (Eng. ‘parking meter receipt’). The first translation *parkowske wopismo*, literally translates to *park certificate*, park in this case meaning the location and not the action. In the second translation, *parkowansku tačel*, the adjective is correct but the noun *tačel* means long-play (LP) record. The correct translation of *Parkschein* is *parkowanski lisćik*. Further errors can be seen in the translations of *abwarten* (Eng. ‘to await’) and *hinter* (Eng. ‘behind’). *Abwarten* is translated in to Upper Sorbian as *wočakować*, which means *to expect* (Ger. ‘erwarten’), when it should have been translated as *wočaknyć*. Likewise, *hinter* is translated as *zady*, which, while correct in meaning, is one of multiple Upper Sorbian prepositions for *behind*. *Zady* (+ INS) denotes an object’s location behind something. The more accurate preposition for the intended message on the parking meter is *za* (+ ACC) which denotes an object’s movement behind something.¹² The German construction *Münzen passend einwerfen* (Eng. ‘insert exact change’) is also mistranslated, due to the fact that this action is not expressed in Upper Sorbian with the equivalent *dočisnyć* but rather with the verb *tyknyć* (Ger. ‘hineinstecken’, Eng. ‘to insert into’). Another German construction can be found in the final instruction *Parkschein von außen gut lesbar hinter die Windschutzscheibe legen*, which, as with everything else, is translated verbatim reading *parkowansku tačel dobre čitajomne zady frontalnalneje škleńcy položić*. Instead of being a single independent clause in Upper Sorbian, the instruction should be broken down into an independent clause *Parkowanski lisćik za frontalnu škleńcu položić*, ‘place the parking meter receipt behind the windshield’ and the locational relative clause *hdžež je wotwonka derje čitajomny* ‘where it is easily readable from the outside’. Additionally, in the same instruction *gut lesbar* is an adjective, and if the original translation were to be kept, then the correct Upper Sorbian translation would be *derje čitajomnje*, an adverb. However, if the instruction were to be separated into two clauses, then the translation of *gut lesbar* can be kept as the adjective, but corrected to *derje čitajomny* which corresponds to the grammatical gender of *lisćik*. One last mistranslation is in the second sentence. *Wechselt nicht* (3. Sg of *wechseln* with a negation, which in this context means ‘to not give change’) is translated as *njeměni*, a perfective verb that can correspond to *nicht wechseln*, but more frequently means *to not mean* (cf. Ger. ‘*nicht meinen*’). The correct translation of *wechselt nicht* would be *njeměnja*.¹³

Despite these mistakes, 35 such parking meters were installed across Budyšin / Bautzen in November 2020.¹⁴ The mistakes found on these parking meters could have been easily avoided if the responsible department within the city government had simply contacted the Service Office for the Sorbian Language in Municipal Affairs, which has been open since October 2019. This office offers services including consultancy on the implementation of Sorbian-German bilingualism as well as assistance in translating German to both Upper and Lower Sorbian.¹⁵ The lack of due diligence in taking the appropriate steps to provide

¹² Essentially it is the difference between the phrases «the receipt is behind the windshield» and «put the receipt behind the windshield.»

¹³ These remarks were confirmed to be correct by Juliana Kaulfürst/Juliana Kaulfürstowa M.A., scientific staff member at the Sorbian Institute and Lubina Hajduk-Veljkovic, lecturer of Upper Sorbian at the Technical University of Dresden, both of whom are native speakers of Upper Sorbian

¹⁴ *Bautzen bekommt neue Parkscheinautomaten*. (09.11.2020) <https://www.bautzen.de/presse/2020-511/> (accessed 04.07.2022)

¹⁵ *Unser Service*. <http://www.sb-kom.de/de/unser-service/> (accessed 04.07.2022)

correct translations of the information found in the functions on the parking meter not only casts doubt on the correctness of other examples of Upper Sorbian from the city government in the wider linguistic landscape, but also further emphasizes the symbolic nature of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape. This is to say that Upper Sorbian is not used to communicate information, instead, the dominant language, German, is used and in the cases that Upper Sorbian is used, at least by local authorities, its grammatical correctness is dubious.

This partial or noncompliance with the SächsSorbG begs the following questions: At what point is signage considered to be compliant with § 10 of the SächsSorbG? If the information in all functions of signage from public bodies such as Budyšin/Bautzen's municipal government is not in both languages, can it truly be considered bilingual as set forth by the SächsSorbG? Why aren't municipalities such as Budyšin/Bautzen adhering to the law? These questions far exceed the scope of this analysis but should be seriously considered as grounds for further research.

To some, efforts to adhere to the SächsSorbG and make signage bilingual in German and Sorbian is a waste of time and resources, as evidenced by harsh backlash found on social media, given in response to Domowina's insistence on bilingual and equal German and Sorbian representation on rescue station signs around Bautzen.¹⁶ What many may not understand is not only is such signage stipulated by law but also the visibility of a language impacts its use as well as the perception of the ethnolinguistic community's vitality. Landry and Bourhis (1997) write: «[...] the linguistic landscape seems to be a major, if not the most important, contributor to exo-centric beliefs concerning the vitality of the francophone communities sampled in our study.[...] The presence or absence of the in-group language in the linguistic landscape is related to how much speakers use their in-group language with family members, friends, neighbors, and store clerks; in social gatherings; in cultural activities; and as consumer of in group language television, radio, and print media.» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 45)

So, while insistence on Upper Sorbian visibility in the linguistic landscape may seem trivial to those outside of the Upper Sorbian community, it in fact plays an integral role in the preservation of the language and by extension preservation of Sorbian culture, community, and identity.

6.0 Conclusion. As given by the SächsSorbG, Upper Sorbian has a legally guaranteed place in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape. However, this study shows that German is without question the dominant language in signage, appearing on every sign in the corpus. While Upper Sorbian is present on nearly a third of the signs and English appears once, these two languages appear only in conjunction with German. Not only is this the case, but the majority of functions analyzed in this research were also monolingually German. Additionally, the majority of functions analyzed appeared on bottom-up signs, which too happened to be overwhelmingly monolingually German. Upper Sorbian, on the other hand, appeared exclusively on top-down signage. The facts that most signs analyzed were both monolingually German and bottom-up, and that Upper Sorbian was exclusively restricted to top-down signage from institutions heavily imply that German is the main language of communication. The analysis also shows that Upper

¹⁶ *Posedženje poradžowaceho wuběrka za prašenja serbskeho ludu poboku Zwjazkowneho ministerstwa nutřkowneho, dnja 02.12.2020.* (p. 7). https://www.domowina.de/fileadmin/Assets/Domowina/Mediathek/Dokumente/TOP6.3.-2.rozprawa_wo_polozenju_serbskeho_ludu.pdf.

Sorbian is predominantly used in functions that do not convey pertinent information, such as *street names* and in one of the three cases that Upper Sorbian was used in functions that convey pertinent information, the *operational instructions* function in question was grammatically incorrect. This combined with German's use on every sign and monolingually in *30 hours of operation* functions indicate that Upper Sorbian's use in the linguistic landscape is highly symbolic in nature, visible yes, but failing to communicate meaningful information. However, it must be stated that the analysis done in this article focuses on only three functions along one street in Budyšin/Bautzen and cannot therefore be representative of the whole of Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape. To more definitively determine if the conclusions drawn in this analysis are correct, further linguistic landscape research encompassing the entire city of Budyšin/Bautzen must be undertaken.

Despite the German's linguistic dominance, promising steps are being made to increase the presence of Upper Sorbian in Germany's linguistic landscape. A 2013 article in the *Lausitzer Rundschau* reports on the initiative of an activist group, who placed «A Serbsce? / Und auf Sorbisch?»¹⁷ stickers on signs across Lusatia, drawing attention to the often monolingual signage in Sorbian areas.¹⁸ More recently, Dawid Statnik, the head of Domowina since 2011 and member of the Bautzen County council since 2016, has been very active in improving the salience of Upper and Lower Sorbian in Lusatia. In a 2020 report on the status of the Sorbian people, Domowina stated that VVO (Verkehrsverbund Oberelbe) and ZVON (Zweckverband Verkehrsverbund Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien) would work with communities in the Sorbian Settlement Area to label stops for bus service in German and Upper Sorbian.¹⁹ Additionally, in 2021, the Federal Office of Cartography and Geodesy announced that they would submit a proposal to the Federal Transportation Office to make signs on the Autobahn in the Sorbian Settlement Area bilingual.²⁰ According to the Secretary of Minorities, the decision should be made after the creation of the new federal government, and that the parties making up the potential coalition, the so-called traffic light coalition (SDP, FPD, and the Greens), seem to have a favorable attitude toward the proposal.²¹ The new German government has since been formed and as of the writing of this article, there has been no update on this proposal. If the German federal government acts upon this proposal, it would represent a huge win for the salience of Upper and Lower Sorbian, especially given that, in 2019, a similar attempt was made to label signs in Sorbian and German in Lusatia, which was denied by the Federal Highway Research Agency, who stated that the increase in information on the signs could be

¹⁷ The phrase reads «And in Sorbian?» in English.

¹⁸ *Aufkleber-Aktivisten kündigen neue Aktionen an.* (26.02.2013). <https://www.lr-online.de/lausitz/hoyerswerda/aufkleber-aktivisten-kuendigen-neue-aktionen-an-33511970.html> (accessed 06.07.2022)

¹⁹ *Posedženje poradžowaceho wuběrka za prašenja serbskeho ludu poboku Zwjazkoweho ministerstwa nutřkowneho, dnja 02.12.2020.* (p. 3). https://www.domowina.de/fileadmin/Assets/Domowina/Mediathek/Dokumente/TOP6.3.-2.rozprawa_wo_polozenju_serbskeho_ludu.pdf

²⁰ Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie [@BKG_Bund]. (2021, November 16). https://twitter.com/BKG_Bund/status/1460557206223527938?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Eetweembed%7Ctwterm%5E1460557206223527938%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_c10&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fpublish.twitter.com%2F%3Fquery%3Dhttps3A2F2Ftwitter.com2FBKG_Bund2Fstatus2F1460557206223527938widget%3DTweet (accessed 01.02.2022)

²¹ *Domowina begrüßt Nachricht des Amtes für Kartografie und Geodäsie zum Thema zweisprachige Autobahnschilder.* (2021, November 18). <https://www.minderheitensekretariat.de/aktuelles/die-domowina-begruesst-nachricht-des-amtes-fuer-kartografie-und-geodaesie> (accessed 01.02.2022)

distracting and therefore pose a risk to drivers.²² So, while Upper Sorbian presently does not appear as frequently as German and is often used only symbolically, its presence in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape is likely to increase in the future.

References

- Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A Look into the Linguistic Landscape. In D. Gorter (Ed.), *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism* (pp. 52-66). Multilingual Matters.
- Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., Amara Muhammad H., Trumper-Hecht, N. (2006). Linguistic Landscape as a Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel. In D. Gorter (Ed.), *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism* (pp. 7-30). Multilingual Matters.
- Brinker, K., Cölfen, H., Pappert, S. (2018). *Linguistische Textanalyse: Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden* (9th ed.). Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2006). Linguistic Landscape and Minority Languages. In D. Gorter, (Ed.), *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism* (pp. 67-80). Multilingual Matters.
- Dołowy-Rybińska, N. (2012). Witalizacja i rewitalizacja – strategie zachowania języków mniejszościowych na Górnym i Dolnym Łużycach. In G. B. Szweczyk (Ed.), *Serbołużyczanie wobec tradycji i wyzwań współczesności: Język – Literatura – Kultura* (pp. 39-57). Śląsk.
- Herrmann, J. (1970). *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von der Oder un Neisse vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*. Akademie-Verlag GmbH.
- Howson, P. (2017). Upper Sorbian. In: *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*. 47(3). 359-367. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100316000414>
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality. An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. 16(1). 23-49.
- Lewaszkiwicz, T. (2014). Dolnołużycki i Górnolużycki – Języki Zagrożone czy Wymierające? *Slavia Occidentalis*. 71(1). 37-53.
- Marten, H., & Saagpakk, M. (2019). The monolingual habitus of German society challenging the interests of an autochthonous minority language: Linguistic landscapes in the Sorbian “capital” of Bautzen/Budyšin. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*. 13 (3). 77-106. <https://doi.org/10.17011/apples/urn.201909124143>
- Marti, R. (2007). Lower Sorbian – twice a minority language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 183. 32-51. <https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2007.003>
- Moseley, C. (ed.). (2010). *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (3rd ed.). UNESCO Publishing. Retrieved January 13, 2022. Online version: <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap.html>
- Müller, A. (2020). Ein methodisches Problem der Linguistic-Landscapes-Forschung: Die Definition einer Analyseeinheit anhand von Beispielen aus det Linguistic Landscape von Minsk. In I. Lederer, A. Meyer, K. Schlund (Eds.), *Linguistische Beiträge zur Slavistik: XXVI. und XXVII. JungslavistInnen-Treffen 6. bis 8. September 2017 in Bamberg und 12. bis 14. September 2018 in Heidelberg* (pp. 89-112). Peter Lang Verlag.
- Pech, E. (1999). *Die Sorbenpolitik der DDR 1949-1970: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*. Domowina-Verlag.
- Pech, E. (2012). *Ein Staat – eine Sprache?* Domowina-Verlag.
- Rosenbaum, Y., Nadel, E., Cooper, R. L., Fishman, J. A. (1977). English on Keren Kayemet Street. In J. A. Fishman, R. L. Cooper, and A. W. Conrad (Eds.), *The Spread*

²² *Umstrittener Erlass: Schilder-Risiko droht auf Autobahn*. (2019, February 12). <https://www.ir-online.de/lausitz/cottbus/umstrittener-erlass-schilder-risiko-droht-auf-autobahn-38140490.html> (accessed 01.02.2022)

- of English: The Sociology of English as an Additional Language* (pp. 179-184). Newbury House Publishers inc.
- Scarvaglieri, C., Redder, A., Pappenhagen, R., Brehmer, B. (2013). Capturing Diversity. Linguistic land- and Soundscaping. In J. Duarte, I. Gogolin (Eds.) *Linguistic Superdiversity in Urban Areas: Research approaches* (pp. 45-73). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sebba, M. (2010). Discourses in Transit. In A. Jaworski, C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic Landscapes. Language. Image. Space* (pp. 59-76). Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Spolsky, B., & Cooper, R. L. (1991). *The Languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford University Press.
- Šrejdař, J., & Zakar, V. (2017). *Pó serbsku! Gramatika za wuknjecych/Grammatik für Lernende*. Domowina Verlag.
- Stone, G. (2016). *Slav Outposts in Central European History*. Bloomfield Publishing.

Резюме

Блеклі Еван В.

ВЕРХНЬОЛУЖИЦЬКА МОВА У БУДИШИНІ / БАУТЦЕНІ: ПРИКЛАДИ З ЛІНГВІСТИЧНОГО ЛАНДШАФТУ БАУТЦЕНА

Постановка проблеми. Верхньолужицька мова – це зникаюча мова слов'янської меншини. Нею розмовляють у Саксонії (Німеччина) і, за деякими оцінками, носіїв верхньолужицької мови зараз менше ніж 12 000 осіб. Ця мова визнана федеральним урядом Німеччини, а Саксонія гарантує їй додаткові права, зокрема право на використання і встановлення двомовних вивісок / вказівників у громадських місцях. Аналіз використання мови у подібних сферах називають аналізом лінгвістичних ландшафтів.

Мета цього дослідження – отримання кількісних даних про присутність верхньолужицької мови у лінгвістичному ландшафті Будишина / Баутцена. Основну увагу приділено вивіскам / вказівникам з наступними функціями: зазначення годин роботи, експлуатаційні інструкції чи назви вулиць.

Методи. Це дослідження є аналізом корпусу фотографій, створеного із зображень, зроблених уздовж головної вулиці в центрі Будишина / Баутцена. Необхідною умовою у процесі створення вибірки для аналізу лінгвістичного ландшафту була наявність у елементів двох критеріїв. По-перше, вони повинні були відповідати нашому визначенню вивіски / вказівника – тобто бути письмовим або друкованим текстом, призначеним для громадського використання на певній фізичній території та виконувати одну або декілька функцій. По-друге, вони повинні були мати одну з наступних функцій: зазначення годин роботи, експлуатаційні інструкції або назва вулиці. Надалі корпус був проаналізований щодо використаних мов: чи були ці вивіски / вказівники одномовними або двомовними / багатомовними, і чи були ці функції представлені на вивісках / вказівниках за принципом “згори донизу” або “знизу догори”. Принцип “згори донизу” описує ті вивіски / вказівники, що були встановлені урядовими або державними установами, а принцип “знизу догори” – це ті, що були встановлені приватними підприємствами та особами.

Результати. Серед елементів вивісок / вказівників, виявлених на досліджуваній території, присутні три мови. Серед цих трьох мов домінує німецька, яка присутня на кожній вивісці / кожному вказівнику та в кожній

проаналізованій функції. Верхньолужицька та англійська мови також були присутні, але меншою мірою і завжди у комбінації з німецькою. Двомовність у проаналізованих вивісках / вказівниках була виявлена в обмеженій кількості, і майже 70% знаків були виключно німецькомовними. Крім того, майже 60% проаналізованих функцій було представлено на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених приватними підприємствами та особами, і всі вони, крім однієї, були виключно німецькомовними. З іншого боку, верхньолужицька мова була представлена виключно на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених урядовими чи державними установами.

Висновки. Завдяки тому, що німецька мова присутня на всіх вивісках і, зокрема, у більшості функцій на вивісках / вказівниках, за принципом “знизу догори”, вона, найімовірніше, є мовою повсякденного спілкування в Будишині / Баутцені. Верхньолужицька мова також проявляється у мовному ландшафті, але значно рідше і лише на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених за принципом “згори донизу”. Крім того, дев’ять із 12 випадків використання верхньолужицької мови були пов’язані з назвами вулиць – функцією, яка, порівняно з зазначенням годин роботи або експлуатаційними інструкціями, не надає адресатам жодної значущої інформації. У тих випадках з корпусу, коли верхньолужицька мова використовувалася для передавання подібної інформації, вона не була граматично правильною. Її використання виключно у контекстах типу “згори донизу” і часто з помилками переконливо свідчить про те, що використання верхньолужицької мови в лінгвістичному ландшафті значною мірою має символічний характер. Однак останніми роками спостерігаємо зусилля, насамперед з боку Домовини²³, спрямовані на збільшення присутності верхньолужицької мови у лінгвістичному ландшафті.

Ключові слова: лінгвістичний ландшафт, верхньолужицька мова, Саксонія, вивіски, вказівники, Будишин / Баутцен.

Abstract

Bleakly Evan W.

UPPER SORBIAN IN BUDYŠIN / BAUTZEN: EXAMPLES FROM BAUTZEN’S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Background. Upper Sorbian is an endangered Slavic minority language spoken in Saxony, Germany; by some estimates it is spoken by fewer than 12,000 people. The language is recognized by the German federal government and further rights are guaranteed by Saxony, including the right to bilingual signage in public spaces. The analysis of language use in such spaces is known as linguistic landscapes analysis.

Purpose. The purpose of this research is to provide quantitative data on the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin / Bautzen, with the focus being on signage with the following functions – hours of operation, operational instructions, or street names.

Methods. This study is an analysis of a photographic corpus created from images taken along a main street in central Budyšin / Bautzen. To be eligible for analysis

²³ Домовина – головна організація сорбських (лужицьких) товариств у Нижній та Верхній Лужиці, що захищає інтереси сорбської (лужицької) спільноти – *Примітка редактора.*

elements of the linguistic landscape had to conform to two criteria. First, they must adhere to the following definition of a sign, that is, they must be written or printed text designed for public consumption within a definable physical area that exhibits a function or functions. Second, one of the following functions must be present, either hours of operation, operational instructions, or street name. The corpus was then analyzed based on languages present, if the functions in question were monolingual or bi / multilingual, and of those functions appeared on top-down or bottom-up signs. The top-down vs. bottom-up dichotomy refers to those signs put up by either governing or public institutions or those put up by private businesses and individuals.

Results. In the functions of signs found in the focus area, three languages are present. Of the three, German dominates, appearing on every sign and in every function analyzed. Upper Sorbian and English were also present but to a lesser extent and always in conjunction with German. Bilingualism on the signs analyzed was limited and nearly 70% were monolingually German. Additionally, nearly 60% of functions analyzed appeared on bottom-up signs and all but one of these were monolingually German. Upper Sorbian on the other hand appeared exclusively on top-down signage.

Discussion. Due to its appearance on all signs and particularly its appearance alone in the majority of functions on bottom-up signage, German appears to be the medium for daily communication in Budyšin/Bautzen. Upper Sorbian also appears in the linguistic landscape but significantly less often and only on top-down signage. Additionally, nine of the 12 instances of Upper Sorbian use were in street names, a function that, in comparison to hours of operation or operational instructions, provides recipients with no meaningful information. In the instances from the corpus in which Upper Sorbian is used to convey such information, it was not grammatically correct. Its use exclusively in top-down contexts and often with mistakes strongly suggests that Upper Sorbian's use in the linguistic landscape is largely symbolic. However, in recent years, efforts, primarily from Domowina, are striving to increase the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape.

Key words: Linguistic Landscape, Upper Sorbian, Saxony, Signage, Budyšin/Bautzen.

Відомості про автора

Блеклі Еван В., аспірант програми Європейських мов (Europäische Sprachen), Інститут славістики, відділ лінгвістики, літератури та культурології, Технічний університет Дрездена (Німеччина), e-mail: ewbleakly@gmail.com

Bleakly Evan W., B.A./B.S., current graduate student in the European Languages (Europäische Sprachen) program, Institute for Slavic Studies, Department of Linguistics, Literature, and Cultural Studies at the Technische Universität Dresden, (Germany), e-mail: ewbleakly@gmail.com

ORCID 0000-0003-0711-007X

Надійшла до редакції 13 липня 2022 року
Прийнято до друку 15 серпня 2022 року

ПОРІВНЯЛЬНО-ТИПОЛОГІЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ГРАМАТИЧНИХ СИСТЕМ

DOI: 10.2478/lccc-2022-0003

UDC 81'36[811.16+811.17]=111



Alice Bondarenko

THE DOG BITES: ON THE “AGGRESSIVE” ANTIPASSIVE IN SLAVIC AND BALTIC¹

Several Slavic and Baltic languages have an “aggressive” antipassive construction, where in a reflexive marker is used to mark object omission. The construction often carries habitual or potential aspectual meanings and is restricted to a small group of verbs. This study examines the lexical restrictions of the constructions across a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages, with a special focus on Russian. The results show that across the languages, the construction is used to express a set of concepts, of which ‘hit’ and ‘push’ are the most prototypical. Verbs used in the antipassive express unwanted action on an animate patient, and they also share features of inherent atelicity and potential reciprocity. All languages in the survey display syncretism of reciprocal and antipassive markers, resulting in ambiguous plural subject constructions. Based on this, it is suggested that the “aggressive” antipassive with animate subjects has grammaticalized from the reciprocal function of the reflexive marker. Lexical semantics hence play an important role in the extension of functions of reflexive markers in these languages.

Key words: *antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal, grammaticalization.*

Introduction and theoretical background. A reflexive construction typically expresses co-reference of two participants in the clause, e.g. in *I wash myself* the ‘washer’ and the ‘washed’ are the same person. Reflexive markers also tend to grammaticalize to take on several related meanings, sometimes called the “middle voice” (Kemmer, 1993). The middle voice, according to Kemmer (1993), covers a large semantic domain characterized by a low degree of elaboration of participants. The semantic roles of the participants may be reversible (as in reciprocal constructions), or the agent may not be expressed at all (as in impersonal constructions).

In the Slavic and Baltic languages, the reflexive marker also appears in a construction with a typically transitive verb, where the patient is not expressed syntactically. For example, the Russian construction in (1) differs from its transitive

¹ I am grateful to Bernhard Wälchli for valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper and to Nadezjda Zorikhina Nilsson for her helpful remarks and suggestions.

counterpart in (2) where the patient is not expressed syntactically but still implied semantically, and the verb is marked with the etymologically reflexive *-sja*. Example (1) typically describes a characteristic of the dog, rather than an action of the dog, while the unnamed potential patient (people being bitten) is backgrounded. It often says something about the dog, rather than describes an action. Similar constructions are found in a number of Slavic and Baltic languages (Janic, 2016; Israeli, 1997; Holvoet, 2017).

- (1) Russian
Sobak-a kusa-et-sja.
dog-NOM bite.IPFV-3SG.PRS-REFL
'The dog has a habit of biting (people or animals).' (or 'The dog bites.')
- (2) Russian
Sobak-a kusa-et ljudej.
dog-NOM bite.IPFV-3SG.PRS people.ACC
'The dog bites people'

These constructions have been analyzed as antipassives (Kulikov, 2012; Janic, 2016; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212; Holvoet, 2017 and others). Antipassive constructions either demote or remove the patient syntactically, with the pragmatic effect of topicalizing the agent and backgrounding the patient. In this way, it is a mirror image of the passive, which serves to topicalize the patient and background the agent. Traditionally, the antipassive has been treated as a syntactic, highly regular and productive phenomenon of voice. More recent works include lexical constructions of limited productivity in the definition of antipassive (Heaton, 2020) and this is the view that will be adopted here.

The Slavic and Baltic languages have several constructions with a reflexive marker that can be analyzed as antipassives (see e.g., Say (2005) on Russian, Janic (2016) on other Slavic languages and Holvoet (2017) on Latvian). Here, the focus is on the construction exemplified in example (1) above. This construction is limited to a small group of transitive verbs, which appear to be similar across the languages. Hence, lexical semantic properties appear to determine what kind of verbs can be used in the antipassive. Israeli (1997) argues that the Russian antipassive is limited to “aggressive verbs”: verbs denoting an uninvited, unwanted action on an animate patient. Similar observations have been made by Say (2005), by Janic (2016, Ch. 5) on other Slavic languages, and by Holvoet & Daugavet (2020, p. 257) on Latvian. Previous studies have not systematically compared the type of verbs used in this antipassive construction across languages. In this study, I examine the lexical restrictions of this construction in a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages. Based on the sample data, I also propose a grammaticalization path from the reciprocal meaning to the antipassive.

Aims and method. Here, the “aggressive” antipassive constructions is defined as follows:

- implies an (often generic) generic patient that is not expressed syntactically (object omission).
- Uses a reflexive marker.
- Can be used with both singular and plural agents.

Typically, such constructions also have a transitive counterpart without the reflexive marker. This, however, was not posited as a requirement since it is not

clear to what degree the antipassive preserves the lexical meaning of the base verb. The construction is sometimes associated with meaning shifts, related to the changes in telicity, and such meaning shifts can be lexicalized.

The aim of the investigation is to identify the concepts most often expressed by the construction in a survey of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages. Such an investigation may contribute to our understanding of the grammaticalization of reflexive markers to other functions. The languages included and the sources used are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Languages included in the survey

Language family		Language	Source
Slavic	East Slavic	Belarusian	Russian National corpus parallel corpora
		Russian	Israeli (1997)
		Ukrainian	Lakhno (2016)
	West Slavic	Czech	Medová (2009)
		Polish	Janic (2016)
		Slovak	Isačenko (2003)
	South Slavic	Bulgarian	Gradinarova (2019)
		Serbo-Croatian	Marelj (2004)
		Slovenian	Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003)
Baltic		Latvian	Geniušienė (1987), Holvoet & Daugavet (2020)
		Lithuanian	Geniušienė (1987), Holvoet (2017)

Data on the languages in the survey have been collected from linguistic articles and books. Parallel corpora were consulted but were found to contain too few examples for most languages. Descriptive grammars do not always treat this usage of reflexive markers, either because it is considered a peripheral feature or a feature of colloquial language. Dictionaries were not used for data collection since most dictionaries do not differentiate reciprocal and antipassive uses of a verb. For Belarusian, where descriptive data were lacking, the Russian- Belarusian parallel corpus available at the Russian national corpus (<http://ruscorpora.ru/new/search-para-be.html>) was used.

In some cases, the sources clearly state which verbs are not possible as an antipassive in the language. More commonly, however, it was not possible to deduce from the source with certainty that a particular concept is not expressed with the antipassive in a certain language. Since absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, the survey should not be read as a complete description, but rather as a general idea of which type of verb appear as an antipassive frequently enough to be mentioned in grammars or articles.

Results and discussion

1. Concepts expressed by the antipassive

To exclude possible reciprocal readings, only examples with singular subjects were considered. Constructions with plural subjects are often ambiguous between an antipassive and a reciprocal meaning due to syncretism of the reflexive marker.

The most frequent meanings were collected and grouped together as ‘concepts’. For example, the meanings ‘tease’, ‘call names’ and ‘mock’ and other near-synonyms were grouped as one concept. This was deemed preferable to counting lexical roots because the aim was to find out the scope of the lexical restrictions on the construction, and not the exact number of synonyms used in a certain language. See Appendix for a table of individual lexical items.

Table 2. Concepts expressed by antipassive constructions in Slavic and Baltic languages

Concept	Languages (out of 11)
hit/fight	11
push /butt	10
bite	7
pinch	7
scratch	7
spit	7
tease/call names/mock	7
kick	5
sting/burn/prick	5
curse/swear/use bad language	5
tickle	2

Table 2 shows the results, with all concepts found in more than one language represented. First, there are considerable similarities in the concepts expressed by the construction in different languages. It is obvious that there is a core group of verbs that tends to be used in antipassive more often than others. Physical aggression verbs such as ‘hit’, ‘push’ and ‘bite’ stand out as the most frequent meanings. Verbs of verbal aggression, such as ‘tease’ and ‘curse’ are also common. Verbs of ‘psychological aggression’, such as ‘curse’ and ‘tease’ are also common, and such verbs might have come to be used in the construction by a metaphorical extension linking verbal aggression to physical aggression. In Russian, *draznit* ‘tease’ is also etymologically related to *drat* ‘tear’, and *rugat* ‘abuse, swear’ may have its etymological roots in a word meaning ‘gape’ (Fasmer, 2004).

Not all aggressive verbs can be used as antipassives though, and this raises the question of what these verbs have in common, except aggressive semantics? Why is ‘hit’ commonly used as an antipassive, but not ‘kill’?

Say (2021) identifies five features that are typical of what he calls “natural antipassives”. The properties include a high agentivity of the agent, specification of manner, inherent atelicity, a narrow class of potential patient arguments and high affectedness of the A argument. Verbs with such properties are more likely to be subject to antipassivization in those language with a lexically restricted antipassive and are more likely to receive an antipassive interpretation when used with markers that are syncretic with other functions, such as the reflexive. The first three factors are relevant to the aggressive antipassive, but Say notes that the correlation between aggressivity and antipassive is not common cross-linguistically.

Analyzing the base verbs, i.e., the corresponding verbs used in transitive constructions, it is found that none of them are inherently telic or bounded in time. A common test of telicity is sensitivity to time expressions such as ‘in an hour’. Example (4) demonstrates the incompatibility of the Russian verb *kusat* ‘bite’

with such time adverbials. The imperfective verb does not convey a result, i.e., it is not followed by a change of state. To make the event telic and/or resultative, the perfective verb is used, as in (4). The perfective verb *ukusit* 'bite' cannot form the antipassive **ukusit'sja*.²

- (3) Russian
*Sobak-i kusa-l-i ego neskol'ko minut (*za neskol'ko minut).*
 dog- bite.IPFV- him few minute.PL. *in few minute.PL.
 PL.NOM PST-PL GEN GEN
 'The dogs were biting him for a few minutes (*in a few minutes).'
- (4) Russian³
*Klešč-i ukusi-l-i za nedelju (*nedelju) počti 380 žitelej Karelii*
 tick- bite.PF- in week. week.ACC almost 380 inhabitant. Karelia.
 PL.NOM PST-PL ACC PL.GEN GEN
 'Ticks bit almost 380 inhabitants of Karelia in a week (*for a week).'

Without a detailed examination of all lexical items in all the languages in the survey, I will assume that the verbs representing the concepts in Table 2 are atelic. The verbs share dynamism and atelicity: they describe actions that are directed towards a patient but without necessarily leaving a lasting effect on the patient. This explains why we do not find verbs such as 'kill' used as antipassives.

Aggressive antipassives occur almost exclusively in the imperfective. While imperfective aspect is not synonymous with atelicity, (see e.g., Borik, 2006, Ch. 3), imperfective verbs expressing activities and semelfactives are always atelic. This atelicity inherent in the verbs is strengthened further when the verbs are used as antipassives. Such aggressive verbs also have a component of potential reciprocity. Except for 'sting/burn/prick', mostly used with non-animate subjects, the verbs in question can describe both one-sided action (just one person hitting without being hit back), or one-sided action in a reciprocal context (one person hitting and being hit back).

There is also a tendency for the antipassive to express characteristically habitual meaning, where the action described is taken to be an inalienable characteristic of the agent. Similarly, a potential meaning is also possible. *Sobaka kusaetsja* 'the dog bites' can express that the dog has the potential to bite, although it may or may not have done so yet. Other descriptions of the antipassive, especially in Russian, heavily emphasize the semantic aspects of potentiality and habituality. However, not only habitual aspect is possible. In many languages, the antipassive can also describe an action that is ongoing at the present moment. 'Do not push (me, right now!)!' is a common example that appears in descriptions of several languages. The constructions are often triggered by negative imperatives (Don't push! Don't fight!), or the phasal verb 'stop'. In (5), the pushing is more readily interpreted iteratively (i.e., the person has already pushed somebody several times), while the transitive counterpart with *tolkat* 'push' could be interpreted both continuously and iteratively.

² *Ukusit'sja* is lexicalized as 'burn oneself', analogous to *obžeč'sja*. In colloquial language, it is possible to find examples of antipassive with perfective verbs such as *cena ukusilas* 'the price bit' (was expensive), but this is not standard usage.

³ <http://rk.karelia.ru/accident/kleshhi-ukusili-za-nedelyu-pochti-380-zhitelej-karelii/>

- (5) Russian
Perestan' tolka-t'-sja.
 stop.IMP push-INF-
 REFL
 'Stop pushing (me)!'

Verbs expressing the concept 'spit' stand out as somewhat of an exception, since they are typically used with prepositional objects. They are still included, because of the similar semantics exemplified in the parallelism of *plevat'sja* 'spit' and *rugat'sja* 'abuse, swear' in (6):

- (6) Russian (Russian National corpus)
Ona pleva-l- i ruga-l- v adres oranževyx lent na našej odežde.
a-s' as'
 she spit.IPF and in orange. ribbon. on our clothes
 V-PST- abuse.IP direction GEN.PL GEN.PL
 F-REF FV-PST-
 F-REF
 'She was spitting and arguing at the orange ribbons on our clothes.'

To summarize, the aggressive antipassive in Slavic and Baltic languages is used with imperfective verbs characterized by aggressive semantics, potential reciprocity and a lack of inherent telicity and resultativity. Some observations and examples from individual languages follow.

1.1 East Slavic Languages

In Russian, the construction is restricted to a subgroup of transitive verbs expressing, from the perspective of the patient, unwanted action (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212). The Russian antipassive is used to describe habitual action that is characteristic of the subject, as in example (7a). This meaning is commonly used with an animal agent. It can also be used to express an actual, ongoing action, as in example (7b), typically with a human agent (Israeli, 1997: Ch. 4). In both cases, only imperfective verbs are used (Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212). The most typical agent is a human or an animal, even though there are a few exceptions, notably 'burn' and 'sting' (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4). The patient is always animate (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212).

- (7) Russian (Israeli, 1997, p. 113)
 a. *Kon' bryka-et-sja.*
 horse.NOM bite.IPFV-
 3SG.PRS-REFL
 'The horse kicks.' (has a habit of kicking).
 b. *Mužčin-a Nu xvatit mož-et tolka-t'-sja?*
 man- Dm enough can.IPFV- push.IPFV-
 NOM 3SG.PRS INF-REFL
 'Man, maybe it's enough pushing?'

The Ukrainian set of verbs used in the construction is almost identical to the Russian as far as this survey goes. The construction can express both habitual, potential action and concrete action (Lakhno, 2016). Typically, only imperfective

verbs are used (Lakhno, 2016, p. 93). Ukrainian shows the same pattern as Russian in that the habitual function is mainly realized with animal agents (Lakhno, 2016, p. 92). Usage with inanimate agents is described for verbs that are synonyms of ‘burn’ and ‘sting’ (Lakhno, 2016, p. 93).

- (8) Ukrainian (Lakhno, 2016, p. 92) [Gloss and translation added]
- a. *Kropyv-a žalit'-sja.*
 nettle-NOM sting.IPFV.3SG.PRS-REFL
 ‘Nettle stings!’
- b. *Kušč kolet'-sja.*
 bush.NOM prick.IPFV.3SG.PRS-REFL
 ‘(The) bush pricks.’

There are limited data on the function and restrictions on the Belarusian antipassive. Translations from the Russian-Belarusian parallel corpus suggest a similar usage as in Russian. Out of the 11 concepts found expressed as antipassives in Russian, 10 also have Belarusian antipassive counterparts in the corpus. There is no data on their aspectual meanings, but all verbs found are imperfective.

- (9) Belarusian (Russian National corpus)
- Tol'ki ne kusaj-sja.*
 just NEG bite.IPFV.2SG.IMP
 ‘Just do not bite.’

1.2 West Slavic Languages

The antipassive in Polish is used with human agents and inanimate agents, but not with animal agents (Janic, 2016: p. 143). Judging by the glossed translations, Polish antipassives can express both habitual, or iterative, action, as in example (10a), and non-habitual action, as in example (10b). Examples of verbs given in the literature are mostly restricted to physical action on an animate patient. There is no data on aspectual usage, but all the examples given use imperfective verbs.

- (10) Polish (Kański 1986, referred to in Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003: p. 115))
- a) *Marek się bi-je.*
 Mark.NOM REFL.PRON.ACC fight.IPFV-3SG.PRS
 ‘Mark fights (other people).’
- b) *Nie pchaj się, pan!*
 NEG push.IPFV.2SG.IMP refl. man
 REFL.PRON.ACC.acc
 ‘Stop pushing (others), man!’

The use of the antipassive in Czech is limited to a few verbs and is only possible with a human agent and a human patient. ‘Fight’ and ‘push’ are among these verbs (Medová, 2009: p. 24). A habitual reading is possible. Given the right context, the reading can also be non-habitual, as in example (11), i.e., Valenta is pushing other children right now. Medová (2009: p. 24) describes this construction as ‘reciprocal by nature’ with a singular subject. There is no data on the aspectual usage, but all the examples given use imperfective verbs.

- (11) Czech (Medová, 2009: p. 24)

Paní učitelko, Valenta se strká!
 mrs teacher. Valenta.NOM.SG. REFL.PRON. push.IPFV.3SG.PRS
 VOC.F M ACC
 'Teacher, Valenta is pushing (other people)!'

The available data on Slovak are rather limited. The reflexive marker *sa* is more readily interpreted as reflexive proper, i.e., co-reference of agent and patient, along with verbs such as 'bite' and 'kick'. Reflexively marked 'bite' or 'kick' would thus be interpreted as the subject acting on itself. 'Fight' is the only attested antipassive example in the available material.

- (12) Slovak (Isačenko, 2003: p. 388) [Translation added]

Bije sa.
 hit.IPFV.3SG.PRS REFL.PRON.ACC
 'He fights (is a fighter).'

1.3 South Slavic Languages

Antipassives in Bulgarian are described as a feature of children's speech that has spread to the speech of adults (Gradinarova, 2019: p. 27-28). Only human or animal agents are possible in the construction (Gradinarova, 2019, p. 31). The verbs described all express physical, violent action on an animate patient. The verbs used in the construction are mostly imperfective. The perfective *razritam se* 'start kicking' or 'kick several times' is a notable exception (Gradinarova, 2019: p. 29). As a side note, some dialects of Macedonian use antipassives with animal subjects (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 250). *Kloca* 'kick' is the only attested example in the data, and Macedonian is therefore not included in the survey.

Slovenian antipassives are limited to verbs where a reflexive reading is not natural, i.e. it is not something one would wish to do to oneself. Examples include *porivati* 'push', *tepsti* 'beat' and *grizti* 'bite'. Examples such as (13) show a non-habitual meaning. A habitual reading is also possible (Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 117). There is no data on the aspectual usage, but all attested examples use imperfective verbs.

- (13) Slovenian Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 115)

Učiteljica Janezek se spet poriva.
 teacher. Janezek. REFL.PRON.ACC again push.IPFV.3SG.PRS
 NOM NOM
 'Teacher, Janezek is pushing (other people) again.'

Serbo-Croatian antipassives are restricted to human patients (Marelj, 2004, p. 248). The patient is usually interpreted as generic, non-referential and plural when the verb has a habitual reading. Given the right context, the reading can also be non-habitual with a referential, singular patient (Marelj, 2004, p. 249). The agent argument is not discussed explicitly but appears to be restricted to humans. Aspectual implications of the constructions are not discussed in the data, but all examples use imperfective verbs.

1.4 Baltic languages

Holvoet & Daugavet (2020) notes that Latvian detransitivized constructions can be divided into several subgroups, each with its own lexical restrictions and semantics. Here, I am concerned with the construction which in many ways is

a counterpart to the Slavic aggressive antipassive, what Holvoet calls “behavior-characterizing deobjectives” (Holvoet & Daugavet, 2020, p. 257).

Latvian and Lithuanian aggressive antipassives are used in the habitual sense, of an action that is characteristic of the agent, alongside with describing non-habitual action (Holvoet, 2017, p. 66). The agent is animate, a human or an animal, while the patient is always human (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 86). The construction is limited to a group of verbs describing aggressive behaviour, typically physical but sometimes verbal (Holvoet, 2017, p. 70). These verbs “show a natural affinity with reciprocals” (Holvoet, 2017, p. 70), and the group of verbs used partly overlaps with reciprocals (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 86). A Lithuanian example of such reciprocal-antipassive overlap is shown in example (14). Lithuanian and Latvian antipassives have a “potential” meaning on the part of the patient, as the patient may or may not be affected by the action. They are typically used in the present tense (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 85). There is no data on aspectual usage.

(14) Lithuanian Geniušienė, 1987: p. 92

- a. *Jiedu* ***muša-si***
 They.two beat.3.PRS- (Reciprocal)
 REFL
 ‘They are fighting’!
- b. *Berņiuk-as* ***muša-si***
 boy- beat.3.PRS- (Antipassive)
 NOM.SG REFL
 ‘The boy fights (is pugnacious)’!

1.5 Summary of lexical restrictions

As the above observations show, the aggressive antipassive construction across Slavic and Baltic languages displays remarkable similarities not only in their semantic and pragmatic properties but also in their specific lexical restrictions. The construction is used with a group of verbs expressing an undesirable action on an animate patient. Such verbs are prototypically transitive, but when used in the antipassive have meanings otherwise associated with intransitive constructions, discussed further in Section 4. One such defining feature is their atelicity or lack of boundedness in time. The antipassive is restricted to verbs in the imperfective aspect and most commonly appears in the present tense. Verbs used in the antipassive take on habitual, iterative or potential aspectual meanings. Cross-linguistically, antipassives are associated with meaning shifts toward the imperfective aspect, such as the durative, progressive, iterative or habitual aspect (Cooreman, 1994).

All languages in the survey display syncretism of the reflexive marker, specifically an overlap between reciprocal and antipassive meaning, leading to constructions with plural, animate subjects being ambiguous. The consequences of this are discussed in Section 5. Constructions with inanimate subjects stand out in that they lack this ambiguity.

The languages vary in what types of agents are allowed, in a way that follows the animacy hierarchy: humans > animate > inanimate. All languages in the survey allow antipassive with human agents, while only some allow all animate agents. Inanimate agents are even rarer in the data and are only described in languages that also have animate agents. Thus, in the antipassive constructions of the languages in the survey, the following implication holds:

- (15) inanimate subject \supset animate non-human subject \supset human subject

2. Volition, animacy and transitivity

The notion of aggression is connected to the animacy hierarchy in that aggression requires a volitional agent. Volitionality can be defined as the degree of intention to carry out an action (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 286). Humans have high volitionality, while animals are understood to have a lower degree of volitionality. Inanimates, naturally, lack volitionality.

There are two typical cases where the “aggressive” antipassive is used. In the first case, there is a lowered degree of volition since the habitual action that the agent has a strong inclination to perform is not fully volitional. In the second case, the agent is inanimate and lacks volition.

1. A volitional, animate agent carries out an aggressive action that affects an implicit human patient. The action is often habitual.
2. A non-volitional, inanimate entity has the potential to cause (or causes) discomfort or harm to a human patient.

With inanimate subjects, the meaning component of the action being something that characterizes the subject is stronger. While the aggressive antipassive with animate subjects can refer to actual, one-time action, no such examples with inanimate subjects were found. In Russian, when the agent causing harm is inanimate and the action is seen as characteristic of the subject, the antipassive is strongly preferred, as noted by Israeli (1997). A direct object construction is construed as slightly odd or even ungrammatical, as in example (16a), outside of anthropomorphized fairytale characters. The antipassive, as in (16b), is almost obligatory.⁴

- (16) Russian (Israeli, 1997, p. 119)
- a. ? Krapiv-a **žž-et** devočk-u.
nettle- burn- girl-
NOM.SG 3SG.PRS ACC.SG
'The nettle stings the girl.'
- b. Krapiv-a **žž-et-sja**.
nettle- burn-
NOM.SG 3SG.PRS-
REFL
'Nettle stings.'

Animate subjects of the antipassive are often a child or a pet. This raises the question of whether the antipassive is more frequently preferred with animate agents with lower volitionality. Those would be agents that are portrayed as lacking awareness of or responsibility for their actions, due to limited mental resources, but this remains to be investigated. It is also interesting to note that antipassives have been described as typical of child language in Polish (Kubinski, 2010, p. 18), in Serbo-Croatian (Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 115-116) and Bulgarian (Gradinarova, 2019, p. 27).

Antipassive thus appears to signal both a low prominence of the patient, but also that the situation described is, in some way, not the typical transitive, volitional situation that would be suggested by the transitive construction counterpart (without

⁴ It is possible to find examples such as *Esli krapiva žžët kožu ruk - oden'te perčatki* 'If the nettle stings the skin on your hands - put on gloves', when the action is ongoing rather than potential. Object omission without any special marking, e.g. *krapiva žžët* 'nettle stings' is also attested in corpora, although it appears to be rarer than the antipassive. It is not clear how the semantics of this construction compares to the antipassive.

a reflexive marker). Transitivity in traditional grammar is often understood as the binary ability of a verb to take an object. According to Hopper & Thompson (1980), transitivity is better described as a continuum where the number of participants expressed is only of several features. The transitivity features discussed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) are found in Table 3.

Table 3. Transitivity features according to Hopper & Thompson (1980)

	High	Low
Participants	2 or more	1 participant
Kinesis	action	non-action
Aspect	telic	atelic
Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
Affirmation	affirmative	negative
Mode	realis	irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of P	P totally affected	P not affected
Individuation of P	P highly individuated	P non-individuated

Examples from the languages in the survey suggest that the antipassive is associated with atelic aspect, nonpunctual action, non-volitionality of the agent, negation, irrealis mood (in the form of potential meaning) and a non-individuated patient. At the same time, their transitive counterparts ('hit', 'bite', 'push') are typically transitive verbs, that in the prototypical case are associated with two clearly individuated participants, punctual action, high volitionality of the agent and a highly affected and individuated patient.

Hopper & Thompson (1980, p. 255) predict in their Transitivity hypothesis that whenever a clause contains an obligatory morphosyntactic marking of low transitivity, then other features in the clause will also be low transitivity. In other words, a proposition with several features of low transitivity is more likely to be expressed by a syntactically intransitive construction, such as the antipassive. Hence, in the view of Hopper & Thompson (1980) the antipassive is a strategy to convey semantic features of lower transitivity by detransitivizing the clause syntactically. Accordingly, one important function of the antipassive is to mark fewer transitive situations with otherwise prototypically transitive verbs, by marking the clause intransitive. This would explain why the antipassive construction is preferred with non-volitional subjects, such as stinging plants, in Russian.

3. Overlap with reciprocal construction

In constructions with animate agents, there is considerable overlap with reciprocal constructions. 'Aggressive' verbs are not inherently reciprocal. Still, there is a strong component of potential reciprocity in the event described when the participants are of the same type. It is symmetrical in that a person hitting another person risks being hit back and a dog first biting another dog can be bitten back by the second dog. The actions themselves are one-sided but the context is reciprocal.

All languages investigated here use the reflexive marker both for reciprocal meaning, with a certain set of verbs, as well as in the aggressive antipassive construction. These markers all have their origin in the Proto-Indo-European

reflexive *se (Beekes & de Vaan, 2011, p. 234) and are shown in Table 4.^{5 6} For example, in (17), it is not clear if the agents act on each other or on an implied and generic patient.

- (17) Russian
 a. *Oni tolka-jut-sja.*
 they push.IPFV-
 3PL.PRS-REFL
 ‘They push each other’ OR ‘They push (other people)’
 b. *Sobak-i kusa-jut-sja.*
 dog- bite.IPFV-
 NOM.PL 3PL.PRS-REFL
 ‘The dogs bite each other’ OR ‘The dogs bite (other people or dogs)’

Table 4. Antipassive markers in the languages of the survey

Language	Reflexive marker	Form of marker
Belarusian	-cca (-sja)	affix
Russian	-sja (-s’)	affix
Ukrainian	-sja (-s’)	affix
Czech	se	clitic pronoun
Polish	się	clitic pronoun
Slovak	sa	clitic pronoun
Bulgarian	se	clitic pronoun
Serbo-Croatian	se	clitic pronoun
Slovenian	se	clitic pronoun
Latvian	-s	affix
Lithuanian	-s (-si-)	affix

Reflexive-reciprocal-antipassive syncretism appears in a number of languages across the world (Sansò, 2017; Polinsky, 2017; Janic, 2021). Different grammaticalization paths from the reflexive have been suggested. Some of these are summarized here.

Geniušienė (1987, p. 347) suggests that both the reciprocal and antipassive (“absolute reflexive”) develops from the reflexive through the ‘partitive object’ and/or autocausative. In her view, the antipassive developed independently from the reciprocal. The reasoning behind this is based on the fact that some languages allow for a reciprocal, but not antipassive, interpretation of constructions with plural animal subjects (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 250-251).

Janic (2010) investigates reflexive-antipassive polysemy in several language families and suggests a scenario in which reflexive markers grammaticalize to antipassive markers. She argues that reflexivization is associated with a patient that is less distinguished and focused, being co-referential with the agent. The function of the antipassive is to signal a pragmatically less focused patient, and through this

⁵ Some languages have developed what Kemmer (1993) calls a two-form cognate reflexive system, where a “heavy” form coexists with a historically related “light” reflexive marker. Typically, the heavy form is reserved for reflexive proper, i.e., co-reference of the subject and the object, while the light form is used to mark other related meanings in the reflexive domain, such as grooming (Russian *myt’sja* ‘wash oneself’), natural reciprocals (Russian *obnimat’sja* ‘hug’) and decausative (Russian *dver’ otkrylas’* ‘the door opened (by itself)’).

⁶ The data on reciprocal uses is mostly gathered from Geniušienė (1987). Data on Slovenian are from Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003, p. 100) and on Slovak from Isačenko (2003, p. 385).

functional similarity, speakers come to use the reflexive marker even for an event where participants are not co-referential. Further, in the grammaticalization process, these two meanings may or may not separate into two different constructions.

Janic (2016, p. 252) acknowledges a link between the reciprocal and the antipassive and argues that they are similar in terms of the plurality of their relations and a low degree of elaboration of events. Janic (2016, p. 255) does not exclude the development of the antipassive function from the reciprocal function but considers that independent development of reciprocal and antipassive functions from reflexive markers is more likely. She notes that in some language families, there is reflexive-antipassive polysemy without reciprocal meaning. Janic (2021) points out the semantic affinity of the antipassive and the reciprocal, which goes beyond Indo-European languages. In many languages, reciprocally marked constructions with plural subjects are ambiguous with an antipassive reading.

Importantly, there are languages with markers that display reciprocal-antipassive syncretism but are not reflexive. Lichtenberk (2000) describes an antipassive construction (“depatientive”) in the Oceanic languages and argues that it has arisen from the reciprocal. Lichtenberk (1991) sees the explanation for this in the low degree of distinction of participants and the relations held between them; in the reciprocal both the participants and the action they perform on each other are conceptualized as a whole, and in the antipassive, only one participant is clearly distinguished, and the action is often habitual, or non-distinct.

Sansò (2017) proposes an explanation for reciprocal markers grammaticalizing to antipassive markers, through the notion of ‘co-participation’, used by Creissels & Voisin (2008) based on their work on Wolof. Sansò (2017) argues that when the reciprocal verbs that imply co-participation are lexicalized, they also allow singular agents in object-demoting constructions. In the Hup example (18a) the reciprocal marker also has the reading of two cooperating agents, along with the reciprocal function. In example (18b) with a singular agent, the notion of co-participation has disappeared. A similar grammaticalization path from reciprocal to antipassive may have taken place in the Bantu languages (Janic, 2021, p. 273).

(18) Hup (Naduhup, South America) (Epps (2005, p. 405-407), quoted in Sansò (2017, p. 207))

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>yaʔambõʔ=dəh</i> | <i>ʔũh-g'áç-əy</i> | |
| | dog=PL | REC-bite-
DYNM | (Cooperating
agents) |
| | 'The dogs are biting each other/are fighting.' | | |
| | | | |
| b. | <i>yúp=ʔĩh</i> | <i>ʔũh-méh-éy</i> | |
| | that=M | REC-hit-DYNM | (Antipassive) |
| | 'That man is fighting (with someone).' | | |

As for the aggressive antipassive in Slavic and Baltic, Holvoet (2017), discussing Latvian antipassives, suggests that it developed from the reciprocal function using the same marker. Aggressive behavior, as Holvoet (2017, p. 70) notes, is naturally directed towards other people and is therefore typical of reciprocal contexts. Knjazev (2013), discussing Russian, notes the overlap of the reciprocal and the antipassive (“absolute”), that in his opinion is explained by the fact that the set of patients is often the same as the set of agents in the antipassive, which is also the case for reciprocals. Knjazev suggests that almost all reciprocals in Russian can be used as antipassives as well, which will be discussed in the next section.

4. From reciprocal to antipassive

The overlap of reciprocal and antipassive has been discussed before, as has a possible diachronic relationship between them. Here, I will expand on this as it connects to the lexical semantics of the aggressive antipassive. I will suggest a possible mechanism for the grammaticalization from the reflexive to the antipassive through the reciprocal.

(19) Reflexive -> Reciprocal -> Antipassive

Stage 1. A language has a reflexive/reciprocal marker. Reflexive-reciprocal polysemy is common cross-linguistically and is the result of reflexive markers extending their function to reciprocity through semantic bleaching (Maslova & Nedjalkov, 2013).

Stage 2. A subset of "aggressive" verbs does not favor a reflexive reading. One does not generally bite or hit oneself. With such verbs, the marker is mainly or exclusively used with the reciprocal meaning. For example, the Croatian example in (20) can have a reflexive or a reciprocal meaning, but the reflexive reading requires a special pragmatic context to avoid sounding odd.

- (20) Croatian (own data⁷)
- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Ps-i</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>griz-u.</i> |
| dog- | REFL.PRON.ACC | bite.IPFV- |
| NOM.PL | | 3PL.PRS |
- 'The dogs bite each other.' or 'The dogs bite themselves.' or 'The dogs bite (people or animals).'

In some languages, the two functions may grammaticalize into two different markers. For example, Russian has a two-form system where the 'light' suffixes mark reciprocal action, as in example (21a) and the 'heavy' full reflexive pronouns have a reflexive proper function, as in example (21b).^{8,9}

- (21) Russian
- a. *Oni* *der-ut-sja.*
they fight.IPFV-
3PL.PRS-REFL
'They fight (each other)' (not 'they fight themselves.')
- b. *Oni* *b'j-ut* (*samix*) *sebja.*
they beat.IPFV- self- REFL.PRON.ACC
3PL.PRS ACC.PL
'They beat themselves.' (not 'they beat each other.')

⁷ Elicited from native speaker informants.

⁸ Haiman (1998) suggests that the full reflexive pronoun, contrasted to the 'light' version, has its origins in the conceptualization of the self as two separate entities, the speaker representing himself as both a performer and an observer. The conceptualization of the self as two separate entities, or the speaker representing himself as both a performer and an observer, leads to the use of a transitive clause where there is a co-reference of the agent and the patient in the form of a full reflexive pronoun, such as in example (21), or 'I beat myself'. In other words, a high degree of self-awareness leads to the speaker seeing himself in the way others see him.

⁹ As the reviewer points out, the 'light' reflexive pronoun tends to be used in situations that confirm to the listener's expectations. In reciprocal scenarios, the 'heavy' marker is reserved for (unexpected) reflexive proper meaning. In a reflexive scenario, such as getting dressed, the light marker conveys reflexivity (*odet'sja* 'dress oneself') while the more unexpected reciprocal meaning is conveyed by a 'heavy' reciprocal marker (*odet drug druga* 'dress each other').

Stage 3. A subgroup of verbs with aggressive meaning take on an antipassive meaning when used with singular agents. Reciprocal verbs are typically used with plural agents, where the roles of the participants can be reversed without any change in meaning (Nedjalkov, 2007a, p. 6-7). This is illustrated in Figure 1: participant A does to participant B what B does to A.

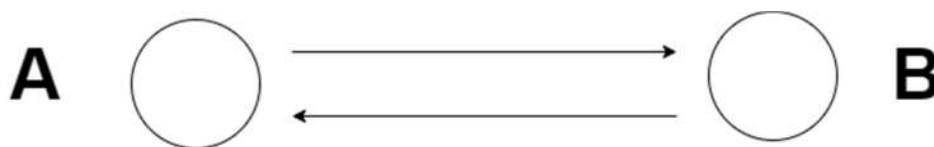


Figure 1. Relations between participants in reciprocal events

The use of this reciprocal form with a singular subject means that only participant A is expressed syntactically. The dotted lines around participant B represent this in Figure 2. The construction may still be interpreted as reciprocal. But the non-expression of participant B can also blur the semantic roles held between the participants. The reciprocal component of the meaning can be subject to semantic bleaching and the construction can also come to be interpreted as participant A doing something to an unnamed, generic and indefinite participant B, who may not do something to B. The context is still potentially reciprocal, but the action is not necessarily reciprocal.

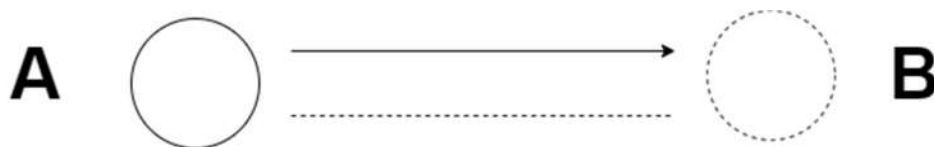


Figure 2. Relations between participants in reciprocal events with a singular agent

In this way, the use of reciprocal constructions with singular agents acts as a bridging context where reciprocal constructions can be reinterpreted as antipassives. Example (22), with a comitative complement, is reciprocal with a singular subject. The example in (23) is ambiguous; it can mean that the boy fights with other children or that he hits other children (who do not necessarily hit back).¹⁰ The ambiguity and reinterpretation are only possible with a subgroup of verbs that are not inherently reciprocal (i.e. reciprocity is not an obligatory part of the verb semantics) but tend to appear in a reciprocal context. This is the lexical group of the verbs outlined in Section 3.

- (22) Russian
On derët-sja s brat-om.
 he hit.3SG.PRS- with brother-
 REFL INST.SG
 'He fights with his brother'

¹⁰ Note that Russian *drat'-sja* 'fight', has a meaning quite different from the transitive *drat'* 'tear'. It is not uncommon for reflexively marked verbs to lexicalize into different meanings.

- (23) Russian
Mal'čik derët-sja.
 boy.NOM.SG hit.3SG.PRS-REFL
 'The boy fights (with someone)' or 'The boy hits (other children)'

It is not possible with verbs whose reciprocity is a defining feature of the action described. The Russian verb *vstretit'sja* 'to meet (each other)' requires mutual action, and hence (24) is not possible. Singular subjects of such verbs are only possible with a comitative complement, as in (25).

- (24) Russian
 ? *On vstreti-l-sja.*
 he meet.PF-PST.SG.M-REFL
 'He met.'

- (25) Russian
On vstreti-l-sja s drug-om.
 he meet.PF-PST.SG.M-REFL with friend-INST.SG
 'He met with a friend.'

Stage 4. The antipassive function of the singular form is conventionalized and used in the plural form as well, leading to a polysemous reciprocal/antipassive marker, as seen in (26).

The verbs used in the constructions are atelic. This atelicity, combined with the object omission that takes place in the antipassive, has aspectual consequences. The direct object, representing the patient argument, plays an important role in localizing the event in time. Syntactic omission of the patient argument leads to the implied patient being interpreted as non-specific. The cows in (26b) do not butt a specific cow or person, they butt a generic, non-named patient, i.e., people or cows in general. The antipassive takes on a habitual reading. Further down the grammaticalization path, such antipassives may lose their localization in time completely, and be interpreted as potential only. The subject-characterizing antipassive emerges. Restriction of the construction to mainly the present tense also contributes to the potential meaning.

To put it another way, I suggest the “aggressive” antipassive is the result of a certain lexical group of reciprocal verbs being used with singular subjects. The syntactic non-expression of the patient leads to such expressions being interpreted as unbounded in time, with a generic patient, which eventually leads to connotations of habituality or potentiality of the action. Syntactically omitting the patient argument leads to the agent being topicalized, rather than the event or the patient. Suppression of the event is associated with a shift towards property description (Kageyama, 2006).

- (26) Russian (Knjazev, 2007, p. 681)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>Posmotr-i, dv-e</i> | <i>korov-y</i> | <i>boda-jut-sja.</i> | |
| | look.PF- | two- NOM.F | cow- | butt.IPFV- (Reciprocal) |
| | IMP | | NOM.PL | 3PL.PRS-REFL |

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
DM	Discourse marker
DYNM	Dynamic
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INST	Instrumental
IPFV	Imperfective
M	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
PST	Past tense
PF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PRS	Present tense
PRON	Pronoun
REC	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
VOC	Vocative

References

- Beekes, R. S. P. & de Vaan, M. A. C. (2011). *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Borik, O. (2006). *Aspect and Reference Time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooreman, A. (1994). A functional typology of antipassives. In B. Fox & P. Hopper (Eds.), *Voice: Form and Function* (pp. 49–88). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Creissels, D. & Voisin, S. (2008). Valency-changing operations in Wolof and the notion of co-participation. In E. König & V. Gast (Eds.), *Reciprocal and Reflexives, Theoretical and typological explanations* (pp. 289–305). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Epps, P. (2005). *A grammar of Hup*. PhD thesis, University of Virginia
- Fasmer, M. (2004). *Étimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Retrieved from <https://lexicography.online/etymology/vasmer/> (in May 2022).
- Geniušienė, E. (1987). *The Typology of Reflexives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gradinarova, A. A. (2019). Antipassiv v russkom i bolgarskom jazykax. *Acta linguistica*. 10. 3–52.
- Haiman, J. (1998). *Talk is cheap: sarcasm, alienation, and the evolution of language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heaton, R. (2020). Antipassives in crosslinguistic perspective. *Annual Review of Linguistics*. 6(1). 131–153.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. (2005). *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holvoet, A. (2017). Antipassive reflexives in Latvian. *Baltic Linguistics*. 8. 57–96.
- Holvoet, A. & Daugavet, A. (2020). Antipassive reflexive constructions in Latvian: A corpus-based analysis. *Baltic linguistics: vol. 11: Studies in the voice domain in Baltic and its neighbours*. 11. 241–290.
- Hopper, P. & Thompson, S. (1980). Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language*. 56. 251–299.
- Isačenko, A. V. (2003). *Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka v sopostavlenii s slovackim: morfologija*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 2nd edition.
- Israeli, A. (1997). *Semantics and pragmatics of the “reflexive verbs” in Russian*. Munich: Sagner.

- Janic, K. (2010). On the reflexive-antipassive polysemy: Typological convergence from unrelated languages. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 36(1). 158–173.
- Janic, K. (2016). L'antipassif dans les langues accusatives. Brussels: Peter Lang.
- Janic, K. (2021). Variation in the verbal marking of antipassive constructions. In K. Janic & A. Witzlack-Makarevich (Eds.), *Antipassive: Typology, Diachrony, and Related Constructions* (pp. 249–291). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kageyama, T. (2006). Property description as a voice phenomenon. In T. Tsunoda & T. Kageyama (Eds.), *Voice and grammatical relations: In honor of Masayoshi Shibatani* (pp. 85–114). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kemmer, S. (1993). *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Knjazev, J. P. (2007). Reciprocal constructions in Russian. In V. P. Nedjalkov, E. Geniušienė, & Z. Guentchéva (Eds.), *Reciprocal Constructions*, volume 2 of *Typological studies in language* (pp. 673–708). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Knjazev, J. P. (2013). Towards a typology of grammatical polysemy: Reflexive markers as markers of reciprocity. In L. Kulikov & H. Vater (Eds.), *Typology of Verbal Categories: Papers Presented to Vladimir Nedjalkov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (pp. 185–93).
- Kobiljans'ka, V. O. (2015). Osobovo-chyslova paradyhma zvorotnyx diiesliv suchasnoi ukrains'koi movy. *Aktual'ni problemy filolohii ta perekladoznavstva*. 9. 84–90.
- Kubinski, W. (2010). *Reflexivization in English and Polish: An Arc Pair Grammar Analysis*. Linguistische Arbeiten. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Kulikov, L. (2012). Voice typology. In J. J. Song (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology* (pp. 368–398). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakhno, N. (2016). Osoblyvosti aktantnoho rozpodilu semantyky absoljutiviv. *Studia philologica*. 6. 91–96.
- Letuchiy, A. (2016). Vozvratnost'. In V. Plungian, E. Dobrushina, E. Rakhilina, & N. Stoyanova (Eds.), *Materialy k korpusnoj grammatike russkogo jazyka*. Glagol (pp. 268–340). Saint Petersburg: Nestor-Istorija.
- Lyngfelt, B. (2016). Mellan polerna. Reflexiv- och deponenskonstruktioner i svenskan. *Språk och stil*. 17. 86–134.
- Marelj, M. (2004). *Middles and argument structure across languages*. PhD thesis, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Maslova, E. & Nedjalkov, V. P. (2013). Reciprocal constructions. In M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Medová, L. (2009). *Reflexive Clitics in the Slavic and Romance Languages: A Comparative View from an Antipassive Perspective*. PhD thesis, Princeton University.
- Nedjalkov, V. (2007a). Overview of the research. In V. P. Nedjalkov, E. Geniušienė, & Z. Guentchéva (Eds.), *Reciprocal Constructions*, volume 1 of *Typological studies in language* (pp. 231–334). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Nedjalkov, V. (2007b). Polysemy of reciprocal markers. In V. P. Nedjalkov, E. Geniušienė, & Z. Guentchéva (Eds.), *Reciprocal Constructions*, volume 1 of *Typological studies in language* (pp. 231–334). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Polinsky, M. (2017). Antipassive. In J. Coon, D. Massam, & L. D. Travis (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity* (pp. 308–331). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rivero, M. L. & Milojević-Sheppard, M. (2003). Indefinite reflexive clitics in Slavic: Polish and Slovenian. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*. 21(1). 89.
- Sansò, A. (2017). Where do antipassive constructions come from? *Diachronica*. 2. 175–218.
- Say, S. (2005). Antipassive sja-verbs in Russian: Between inflection and derivation. In *Morphology and its demarcations: Selected Papers from the 11th Morphology Meeting, Vienna, February 2004* (pp. 253–275). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Say, S. (2021). Antipassive and the lexical meaning of verbs. In K. Janic & A. Witzlack-Makarevich (Eds.), *Antipassive: Typology, diachrony, and related constructions* (pp. 177–212). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Appendix

Concept	Russian	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Polish	Slovak	Czech	Serbo-Croatian	Bulgarian	Slovenian	Latvian	Lithuanian
hit/fight	драться	біцца	битися	bić się	bit' sa	prát se	udarati se	бия се	tepsti se	plēsties	muštis
push/butt	толкаться	пхацца	штовхатися	пчаć się		strkat se	gurati se	блъскам се	porivati se	stumdīties	stumdytis
bite	кусаться	кусацца	кусатися				gristi se		gristi se	kosties	kramtytis
pinch	щипаться	шчыпацца	щипатися	szezuраć się			štipati se	шипя се			gnaibytis
scratch	царапаться	драпацца	дряпатися	драпаć się			grebati se			skrāpēties	draskytis
spit	плевать	плявацца	плюватися	pluć się			pljuvati se	плюя се		splaudīties	
tease/call names/mock	дразниться	дражніцца	дражнитися	drażnić się				закачам се		ķircināties	kibintis
kick	пинаться			копаć się			šutati se			spārdīties	spardytis
sting/burn/prick	жечься	пячыся	жалитися				bosti se			durstīties	
curse/swear/use bad language	ругаться	лаяцца	лятися							gānīties	keiktis
tickle	щекотаться	казыгацца									

Only one example is given from each semantic group in each language.

Резюме

Бондаренко Аліс

**СОБАКА КУСАЄТЬСЯ:
ПРО «АГРЕСИВНИЙ» АНТИПАСИВ У СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ
ТА БАЛТІЙСЬКИХ МОВАХ**

Постановка проблеми: Кілька слов'янських і балтійських мов мають «агресивну» антипасивну конструкцію, в якій рефлексивний маркер використано для позначення відсутності об'єкта, а також вираження звичних або потенційних аспектуальних значень. Досить відомим є російський приклад «собака кусається». Ця конструкція обмежена кількома дієсловами, які є схожими в різних мовах. Системний міжмовний аналіз групи дієслів, використаних у цій конструкції, не було раніше здійснено.

Мета статті: У цьому дослідженні розглянуто лексичні обмеження конструкцій на прикладі 11 слов'янських і балтійських мов.

Методи дослідження: На основі граматик і лінгвістичних статей зібрано та порівняно найпоширеніші для 11 слов'янських і балтійських мов концепти, що виражаються «агресивним» антипасивом.

Результати дослідження: Результати показують, що в усіх мовах конструкцію використовують для вираження набору понять, серед яких найчастіше трапляються «битися» і «штовхатися». «Удар / бійка» виникає в усіх мовах опитування. Ці дієслова фізичної агресії є прототипом дієслів, використаних у конструкції. Лексичні обмеження не є випадковими; дієслова, що використовують в антипасиві, виражають небажану дію (вплив) на живого об'єкта, і вони також мають спільні риси неграничності (відсутності внутрішньої межі дії) та потенційної реципрокності. Крім того, усі мови в опитуванні демонструють полісемію реципрокних і антипасивних маркерів, що призводить до полісемії підметових конструкцій множини.

Висновки та перспективи: На основі отриманих результатів можна дійти висновків, що «агресивний» антипасив із живими об'єктами граматикувався завдяки реципрокній функції рефлексивного маркера. Коли певний клас реципрокних, рефлексивно маркованих дієслів використовується з однією, живими суб'єктами, вони набувають конотації звичності та зрештою починають функціонувати як антипасив. Конструкції з підметами у множині могли служити контекстом, що сприяв процесу граматикувації. Отже, лексична семантика відіграє важливу роль у розширенні функцій рефлексивних маркерів у цих мовах.

Ключові слова: антипасив, рефлексив, реципрокність, граматикувація.

Abstract

Bondarenko Alice

**THE DOG BITES:
ON THE “AGGRESSIVE” ANTI-PASSIVE IN SLAVIC AND BALTIC**

Background Several Slavic and Baltic languages have an “aggressive” antipassive construction, wherein a reflexive marker is used to mark object omission as well as habitual or potential aspectual meanings. A well-known example is Russian *Sobaka*

kusaetsja ‘The dog bites’. This construction is restricted to a few verbs, that appear to be similar across languages. The group of verbs used in this construction have not been systematically compared cross-linguistically.

Purpose This study examines the lexical restrictions of the constructions across a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages, with a special focus on Russian.

Methods Based on grammars and linguistic articles, the most common concepts to be expressed by the “aggressive” antipassive are collected and compared across 11 Slavic and Baltic languages.

Results The results show that across the languages the construction is used to express a set of concepts of which ‘hit’ and ‘push’ are the most frequently found. ‘Hit/fight’ appear in all of the languages of the survey. These verbs denoting physical aggression are the prototypical example of the verbs used in the construction. The lexical restrictions are not random; verbs used in the antipassive express unwanted action on an animate patient, and they also share features of inherent atelicity and potential reciprocity. Further, all languages in the survey display polysemy of reciprocal and antipassive markers, resulting in ambiguous plural subject constructions.

Discussion Based on the results, it is suggested that the “aggressive” antipassive with animate subjects has grammaticalized from the reciprocal function of the reflexive marker. When a certain class of reciprocal, reflexively marked verbs are used with singular, animate subjects they take on connotations of habituality and eventually come to function as antipassives. Constructions with plural subjects may have served as a bridging context in the process of grammaticalization. Lexical semantics hence play an important role in the extension of functions of reflexive markers in these languages.

Key words: antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal, grammaticalization.

Відомості про автора

Бондаренко Аліс, магістр лінгвістики, асистент викладача, кафедра слов'янських та балтійських досліджень, фінської, нідерландської та німецької мов, Стокгольмський Університет, e-mail: alice.bondarenko@slav.su.se

Bondarenko Alice, M.A in Linguistics, Teaching assistant, Department of Slavic and Baltic Studies, Finnish, Dutch and German, Stockholm University, e-mail: alice.bondarenko@slav.su.se

ORCID 0000-0002-3953-0530

Надійшла до редакції 10 червня 2022 року

Прийнято до друку 12 серпня 2022 року

UDC 81'36[811.113.6+811.161.1]=111

Simone Mellquist



**RUSSIAN CORRESPONDENCES
TO SWEDISH BIPARTITE COMITATIVES**

The present parallel corpus investigation shows that the Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite comitatives — med- ‘with’-constructions with the structure [med + NP + PP] — can largely be predicted from the presence and positions of NPs referring to inalienable body parts in the constructions. When a Swedish bipartite med-construction contains an inalienable in the first (subject) part of the bipartite med-construction: [med + NP_{inalienable} + P + NP], perfective converb constructions constitute the most frequent Russian correspondence. When there is an alienable NP in the first part and an inalienable NP in the PP part: [med + NP_{alienable} + P + NP_{inalienable}], by contrast, the Swedish bipartite med-constructions frequently correspond to Russian comitative (s+instrumental) constructions. The study shows two more important correspondence types: bare instrumental constructions expressing manner and finite constructions expressing condition or temporal condition. These four Russian correspondence types (converb constructions, s+instrumental constructions, bare instrumental constructions and finite constructions) represent four different ontological types, as they mark relations between the matrix and eventualities (states/temporary properties) entities, manners, and states of affairs, respectively.

Key words: comitative constructions, absolute constructions, converbs, instrumental case, inalienability, Russian/Swedish.

1. Introduction and theoretical background. Swedish has a type of construction with the preposition *med* ‘with’ that does not have an unequivocal equivalent in Russian. Non-adnominal usages of *med* + NP + PP correlate with various Russian constructions, e.g., bipartite comitative (s+instrumental) constructions, as in (1); perfective converb (*deepričastie*) constructions, as in (2); bare instrumental case forms, as in (3); or finite clauses, as in (4). The present study seeks to investigate the factors underlying this variation using the Swedish-Russian Russian-Swedish parallel corpus within the Russian National Corpus, RNC.

- (1) a. Swedish (Wattin)
 [...] min farfar brukade sova middag *med kalsonger på huvudet*.¹
 with shorts on head:DEF
- b. Russian
 [...] мой дедушка Эрвин обычно спал после обеда *с трусами на голове*.
 with shorts:INS on head:LOC
 ‘[...] my grandfather used to take his lunchtime nap with (underwear) shorts on his head.’
- (2) a. Swedish (Hermanson)
 Han vankade omkring *med händerna på ryggen* [...].
 with hands:DEF on back:DEF
- b. Russian
 [...] он разгуливал взад и вперед, *заложив руки за спину* [...].
 back.put(PFV):CVB hands[ACC] behind back:ACC
 ‘He wandered back and forth with his hands on his back [...].’
- (3) a. Swedish (Lagerlöf)
 [...] och det var andra, som måste lägga sig ner *med ansiktet mot bänken*, [...].
 with face:DEF against bench:DEF
- b. Russian
 [...] а некоторым — лечь *лицом на скамейки* [sic!][...].
 face:INSTR on benches[ACC]
 ‘[...] and some of them had to lie down, facing the bench [...].’
- (4) a. Swedish (Enqvist)
 Kvinnan Haubinger satt vid min ankomst i sängen *med sin man vid fotändan* [...].
 with POSS man at foot.end:DEF
- b. Russian
 Я застал пациентку в постели; *в изножье кровати сидел ее муж* [...].
 in foot.end:LOC bed:GEN sat(IPFV) her husband
 ‘At my arrival the Haubinger woman was sitting in her bed with her husband at the foot end [...].’

The Swedish construction has been called a «clause equivalent» «multipartite med-phrase» (satsekvivalent flerledad med-fras, Teleman *et al.*, 1999) or «small clause» (Lundin 2003) or «absolute med-phrase» (Swedish: *absolut med-fras*, Swe Ccn, Swedish Constructicon, cf. Borin *et al.*, 2012).²

An important characteristic of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions is a word order contrast that distinguishes temporary properties — *med armarna utsträckta* ‘with her arms spread’ or *med händerna på ryggen* ‘with his arms on his back’ — from permanent properties: *med sina långa armar* ‘with his long arms’, (cf.: [?] *med*

¹ The examples are presented as follows: a. examples are source text examples; b. examples are target text examples irrespectively of whether Russian or Swedish is the source language. The Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions are glossed in all examples. In the Russian examples, the relevant constructions are glossed. The important grammatical features (aspect, case, converb) are glossed while other features (tense, gender, participles etc.) are translated. The English idiomatic translations primarily reflect the Swedish examples. English translations, glosses and italics are mine. Unless otherwise indicated, the examples come from the parallel corpus used for the investigation. The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

² The construction consists of the comitative preposition *med* ‘with’ followed by a bipartite structure; the first part is an NP, and the second part can be a predicative adjective or participle (with gender and number agreement with the NP in the first part) or an adverbial such as a PP, as shown in (1) – (4). The present investigation is limited to [*med* + NP + PP] instances.

armarna långa ‘with his arms long’). When a participle/adjective is placed after the noun instead of before it, it is predicated to the noun instead of attributed to it.³ The construction becomes bipartite rather than unipartite (cf. Jespersen (1951, p. 123ff «nexus»).

When the second part of the bipartite structure is a PP, the bipartite structure brings about a risk of syntactic ambiguity, as the PP can be interpreted as either a second part of a bipartite structure or a modifier specifying the location of all the participants in the clause. In the English example in (5), the ambiguity is symbolized by bracket notation; (5b) represents an interpretation of the italicized part of the example as a unipartite *with*-construction followed by a regular PP, whereas (5c) represents an interpretation of the example as a bipartite *with*-construction:

- (5) English (Prozorov, 1998: Ch. 10, cites an example from G.B. Shaw, first quoted in Jespersen, 1940, p. 41, italics and parentheses added)
- Do you expect me to sleep *with you in the room*?
 - (Do you expect me to sleep *with you*) *in the room*)?)
 - (Do you expect me to sleep (*with you in the room*))?)
 - Russian, suggested translation (Prozorov, 1998: ch. 10):
Неужели вы думаете что я могу спать, *когда вы находитесь в комнате?*
‘Do you really expect me to sleep, *when you are in the room?*’

Russian students are specifically warned of this ambiguity in a textbook on translation (Prozorov 1998: Ch. 10). This suggests that bipartite structures are not conventionalized for all types of comitative constructions in Russian.

In Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions, the bipartite structure following *med* makes the constructions equivalent to clauses, (cf. Jespersen, 1951: 123ff «nexus»; Lundin, 2003 «small clause»). This occurs despite the lack of finite verbs or, in the case of [*med* + NP + PP], despite the lack of verb forms altogether. In studies of English, bipartite *with*-constructions are often referred to as «absolute» constructions, specifically «augmented absolutes» (cf. Stump, 1985, p. 8ff; Kortmann, 1991, p. 194ff).⁴

³ Studies of, e.g., English absolutes speak about a (secondary) *subject* and a *predicate* (part) of the bipartite constructions (cf. Kortmann, 1995, p. 9; Fabricius-Hansen and Haug, 2012, p. 2). Here, the terms *first* and *second part* will be used instead. The Swedish Academy Grammar, Teleman *et al.* (1999, p. 697) wrote «A- and B-parts», (A-led och B-led).

⁴ A note on choice of terminology: «Augmented absolutes» are constructions in which the absolute is introduced by a special marker, e.g., *with* in English, e.g., *With the children asleep, Mary watched TV* (Stump 1985, p. 1). «Nominative» or «bare» absolutes in English or, e.g., «accusative absolutes» in German, lack a comitative preposition: *He was leaning forward from the pillows, his eyes alert, hands lifted from beneath the covers* (Stump, 1985, p. 95), *Kusna kommt blass und empört zurück, einem Brief in der Hand* ‘Kusna returns, pale and upset, with a letter in his hand.’ (Fabricius-Hansen and Haug, 2012, p. 1). The term «augmented absolute» is a contradiction in terms as the term «absolute» originally indicated that there was no linking word between the matrix clause and the absolute clause. Along with *with* and *without* also *and* and *what with* figure as «augmentors» of absolutes in English, cf. Kortmann (1991, p. 199ff), cf. also König and van der Auwera (1990, p. 343). Van de Pol and Hoffman (2016, p. 324) distinguished English with-augmented absolutes from «[...] mere prepositional phrases introduced by *with*», using the criteria of possibility of omitting *with* and convertability of the augmented absolute into a bare absolute. The non-absolute that exemplifies this selection in their paper is an adnominal (attributive) *with*-construction. Swedish only has very limited use of unaugmented (bare) absolutes (Teleman *et al.*, 1999, p. 697). The present investigation uses the term Swedish «bipartite *med*-constructions» rather than «absolutes», as the latter term is difficult to delineate, and furthermore, not used very much in Swedish. Weiss (1995, p. 263) even wrote about a «ban on absolute constructions» in Russian. Following König and van der Auwera (1990), he defined the term «absolute» as «converbs with overt subjects their own». As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the term «absolute» does not normally cover «augmented absolutes» in the Russian grammatical tradition. This fact provides yet another

Bipartite *med*-constructions are mentioned in contrastive studies investigating Scandinavian correspondences to Russian converbs (cf. Bjørn, 1979, p. 173 for Danish; Krave, 2011, p. 88, 66 for Norwegian; Zorixina-Nil'sson, 2001, p. 145 for Swedish), but to the best of my knowledge, no previous studies have investigated Russian correspondences to Scandinavian bipartite *med*-constructions. On the other hand, a few contrastive studies have investigated the Russian correspondences to English absolute constructions (e.g., Prozorov, 1998; Recker, 2007[1974]; Isakova, 2003; Orekhova *et al.*, 2019). These do not, however, focus on *with*-augmented absolutes but investigate a broad range of English absolutes. The studies, moreover, largely focus on stylistics and translation and not exclusively on grammatical aspects of the constructions.

At the same time, studies investigating comitative constructions seldom take bipartite structures into account, neither broad typological studies (cf. Lehmann and Shin, 2005; Stolz *et al.*, 2006; Arxipov, 2009) nor studies of Russian prepositional phrases (e.g., Kalyuga, 2020, p. 243ff).⁵

In a broad study of «co-eventive adjuncts» in European languages, Fabricius-Hansen and Haug (2012, p. 21ff) used the term «closed adjuncts» as a cover term for all instances of absolutes, with or without comitative prepositions. The closed adjuncts are in turn distinguished from «open adjuncts», a term that encompasses converbs and secondary predicate participles, adjectives or nouns (depictives).⁶

Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2012, p. 55) stated that «A further characteristic is that closed adjuncts must, to varying degrees, obey a “pertinence constraint”; some constituent in the adjunct must be bound by some constituent in the host clause». This can be observed in the examples above, where three of the NPs in the adjuncts are bound by the matrix subject in terms of part-whole relationships, and one NP is preceded by a possessive pronoun that points to the matrix subject. In (1a), the matrix subject *farfar* ‘grandfather’ is sleeping with shorts on his *head* (*huvudet*); in (2), the matrix subject *han* ‘he’ is coreferential (via the part/whole relationship) with *händerna* ‘hands’ and *ryggen* ‘back’; *ansiktet* ‘the face’ in (3) is co-referential with *andra* ‘others’ (likewise via the part/whole relationship); the husband in (4) is preceded by the possessive pronoun *sin* ‘her’, which is co-referential with the matrix subject.

Swedish, unlike English, uses definite form rather than possessive pronouns in bipartite comitatives containing inalienable body parts. The definite form may indicate that the entity denoted by the noun has been mentioned earlier in context and is hence not a reliable pertinence marker. Therefore, the parameter of (in)alienability, reference to the body, is itself important when examining the pertinence characteristic of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions.⁷ It should be noted that Fabricius Hansen *et al.* (2012) found NPs adhering to the pertinence

reason for avoiding the term «absolute». An additional limitation of the present study is that the partly parallel phenomenon of *utan*- ‘without’ constructions is beyond the scope of the present investigation.

⁵ Stolz *et al.* (2006, p. 17) stated that «The use of certain grammatical means does not always respect the boundaries between small and full clause». Small clauses, however, are, not thematized in their study, apart from a passage suggesting that all comitatives may be analysed as small clauses (see Section 4, below).

⁶ Slightly simplifying, «closed adjuncts» have overt (secondary) subjects, whereas «open adjuncts» have covert (secondary) subjects. Depictives may share the covert argument with either the subject or the object. Cf. Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2012, p. 21ff) for a comprehensive account.

The notion of «depictives» was used by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004, p. 60), who stated that it was the most widely used term for the type of secondary predicate formerly referred to as «predicative attribute», «copredicate» or «co-predicative».

⁷ Inalienables are defined here as the body parts of the matrix subject, see Chappell and McGregor (eds.) (1996) for an overview of works on inalienability.

constraint in either of the two parts of the bipartite constructions. Previous studies of Russian correspondences to English absolutes (e.g., Recker 2007[1974], p. 113) and studies of English absolutes (e.g., Kortmann, 1991, p. 91ff) have mainly focused on characteristics of the first part, not of the second part.

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the factors underlying the variation in Russian correspondences to Swedish *med*-constructions with a view to better understanding the similarities and differences between Russian and Swedish. Specific attention is devoted to Russian bipartite comitative constructions. By investigating the factors underlying the varying correspondences, the study also uses the contrastive information provided by the Russian correspondences to gain insights into the Swedish bipartite *med*-construction and proposes a typology of different kinds of Swedish *med*-constructions. Moreover, the findings can be used as pieces of the larger typological puzzle of absolutes, converbs, comitatives and instrumentals.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 describes the material and methodology of the investigation. Section 3 presents the results. The central quantitative results are displayed in tables and tested for significance. The more detailed results will be displayed in separate tables and discussed in sections that are divided according to the (in)alienability properties of the nouns in both of the two parts of the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions. The sections presenting the results are followed by a comparison of the largest correspondence categories and a brief discussion of similar instances in research on English *with*-constructions, Section 4. In the concluding section, Section 5, the main Russian correspondence types and the prototypical classes of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that are discerned based on these patterns are summarized.

2. Methods. The present study is usage based and draws on corpus data. A subpart of the Swedish parallel corpus in the Russian National Corpus (RNC) is used to investigate a large number of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions in Swedish source texts as well as Swedish target texts and their Russian correspondences in Russian source and target texts. The investigation is unidirectional in the sense that the corpus query always starts from Swedish, independent of translation direction. The research questions are:

– What role does (in)alienability play in the correspondence patterns between Swedish non-adnominal bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + NP + PP] and Russian converb constructions, bare instrumental constructions, comitative constructions or finite constructions?

– What other factors further determine the correlation between non-adnominal bipartite Swedish *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + NP + PP] and Russian converb constructions, bare instrumental constructions, comitative constructions or finite constructions?

The subpart of the bidirectional Swedish-Russian parallel corpus of RNC that was used was located on a separate platform before the material was incorporated into RNC. This subpart was developed during the initial phase of preparing the Russian-Swedish Swedish-Russian part of the RNC, cf. Sitchinava and Perkova (2019). The material was retrieved 8 November 2019.⁸ Before the incorporation, it contained 559 documents with 7,145,184 words. There were markedly more Swedish original texts than Russian original texts in the subpart, which was used in its entirety.⁹

⁸ I am very grateful for having early access to the corpus.

⁹ The material that matches the query consists of 222 Swedish texts and 64 Russian texts, of which 64 Swedish texts and 22 Russian texts contain bipartite *med*-constructions with [*med* + NP + PP] structure.

In the present corpus investigation, Swedish non-adnominal bipartite *med*-constructions with prepositional phrases as second parts [*med* + NP + PP] and their correspondences in Russian constitute the study object. This structure is chosen to enable investigation of all of the correspondence types using the same dataset. Adnominal *med*-constructions (such as *en jacka med en örn på ryggen* ‘a jacket with an eagle on the back’) are excluded from the investigation, as these are less likely to correlate with adverbial constructions in Russian. Likewise, bipartite *med*-constructions with participles, e.g., *med armen höjd* ‘with his arm raised’, would bias the investigation too much towards converbs as correspondences and are therefore excluded. Importantly, all the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions in the investigation are constructed in relation to verbs, verb phrases or clauses¹⁰.

The query used was [*med* + noun + preposition + noun] with one or zero possible words between *med* and the first noun. This query yielded a large number of irrelevant matches, which needed to be sorted out manually. Among them were nouns as complements of verbs *prata med* + NP ‘talk to’, or *börja med* + NP ‘start with’ etc.; adnominal *med*-constructions *en jacka med en örn på ryggen* ‘a jacket with an eagle on the back; fixed expressions like *med hjälp av* + NP ‘with the help of’ *med hänsyn till* + NP ‘with regard to’; *med* as verb particles: *följa med* + NP ‘follow along’; unipartite *med*-constructions with PP adverbials: ((*stod [tillsammans] med Anna*) på trappan) ‘((was standing [together] with Anna (on the stairs))’; and instrumental uses of *med* in Swedish ((*pekade med pipskaftet*) på dörrn) ‘pointed to the door using his pipe shank’.¹¹

The nouns in the first and second parts of the Swedish *med*-constructions were labelled for (in)alienability. The (in)alienability variable was given three values: «inalienables», the matrix subject’s own body parts; «alienables», alienable entities of physical character that can be removed from the body, this included all sorts of artefacts or other objects, but also *tårar* ‘tears’ and *flätan* ‘the braid’; and «non-applicable» (n.a.), which includes cases that are difficult to define as either inalienable or alienable. These «n.a.» instances include non-permanent bodily or emotional phenomena such as *skräck* ‘fear’, *leende* ‘smile’ and *blick* ‘gaze’, many of which are deverbal and often correlate with verbal forms in the Russian texts. Abstract entities such as *kurs* ‘course’ (direction) or *kors* (in *i kors* ‘crossed’) also belong to the n.a. category.

The impact of (in)alienability of the first part is tested quantitatively, using the χ -squared test of independence. The combinations of (in)alienability features of both parts of the bipartite *med*-constructions could not be tested because too many of the resulting categories were too small. The combinations are, however, examined and discussed in the paper.

Of these, 20 Swedish original texts are from non-fiction sources such as newspapers, and the rest are fiction texts. The larger number of Swedish original texts that match the query was largely due to the collection of short Swedish newspaper articles from the Russian inosmi.ru website, which translates foreign news into Russian. The samples include 455 examples from Swedish source texts and 173 examples from Russian source texts. Because the construction is quite infrequent and the corpus is developing, it was not possible to compose a balanced subcorpus or use a randomized sample, as this would result in a sample too small to base any generalizations on. The Swedish Russian part of the Russian National Corpus is in a stage of development and will probably provide a useful base for future investigations.

¹⁰ Some of these may be implicit, e.g., the saying eventualities in (Chekhov) plays which are implied by the format of presenting lines.

¹¹ In the same manner as English or German, Swedish uses the same preposition, i.e., *med* ‘with’ for instrumentality and accompaniment, while Russian uses bare instrumental for instrumentality (cf. Lakoff, 1968; Stolz *et al.*, 2006). Another difference between Russian and Swedish use of comitative prepositions is that Russian sometimes uses *s* + instrumental in a coordinative way, e.g., *мы с мамой* ‘I and mom [literally: we with mom]’, cf. Stassen (2000).

3. Results and analysis. This section presents the results from the quantitative investigation. Table 1 and 2 show the frequencies of Russian correspondence categories in relation to the (in)alienability distributions of the first NP in the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions matching the query in Swedish target and source texts, respectively. The Swedish target text sample (n=173) is smaller than Swedish source text sample (n=455).

The most important results are that *s*+instrumental and perfective converb constructions are most frequent. As evident in the first two rows of Table 1 and 2, these two categories, moreover, correlate with Swedish *med*-constructions with almost reversed patterns for the (in)alienability of the first part: *s*+instrumental constructions correlate with *med*-constructions with alienables in the first part, whereas perfective converb constructions correlate with *med*-constructions with inalienables in the first part:

Table 1. The (in)alienability distribution of the first part NPs of bipartite *med*-constructions in Swedish target texts, and their correspondences in Russian source texts

Correspondence categories	alienable	inalienable	n.a.	Total	%
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	36	2	8	46	27%
perfective converb constructions	2	37	1	40	23%
prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	21	2	4	27	16%
imperfective converb constructions	3	12	8	23	13%
other verbal constructions	5	7	3	15	9%
bare instrumental constructions		9	2	11	6%
adjectives participles adverbs		6	1	7	4%
omissions or rephrasings	4			4	2%
Total	71	75	27	173	100%

Table 2. The (in)alienability distribution of the first part NPs of bipartite *med*-constructions in Swedish source text, and their correspondences in Russian target texts

Correspondence categories	alienable	inalienable	n.a.	Total	%
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	123	5	15	143	31%
perfective converb constructions	20	92	14	126	28%
other verbal constructions	41	16	12	69	15%
imperfective converb constructions	24	23	2	49	11%
bare instrumental constructions	1	16	6	23	5%
prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	16	3	2	21	5%
omissions or rephrasings	4	5	4	13	3%
adjectives adverbs participles		6	5	11	2%
Total	229	166	60	455	100%

Importantly, the correspondence categories that show a smaller degree of independence from the (in)alienability variable are *s*+instrumental constructions, perfective converb constructions, bare instrumental constructions and prepositional phrases.

The figures relating to the Russian source texts (Table 1) largely parallel the figures from the target texts (Table 2). Particularly the (in)alienability distribution between Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions correlating with perfective converb constructions and *s*+instrumental constructions is consistent between the two translation directions. This is shown in the first two rows of Table 1 and 2.

A notable difference between the translation directions, apart from sample size, concerns the proportion of prepositional phrases (other than *s*+instrumental).

This is largely an effect of standardized phrases in original (and translations of) stage directions in Chekhov plays and could presumably be considered noise. Therefore, the category will not be discussed in the paper, although it did not show independence from the (in)alienability parameter.¹² Other differences between the translation directions will be briefly touched upon in the relevant sections. The following are examples of instances in which the translation direction seems to influence the results: the proportion of alienables in the first parts of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions correlating with perfective converb constructions (Section 3.2.1); the proportion of unipartite *s*+instrumental constructions correlating with Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with alienables in the first part and inalienables in the second part (Section 3.2.1); the proportion of Russian other verbal (mostly finite) constructions correlating with Swedish *med*-constructions with alienables in both parts (Section 3.2.2).

The results were further validated using a χ -squared test of independence, which showed highly significant results. The Russian source texts: $\chi^2(10) = 104.7$, $p < 0.001$; The Russian target texts: $\chi^2(12) = 217.42$, $p < 0.001$.¹³

In the following sections, 3.1 – 3.2.3, the analysis and discussion are divided into subsections based on the (in)alienability of the first parts of the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions. These sections are further subdivided according to the (in)alienability of the second parts.¹⁴ For reasons of space, the constructions with first parts for which the (in)alienability is non-applicable (n.a.) are left out of the discussion. Not all Russian correspondence categories are discussed, again for reasons of space. The focus is on the Russian correspondence categories mentioned in the introduction, i.e., perfective converb constructions, bare instrumental constructions, other verbal constructions (which mostly includes finite verbs but also some implicit verbs, null copulas and infinitives) and *s*+instrumental constructions. These are the correspondence categories that show least independence from the (in)alienability parameter when the first part of the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions is concerned. Although the category «other verbal constructions» does show independence from the (in)alienability parameter when the (in)alienability of the first part is concerned, finite constructions stand out as the most frequent Russian correspondence type when both parts of the Swedish *med*-constructions contain alienables (see Section 3.2.2). In Section 4, the largest correspondence categories are compared to each other and discussed in relation to research on English *with*-constructions.

¹²There are no fewer than 15 occurrences of *сквозь слезы* ‘through tears’ and one with *в слезах* ‘in tears’ in the Russian source texts, all from Chekhov plays. These are mostly translated as *med tårar i ögonen* ‘with tears in her eyes’, but also *med gråten i halsen* ‘with a lump in her throat (literally: with the crying in the throat)’.

¹³ Some of the smallest categories needed to be merged in order to carry out the test (there must not be any cells with an expected frequency below zero and no more than 20% of the cells should have an expected frequency below 5). This was carried out for the three smallest categories in Table 1, and the two smallest categories in Table 2. To avoid the error messages in the software, *r*, due to expected frequencies below 5 (in less than 20%) the Pearson's Chi-squared test was, furthermore, performed with a simulated p-value (based on 2000 replicates); the result was a p-value of 0.0004998 for both samples. The effect size was measured using Cramer's V, which was 0.55 for the Swedish target texts and 0.488 for the Swedish source texts. The effect sizes are strong considering the degrees of freedom, 10 and 12, respectively. Future corpora with more text may better enable significance tests to be carried out without such adjustment. It is possible that another way to treat the n.a. category should also be considered. To satisfy the assumption that the observations should be independent from each other, only one bipartite *med*-construction per text excerpt was tallied, as the *med*-constructions often appear in coordination with other *med*-constructions.

¹⁴ Such (in)alienability-combinations need larger samples if they are to be tested for significance, as many of the frequencies were low, specifically for the n.a. category.

3.1. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with inalienables in the first part. The strong correlation between the occurrence of inalienables in the first (subject) part of the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions and Russian (primarily perfective) converb constructions, as shown in Table 1 and 2, is in line with what has been shown in studies investigating Russian correspondences to English absolute constructions. Recker (2007 [1974], p. 113) found that English absolute constructions that have inalienables as subjects (i.e., first parts) regularly correspond to Russian converb constructions. Orekhova *et al.* (2019, p. 120) likewise found that English «logically one-subject absolute constructions» can be translated by means of Russian converbs.

The correlation has also been shown within the Russian language. Vaseva-Kadynkova (1961, p. 22) observed that inalienables as objects of converbs may alter the meaning of perfective converb constructions from relative tense (anteriority) to resultant state meaning, making the converb constructions equivalent to comitative constructions:

(6) Russian (Vaseva-Kadynkova 1961, p. 22, English translation, italics and glosses added).

- a. он вышел, опустив *шторы.*
 he exited lower (PFV):CVB curtains[ACC]
 (т.е. опустил шторы и пошел [sic!])
 ‘That is, pulled down the curtains and went.’
- b. Он вышел, опустив *руки.*
 he exited:PFV lower(PFV):CVB arms/hands[ACC]
 (т. е. вышел с опущенными вниз руками.)
 ‘That is, went out with his arms down.’

For (6), it seems like the inalienability feature of *ruki* is the sole distinguishing trait that determines the interpretation of (6b) as a resultant state instead of an anterior action, which is a necessary interpretation of (6a).

3.1.1 Inalienables + inalienables with *her hands on her back*

Table 3. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + inalienable + P + inalienable]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
perfective converb constructions	17	61%	perfective converb constructions	45	74%
other verbal constructions	4	14%	imperfective converb constructions	8	13%
imperpective converb constructions	3	11%	other verbal constructions	2	3%
prepositional phrases (other than s)	2	7%	omissions or rephrasings	2	3%
bare instrumental constructions	2	7%	s+instrumental constructions	1	2%
			prepositional phrases (other than s)	1	2%
			bare instrumental constructions	1	2%
			adjectives adverbs participles	1	2%
Total	28	100%	Total	61	100%

The figures in Table 3 show that the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with inalienables in both parts category largely correlate with perfective converb constructions.

- (7) a. Russian (Lermontov)
 Он лежал в первой комнате на постели,
подложив одну руку под затылок [...].
 under.put(PFV):CVB one:ACC hand:ACC under neck:ACC

b. Swedish

Han låg i det främre rummet utsträckt på sin säng,

med ena handen under nacken [...].

with the one hand:DEF under neck:DEF

‘He was lying in the front room, outstretched on his bed, with one hand under his neck [...].’

The Russian perfective converb constructions corresponding to the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + inalienable + inalienable] mostly contain transitive converbs with nominal objects in accusative case (7), or less frequently, reflexive converb forms (8).

(8) a. Swedish (Axelsson)

[...] hon lutar sig över koppen *med handen över pannan* och bävar.

with hand:DEF over forehead:DEF

b. Russian

[...] она склоняется над чашкой, *упершись лбом в ладонь*, и дрожит.

lean (PFV):CVB:REFL forehead:INS on palm_of_hand:ACC

‘[...] She bends forward over her cup with her hand on her forehead, shaking.’

In some instances, the Swedish second part corresponds to the Russian accusative object, while the first part corresponds to a bare instrumental with an ordinary instrumental meaning:

(9) a. Russian (Gogol)

«Многие умирали с тех пор», — сказал приказчик и при этом икнул,

заслонив рот слегка рукою, наподобие щитка.

cover(PFV):CVB mouth[ACC] lightly hand:INS

b. Swedish

Det är många som har dött sen dess, sa förvaltaren och hickade härvid lätt,

med handen för munnen.

with hand:DEF for mouth:DEF

‘Many have died since then, said the salesman and while saying this he hiccupped with his hand before his mouth.’

In the material, there were almost no instances of Russian *s*+instrumental constructions corresponding to *med* + inalienable +inalienable. One occurrence of a bipartite *s*+instrumental construction with inalienables in both parts is found in a Russian target text:

(10) a. Swedish (Vallgren)

Ingen sover så elegant som Henriette, tänker han, som en tempeldansös,

med en hand över pannan och munnen formad till en kyss.

with one hand over forehead:DEF and mouth:DEF formed to a kiss.

b. Russian

Никто не спит так красиво, как Генриетта, думает он, она спит,

как танцовщица из храма, как жрица Астарты,

с рукой на лбу и сложенными для поцелуя губами.

with hand:INS on forehead:LOC

‘No one sleeps like Henriette he thinks, like a temple dancer, with her hand on her forehead and her mouth formed into a kiss.’

Because one example is attested, at least in Russian target texts, Russian bipartite *s*+instrumental constructions with inalienables in both parts cannot be considered impossible in Russian.

3.1.2 Inalienables + alienables with her back to the cupboard

Table 4. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + inalienable + P + alienable]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
perfective converb constructions	10	37%	perfective converb constructions	28	38%
bare instrumental constructions	7	26%	bare instrumental constructions	14	19%
imperfective converb constructions	7	26%	imperfective converb constructions	13	18%
other verbal constructions	2	7%	other verbal constructions	11	15%
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	1	4%	<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	3	4%
Total	27	100%	prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	2	3%
			omissions or rephrasings	2	3%
			adjectives adverbs participles	1	1%
			Total	74	100%

Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions denoting body parts that are directed at or placed on non-body parts correspond to several construction types in Russian. Here, the focus will be on perfective converb constructions and bare instrumental constructions. Some *s*+instrumental constructions will be discussed at the end of the section.

The perfective converb constructions are very similar to the constructions denoting inalienables directed at or placed on inalienables (cf. Section 3.1.1):

(11) a. Russian (Tolstoy)

Он стоял, положив руки на спинку сиденья, [...].
 put(PFV):CVB hands[ACC] on back:DIM:ACC seat:GEN

b. Swedish

Han stod nu upp med händerna mot ryggstödet [...].
 with hands:DEF against back_support:DEF

‘He was now standing, with his hands on the back rest of the chair [...].’

Russian perfective converb constructions compete in an interesting way with bare instrumental constructions. The structure [*med* + NP_{inalienable} + P + NP_{alienable}] is the Swedish configuration that most frequently corresponds to Russian bare instrumental constructions in the investigated material:

(12) a. Russian (Lermontov)

[...] станет на самом углу, спиною к пропасти; [...].
 back:INS towards abyss:DAT

b. Swedish

[...] skulle ställa sig där ute i hörnet, med ryggen mot avgrunden [...].
 with back:DEF towards abyss:DEF

‘[...] should place himself in the corner, with his back toward the abyss [...].’

In the bare instrumental constructions, there is a close connection between the matrix verb and the body part positioning.¹⁵ The bare instrumental construction expresses a manner relation; in (12a) the positioning of the back is an integral part of the standing (or rather, placing oneself). The inalienable *спиною* ‘back:INS’

¹⁵ The «matrix verb» is most often a finite verb, but converbs or bare instrumental constructions may also relate to non-finite forms such as infinitives, participles or other converbs.

represents the whole matrix subject. This is not case in (11a), by contrast, where the hand does not represent the whole body. The leaning of the hand is not presented as a manner or way of standing, but rather an accompanying circumstance.¹⁶

Most of the NPs in the bare instrumental construction in the material denote inalienables that have a fixed (or stable) position relative the rest of the body, so that the position of the inalienable tells us something about the position of the whole matrix subject: *спиной* ‘back:INS’ *лицом* ‘face:INS’ *боком* ‘side:INS’ *брюхом* ‘stomach:INS’.¹⁷ The verbs that precede the bare instrumentals are intransitive verbs that denote change of position, but also position verbs like *сидеть* ‘sit’, *стоять* ‘stand’ or motion verbs like *идти* ‘walk’.¹⁸

In certain instances, the perfective converb and the bare instrumental constructions occur together. The converb forms in such examples are derived from reflexive verbs denoting positioning, like *прислонившись* ‘leaning [having leaned herself]’ or *повернувшись* ‘turning [having turned]’, cf. (7b):

(13) a. Russian (Shishkin)

Лежит молча, *отвернувшись* *лицом* к *стене*, [...].
away.turn(PFV):CVB:REFL face:INS towards wall:DAT

b. Swedish

Han ligger där knäpptyst, *med ansiktet* *mot* *väggen*, [...].
with face:DEF towards wall:DEF

‘He is lying silently, facing the wall [...].’

Such instances (4 occurrences in the Russian source texts, 6 occurrences in the Russian target texts) are tallied as perfective converb constructions in the figures in Table (1) – (4), although both the reflexive converb form and the bare instrumental contribute to the correspondence to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions. It should be noted that this usage of bare instrumental NPs differs from the instrumental use in, e.g., (9a).¹⁹

The investigation shows a very low frequency of Russian *s*+instrumental constructions with inalienables in the first part. Some of these are (syntactically) unipartite, whereas other are bipartite.²⁰ The following example shows that participles within comitatives may occur postposed (*окрашенными* ‘coloured’, *обожжёнными* ‘burnt’) as well as preposed (*повязанными* ‘tied’) in Russian:²¹

¹⁶ It is not always possible to delineate the meanings of manner and accompanying circumstances, as the positioning of body parts may influence the manner of performing the eventuality denoted by the matrix verb to varying degrees, cf. Fabricius-Hansen (2007).

¹⁷ Moreover, inalienables that can change their position relative the rest of the body function as representatives of the whole body when used in ways similar to the constructions mentioned in this section, cf. the locutions *вверх ногами* ‘upside down’ *вперёд ногами* ‘feet first’.

¹⁸ Janda and Clancy (2002, p. 27) commented on a similar example [...] *Коля лежит безмолвный, носом в потолок* ‘Kolja is lying speechless, (with) his nose to the ceiling’: «[...] the nose indicates a direction for action in such a vivid way that no verb (hold, point, move?) is needed». In examples like (13a), by contrast, such a verb (a result of a turning move) is present in converb form.

¹⁹ The division of labour between *s*+instrumental and bare instrumental forms deserves further research; (8), (9) and (12) represent differing usages of bare instrumental forms.

²⁰ Moreover, also Swedish has constructions with (preposed) participial attributes that are equivalent to bipartite *med*-constructions in that they convey temporary properties that are restricted by the duration of the finite verbs, e.g., *står med böjt huvud* ‘is standing with bowed head’ (cf. Fabricius-Hansen Haug and Sæbø, 2012, p. 74ff; Hasselgård, 2012, p. 248ff, on Norwegian). In such Swedish constructions, the participles/adjectives and nouns have bare indefinite form. The lack of determiners may signal that the properties are temporary.

²¹ Michailov (2012, p. 178) mentioned this type of Russian comitative constructions (e.g., unipartite constructions with attributive participles that denote non-permanent properties), also noting their affinity with converb constructions. Arxipov (2009, p. 209) compared such Russian comitatives to French

(14) a. Russian (Gorky)

[...] он, дядья и работники приходили в кухню из мастерской, усталые, с руками, окрашенными сандалом, обожжёнными купоросом, с повязанными тесёмкой волосами, [...].
 with hands:INS coloured:INS sandal:INS burnt:INS vitriol:INS
 with tied:INS ribbon:INS hairs:INS

b. Swedish

[...] han, morbröderna och gesällerna kom in från verkstaden för att få sitt te — trötta, med händerna röda av sandel och brända av vitriol och med bindlar om håret, [...].
 with hands:DEF red of sandal and burnt of vitriol
 with ribbons around hair:DEF

‘He, the uncles and the novices arrived from the workshop to get their tea — tired, with their hands red from sandal and burnt by vitriol, and with ribbons in their hair [...].’

The material also contains examples with Russian bipartite *med*-constructions with PP second parts:

(15) a. Swedish (Boye)

[...] och där låg han nu med benet i sträck [...].
 with leg:DEF in traction

b. Russian

[...] и вот теперь он лежал там со сломанной ногой на вытяжке [...].
 with broken:INS leg:INS on traction:LOC
 ‘[...] and there he was lying with his leg in traction [...].’

The examples in the material thus show that even though there is a strong dispreference for Russian comitative constructions as correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with inalienables in the first part (as shown in Table 1 and 2), such examples are attested and by no means ruled out.

3.1.3 Inalienables + non-applicable with her arms crossed

Table 5. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + inalienable + P + n.a.]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
perfective converb constructions	10	50%	perfective converb constructions	19	61%
adjectives participles adverbs	6	30%	adjectives adverbs participles	4	13%
imperfective converb constructions	2	10%	other verbal constructions imperfective converb constructions	3	10%
s+instrumental constructions	1	5%	imperfective converb constructions	2	6%
other verbal constructions	1	5%	bare instrumental constructions	1	3%
Total	20	100%	s+instrumental constructions	1	3%
			omissions or rephrasings	1	3%
			Total	31	100%

absolute constructions. To the best of my knowledge, the word order variant (rather than contrast) with postnominal participles like *с руками, окрашенными сандалом* ‘with their hands burnt by sandal’ has not been discussed in the literature. Such examples are beyond the scope of the present study, which focuses on comitatives with prepositional phrases.

The query of the investigation [*med* + noun + preposition + noun] does not elicit bipartite *med*-constructions with second parts that refer to things other than locations. Some Swedish idiomatic expressions with PP form are, however, less location like, particularly when nouns that could not be defined as inalienables or alienables are examined. Many of the examples represented in Table 5 are highly idiomatic: *med armarna i kors* ‘arms crossed’ (literally ‘med arms:DEF in cross’), *med huvudet på sned* ‘head aslant’, *med ögonen på skaft* ‘attentive’ (Literally ‘with eyes:DEF on shafts’), *med pannan i veck* ‘frowned forehead’ (literally: ‘with the forehead in folds’), etc. The largest correspondence category of these examples is perfective converb constructions:

(16) a. Russian (Shishkin)

Папа лежал в гробу, сложив руки, как паинька.
fold(PFV):CVB arms[ACC]

b. Swedish

Pappa låg i kistan med armarna i kors som en duktig pojke.
with arms:DEF in cross

‘Dad was lying in the coffin with his arms crossed, like a good boy.’

(16a) violates the demand that the implicit controller of the converb form be co-referential with the matrix subject. (The deceased grandfather had probably not crossed his arms himself.) This may be analysed as a comic effect. Results from involuntary actions are better expressed with preposed passive participles in Russian:

(17) a. Swedish (Edelfeldt)

Jag kan ännu minnas hur hon satt där, insmord med sot och
med håret på ända, [...].
with hair:DEF on end

b. Russian

До сих пор помню, как она сидит там вся в саже,
с растрепанными волосами [...].
with dishevelled:INS hairs:INS

‘I can still remember how she was sitting there, smeared with soot and with her hair standing on end [...].’

3.2. Russian correspondences to Swedish *med*-constructions with alienables in the first part. The largest dividing line in the investigation is between inalienables or alienables in the first part. As shown in Section 3.1 – 3.1.3, inalienables in the first part are characteristic of the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that correlate with Russian perfective converb constructions or bare instrumental constructions. By contrast, *med*-constructions with alienables in the first parts largely correlate with Russian *s*+instrumental constructions.

In previous studies of Russian correspondences to English absolutes (e.g., Recker, 2007 [1974], p. 113) and studies of English absolutes (e.g., Kortmann, 1991, p. 91ff), the (in)alienability of the first part has been an important parameter, whereas the (in)alienability of the second part has not attracted much attention. Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2012, p. 21), however, state that the pertinence restriction of closed adjuncts can also be satisfied by, e.g., inalienables or anaphors in the second part.

The results of the present investigation show that the position of the in(alienable) in Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions is of considerable importance for the distribution of Russian correspondences in both translation directions.

3.2.1. Alienable + inalienable *with a glass in her hand*Table 6. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + alienable + P + inalienable]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	31	49%	<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	109	56%
prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	19	30%	other verbal constructions	26	13%
other verbal constructions	5	8%	imperfective converb constructions	21	11%
imperfective converb constructions	3	5%	perfective converb constructions	20	10%
omissions or rephrasings	3	5%	prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	13	7%
perfective converb constructions	2	3%	omissions or rephrasings	4	2%
Total	63	100%	bare instrumental constructions	1	1%
			Total	194	100%

As shown in Table 1 and 2, the bulk of the Russian comitative constructions has alienables in the first part, e.g., *с фонарем в руке* ‘with a/the lantern in his hand’. Table 6 further shows that these largely correspond to Swedish *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + alienable + inalienable], such that the constructions refer to entities that are held, carried or worn on the bodies of the matrix subjects: *со стаканом в руке* ‘with a glass in his hand’; *с гармоникой под мышкой* ‘with an accordion under his arm’; *с колечком на пальце* ‘with the ring on her finger’. Inalienables in the second part preclude the risk of syntactic ambiguity, i.e., interpreting the second part as a normal adverbial location of both the matrix subject and the first part, cf. (5), as the matrix subject in, e.g., (18b) is unlikely to be (co-)located in her own hand.

Most of these *s*+instrumental constructions are bipartite and have PP second parts, mirroring the Swedish constructions. In the Russian source texts, however, the proportion of unipartite *s*+instrumental constructions is higher than in the Russian target texts.²² The second parts of the *med*-constructions of [*med/s* + N_{alienable} + P + N_{inalienable}] could often be omitted. In example (18b), the second part *i handen* ‘in (her) hand’ is added to the Swedish translation. In constructions of this type, the PP part of the constructions is generally inferable from world knowledge, i.e., if someone enters with a candle, the candle can be assumed to be located in that person’s hand.

(18) a. Russian (Chekhov)

Входит Марина *со* *свечой*.
with a candle:INS

b. Swedish

Marina kommer in *med ett ljus i handen*.
with a candle in hand:DEF

‘Marina enters with a candle in her hand.’

While the second part is often omissible in Russian *s*+instrumental constructions, an omission of the second part of, e.g., (18b) in Swedish may entail an interpretation of delivering the candle. The second part may also serve to

²² Of the examples in Table 6, 12 out of 109 of the Russian target text *s*+instrumental constructions are unipartite, of these 2 have attributes corresponding to the second part; among the Russian source text *s*+instrumental constructions, 9 out of 31 are unipartite, and one of these examples has an attribute that corresponds to the second part.

distinguish comitative *med* ‘with’ from instrumental *med* in Swedish, cf. Eriksson (2010, p. 58).²³

Med-constructions with the structure [*med* + NP_{alienable} + P + NP_{inalienable}] typically have second part PPs that are omissible in the sense that the remaining comitative construction is well formed. In certain instances, however, the location denoted by the PP is not inferable:

(19) a. Russian (Chekhov)

Маша в черном платье, со шляпкой на коленях сидит и читает книжку, [...].
with hat:DIM:INS on knees:LOC

b. Swedish

MASJA, i svart klänning, sitter med hatten i knät och läser en bok; [...].
with hat:DEF in knee:DEF

‘Masha, in a black dress, is sitting with her hat on her lap, reading, [...].’

In this instance, the location is not in accordance with world knowledge (the unmarked position of the hat is on the head). Such examples do not seem to be anomalous instances of Russian comitative constructions. An interesting difference from (1) is that, while the first part NP in (19b) has definite form, the first part NP in (1a) has (bare) indefinite form. This results in the effect that the hat in (19b) is interpreted as the hat Masha wears the same day, whereas the shorts in (1a) are not the pair that the grandfather wears the same day — as a definite form may imply. The bare indefinite form also indicates a generic reading of *kalsonger* ‘shorts’.

A detour into the exceptions to the general pattern is motivated also for the Swedish *med*-constructions with alienables in the first part. There are very few instances of alienables in the first parts of Swedish *med*-constructions that correspond to perfective converb constructions in Russian source texts. There is one sole occurrence of an alienable entity as an (accusative) object of a perfective converb constructions in the Russian source texts.²⁴

(20) a. Russian (Shishkin)

[...] устроюсь в постели с книжкой,
Положив к ногам кошку, как грелку.
put(PFV):CVB towards knees:DAT cat:ACC as hot_water_bottle:ACC

b. Swedish

[...] sätter mig till rätta i sängen med en bok och
med katten på fötterna som envärmedyna.
with cat:DEF on feet:DEF as a_warmth.cushion

‘[...] (I) settle down in the bed with a book and with the cat on my feet, like a hot water bottle.’

A difference between Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions and Russian resultative converb construction is that the latter presupposes agentivity from

²³ The same holds for English: If, for example, one would like to express something like *I opened the door with a candle in my hand*, an omission of *in my hand* may result in the interpretation that the candle is an opening device.

²⁴ The second occurrence in Table 6 is a result of a translation manoeuvre in which an accusative object denoting an inalienable in the Russian source text example *заткнув ноздри ватой* ‘having stuffed his nostrils with cotton’ corresponds to the second (PP) part instead of the first part in the Swedish target text example: *med bomullstussar i näsborrarna* ‘with cotton balls in his nostrils’. (The same manoeuvre is found in (9), above). The Swedish source text sample contains a larger proportion of first part alienables than the Swedish target text sample, cf. Table 1 and 2. Translation transformations may partly explain this, along with the presence of non-fictional texts in the Swedish source text sample.

the matrix subject. The Russian cat in (20a) has been placed there by the matrix subject, whereas the Swedish cat in (20b) might have walked there itself.

There are more occurrences of alienables in perfective converb constructions in the Russian target texts than in the Russian source texts. In certain instances, the alienables denote entities that are being held or carried:

(21) a. Swedish (Delblanc)

[...] en parvel som tultade förbi *med en leksaksbil i famnen.*
with a toy_car in fathom:DEF

b. Russian

[...] малыша, который, переваливаясь, проходил мимо,
прижав к себе игрушечный автомобиль.
press[CVB] towards self:DAT toy:ADJ[ACC] car[ACC]
‘[...] a little boy that was toddling about with a toy car in his arms.’

In these instances, verbs with meanings of taking, grabbing or pressing concrete entities are used (e.g., *прижав к себе Юханну* ‘pressing [having pressed] Johanna close to himself’, *ухватив коробки обеими руками* ‘grabbing [having grabbed] the boxes with two hands’, *сжав тряпку* ‘[having grabbed] holding the cloth’, *прижав трубку к уху* etc. ‘pressing [having pressed] the telephone receiver to her ear’, etc.). These constructions compete with Russian comitative constructions. Similar constructions can be attested in Russian original text in the Russian national corpus and cannot be considered only a translation effect, although there are more such instances in the Russian target texts than in the Russian source texts of the present investigation, cf. the figures for perfective converb constructions in Table 6.

In other instances, the use of converb forms with alienable NPs as (accusative) objects are more similar to the uses of perfective converbs along with inalienables:

(22) a. Swedish (Delblanc)

Generaladjutanten sov orubbligt stående på ett ben och *med hatten på näsan.*
with hat:DEF on nose:DEF

b. Russian

Генерал-адъютант спал, непоколебимо стоя на одной ноге,
надвинув шляпу на нос.
on.pull[CVB]:PFV hat:ACC on nose[ACC]
‘The general adjutant was sleeping, firmly standing on one leg and with his hat over his nose.’

In (22), the alienable *hatten* ‘the hat’ functions on par with inalienables (in Swedish the definite form may be used without prior mentioning of the entity in such instances), cf. (19). The resultant state converb construction has often been described as involving clothing pieces and other entities that can be used on par with inalienables (e.g., Akimova and Kozinceva 1987, p. 261).

The Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with alienable first parts that correlate with Russian perfective converb constructions invariably have inalienables in the second parts (in his *hands*, on his *nose*, etc.); it therefore seems like the body is an important parameter for perfective converb constructions with resultant state meaning, regardless of where in the construction reference to inalienables is found. Reference to the body can be found in positional or directional prepositional phrases, e.g., *к уху* ‘to [my] ear’; verbs with the meaning of grabbing *сжав* ‘pressing [having pressed]’; in reflexive converb forms, and in the accusative or instrumental nouns denoting inalienables, which were described in Section 3.1. –

3.1.3. When the result of a (possibly anterior) eventuality follows along with the body, the resultative state meaning, rather than an anteriority meaning, is triggered. The resultative state converb construction therefore seems to be dependent on a similar kind of pertinence restriction as closed adjuncts, e.g., Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions (cf. Fabricius-Hansen and Haug, 2012, p. 22ff).

3.2.2 Alienable + alienables with a bucket beside the bed; with Putin at the helm in Moscow

Table 7. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + alienable + P + alienable]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	3	75%	other verbal constructions	11	52%
prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	1	25%	<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	7	33%
Total	4	100%	prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	2	10%
			imperfective converb constructions	1	5%
			Total	21	100%

In the present material, there are not many examples completely without inalienables (apart from the n.a. instances.): 4 Swedish target text examples and 21 Swedish source text examples. Only tentative conclusions can be drawn from this limited material. While «other verbal» constructions do not show any (in)alienability patterns when the first part alone is considered (see Table 1 and 2), there seems to be less independence from the (in)alienability variable when the (in)alienability of both parts is considered. In the Russian target texts, «other verbal constructions», (mostly constructions with finite verbs), constitute the most frequent Russian correspondence type when both parts contain alienables.

There are 3 instances in Russian source texts, and 7 instances in Russian target texts, of Russian bipartite *s*+instrumental constructions without inalienables. In all of these *s*+instrumental constructions, there is some kind of spatial co-presence: either direct attachment, where the alienable in one of the parts denotes a garment that is attached to the body of the matrix subject: *с топором за поясом* ‘with an/the axe in (behind) his belt’, or mediated attachment to the body: *с письмом под подушкой* ‘with the letter under her pillow’. In one Russian source text example, there is a detachment between the matrix subject and the alienable entity.

(23) a. Russian (Shishkin)

[...] лежу часами *с тазом около кровати.*
 with bucket:INS near bed:GEN

b. Swedish

[...] ligger timme efter timme *med en hink bredvid sängen.*
 with a bucket besides bed:DEF
 ‘[...] I’m lying for hours with a bucket close to the bed.’

In (23), the bed is the bed that the matrix subject is lying in, the bucket is located in the sphere of the matrix subject. The example does not seem to invite an interpretation of the matrix subject lying on the floor beside the bed with his bucket, although the risk of a syntactic ambiguity like that in (5) is present. Presumably, the Russian comitative construction, unlike the Swedish, demands that the co-present entity denoted by the NP in the first part be located in the immediate sphere of the matrix subject.

In the present material, the most frequent correspondence type of the Swedish source text *med*-constructions with alienables in both parts is Russian finite clauses. In (24a), two entirely separate states of affairs are related in a way that causes the situation in the *med*-construction to function as an adverbial time frame for the matrix situation. This is made explicit in the Russian translation (24b).

(24) a. Swedish (Israelsson)

[...] *med Putin vid rodret i Moskva* är det viktigt för Sverige att spionera i Ryssland.
with Putin at helm:DEF in Moscow

b. Russian

[...] *когда в Москве у руля стоит Путин*,
when in Moscow:LOC at helm:GEN stands(IPFV) Putin

Швеции важно тоже [sic!] вести шпионскую деятельность в России.

‘[...] with Putin at the helm in Moscow it is important for Sweden to carry on espionage in Russia.’

Eriksson (2010, p. 55), following Körner (1956, p. 153ff), distinguished between «predicative» and «adverbial» uses of *med*-constructions («nexuspredikativ» vs. «nexusadverbial»). Likewise, Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2012, p. 59) distinguished between «depictive» and «adverbial» uses of closed adjuncts.²⁵ The pertinence constraint is stronger for the depictive use than for the adverbial use (cf. Fabricius-Hansen *et al.*, 2012, p. 72). There is no part/whole or other coreference relation between the two states of affairs in, e.g., (24). The only relation is posed by the construction itself. Example (1) and (4) (and most of the examples in the present paper) exemplify the «depictive» (predicative) use, in which the time of the matrix verb/clause restricts the temporal duration for which the state/temporary property expressed in the *med*-construction holds true for the (matrix) subject. Thus, in an example like *he is walking with his arms on his back*, the arms are claimed to be on his back while he is walking. «Adverbial» use, in which the relation is the reverse, is exemplified in (5) or (24): The *when* (-clause) implied by the *med/with*-constructions, and explicated as *когда* ‘when’ in the Russian translation, restricts the time for which the claim in the following clause holds. In (24), the need for espionage is claimed to occur when Putin is at the helm in Moscow. «Adverbial» *med*- (or *with*-) constructions normally express condition or some kind of temporal condition. The clauses with finite verbs that are conditioned by the adverbial *med*-constructions typically contain modal verbs like *kan* ‘can’ or logical operators of various sorts (cf., e.g., Fabricius-Hansen *et al.*, 2012, p. 86ff).

Even though adverbial use is attested for Russian comitative constructions (cf. Nichols, 1978, p. 124 *с сахаром этот чай невкусный* ‘with sugar, this tea isn’t good’), this usage is probably less conventionalized in Russian than in English or Swedish.

Constructions with animate nouns in the first parts and alienable nouns in the second part may correspond to finite verbs rather than *s*+instrumental constructions, even when they are used predicatively (as depictives) rather than adverbially. In example (4), repeated here as (25), co-presence of the husband is expressed with the finite form *сидел* ‘was sitting’ in Russian.

²⁵ Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2012, p. 59) used the term «depictive», whereas Körner (1956) and Eriksson (2010) used the term «predicative» (Swedish «predikativ»). Arhipov (2009, p. 206) used the parallel Russian term «копредикативный» ‘co-predicative’.

(25) a. Swedish (Enqvist)

Kvinnan Haubinger satt vid min ankomst i sängen

med sin man vid fotändan [...].

with POSS man at foot.end:DEF

b. Russian

Я застал пациентку в постели;

в изножье кровати сидел ее муж [...].

in foot.end:LOC bed:GEN sat(IPFV) her husband

‘At my arrival the Haubinger woman was sitting in her bed with her husband at the foot end [...].’

There are not enough examples of Russian comitatives with two alienables in the investigations to draw any reliable conclusions. But judging from the correspondence patterns in the present material, it seems that adverbial usages of comitatives are less conventionalized in Russian and that predicative uses of comitatives should conform to the pattern of the bulk of the Russian comitatives (*s*+instrumental constructions with alienables in the first part and inalienables in the second part). If an alienable noun is not followed by an inalienable noun in the second part, the person denoted by this noun should not have too much independence (or animacy), like the husband in (4) has. Nor should the person be too remote from the matrix subject. Two parameters are thus important for Russian bipartite *s*+instrumental constructions: proximity and dependence; if an entity is too remote from the matrix subject or too independent (like animate beings), other constructions are preferred. The presence of inalienables in either part guarantees proximity, and the presence of inalienables in the first part guarantees dependence.

3.2.3 Alienables + non applicable with the courier for company

Table 8. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with the structure [*med* + alienable + P + n.a.]

Russian source texts			Russian target texts		
<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	2	50%	<i>s</i> +instrumental constructions	7	50%
omissions or rephrasings	1	25%	other verbal constructions	4	29%
prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	1	25%	imperfective converb constructions	2	14%
Total	4	100%	prepositional phrases (other than <i>s</i>)	1	7%
			Total	14	100%

Some alienables are followed by prepositional phrases that do not indicate locations but other kinds of relations, such as *i beredskap* ‘in readiness, *i släptåg* ‘in tow’. Various means are employed for translating such phrases in Russian, but *s*+instrumental constructions are more frequent than other types in the present material.

(26) a. Swedish (Tunström)

När hon efter tre kvart återkom från sovrummet, *med far i släptåg*, [...].

with father in tow

b. Russian

Когда минут через сорок пять Рагнхильд вернулась из спальни,

с отцом в кильватере, [...].

with father:INS in wake:LOC

‘When she returned after 45 minutes with [my] father in tow, [...].’

In (26), the second part PP indicates a certain degree of dependence on behalf of the father.

(27) a. Swedish (Axelsson)

Margareta tändar en cigarett och böjer sig fram över köksbordet
med tändaren i beredskap.
with lighter:DEF in preparedness

b. Russian

Маргарета закуривает и перегибается через кухонный стол
с зажигалкой наготове.
with lighter:INS in.readyness

‘Margareta lights a cigarette and bends over the kitchen table with her lighter in readiness.’

The Russian target text examples in (26) and (27) may be influenced by the Swedish source texts.

4. Discussion. The broad tendency shown in Table 1 and 2 is the non-independence from the (in)alienability parameter for the distribution of Russian perfective converb constructions and comitatives as correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions. This pattern is interesting because it sheds light on the discussion about the clause-like behaviour of bipartite comitatives.

Sakakibara (1982) discussed English *with*-constructions with the structure [*with* NP PP] and found that some of them are not bipartite. Sakakibara claimed that this group had omittable second parts:

(28) English (Sakakibara, 1982, p. 84, italics added.)

a. John stood firm on the deck *with a gaping wound across his chest.*

b. He stood *with a pipe in his mouth.*

c. Tanaka emerged from the car downtown *with a tense, frozen smile on his face.*

d. He came *with a hat on.*

These examples were contrasted to another series of examples in which the second part, according to Sakakibara, could be omitted:

(29) English (Sakakibara, 1982, p. 84, italics added.)

a. They stood *with their hats off.*

b. He stood *with his back to the fire.*

c. He sat down *with his back against a tree.*

Sakakibara concluded that the *with*-constructions in the second series (29) were equivalent to clauses, whereas the examples in the first series (28) were not. The examples in the first series were, by contrast, «possessive» and their second parts were not predicates but «secondary locations of possession». Sakakibara argued that the possessive group had a close relationship with the verb *have*, whereas the second group had a «direct and productive relationships to corresponding sentences with the copula» (Sakakibara, 1982, p. 84; cf. van Riemsdijk, 1978; McCawley, 1982, who mainly focused on adverbial *with*-constructions, which were treated separately by Sakakibara).

In light of the present study, the following observations of Sakakibara’s two types of *with*-constructions can be made: 1) all of the nouns in the first part of the «possessive» *with*-constructions (28) have indefinite articles and are alienables or non-applicable regarding (in)alienability; 2) all the nouns in the second part of the «possessive» group are inalienables, although in (28d) this inalienable

is implicit; 3) all of the first parts of the *with*-constructions in (29) have possessive pronouns, two of the nouns are inalienables and the alienable in (29a) can be seen as presupposed from world knowledge and consequently used on par with inalienables;²⁶ 4) two of the examples, (29b) and (29c), would be expressed with bare instrumental constructions in Russian, possibly in combination with reflexive perfective converb forms, cf. (12a), (13a). These observations contribute to the impression that there is a clear similarity between the «possessive» group, (28), and the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that correspond to Russian *s*+instrumental constructions, and likewise a clear similarity between the *with*-constructions in (29) and the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that correspond to Russian perfective converb constructions or bare instrumental constructions.

An additional observation is that even though *have* may result in better paraphrases than *be* for the *with*-constructions in 28, a *there*-insertion makes the copula acceptable in a paraphrase:

- (30) English (Sakakibara, 1982, p. 84, example (30d) and italics added)
- a. John stood firm on the deck *with gaping wound across his chest*.
 - b. *A gaping wound *was* across his chest.
 - c. John *had* a gaping wound across his chest.
 - d. *There was* a gaping wound across his chest.²⁷

These observations, along with the observations in the present study, suggest that the fundamental difference between Sakakibara's two groups is not about whether the comitatives are bipartite or not, rather the difference is ontological. The examples in (28) and the bipartite *med*-constructions that correspond to Russian *s*+instrumental constructions present *entities* as co-present with the matrix, whereas the examples in (29) or the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that correspond to Russian perfective converb constructions present *eventualities* (resultant states/temporary properties) or manners as co-occurring with the matrix.

Stolz *et al.* (2006, p. 20) described comitatives as having (an implicit) predicative function of asserting that something exists in the same place: «and (x) is there, in the same place too» (cf. Coseriu, 1970, p. 218-220; Seiler, 1974, p. 220). The bipartite *med*-constructions with inalienables do not conform to this pattern, as inalienables are inherently co-present. Rather, the location is in focus in such constructions. The difference between the two types can thus be analysed as a difference of focus. If the first part is in focus, the constructions serve to present an entity as co-present (Swedish: *med ETT GLAS i handen*; Russian *со стаканом в руке* 'with A GLASS in her hand'); if the second part is in focus, the constructions serve to present a co-occurring eventuality, a resultant state (Swedish: *med händerna PÅ RYGGEN*; Russian: *зложив руки за спину* 'with her hands ON HER BACK').

The Swedish or English bipartite comitatives of the first type, (28), which serve to present co-present entities, conform to the pattern of comitatives outlined by Stolz *et al.* (2006, p. 20). It can be argued that because they constitute a border phenomenon, they provide a missing link between the phenomena of comitatives and (augmented) absolutes. The location is explicated, whereas the co-presence remains implicit. As the focus is on the entity, the construction is, moreover,

²⁶ Cf. (17) and (19), which show that Swedish *hatten* 'hat:DEF' may correspond to *s*+instrumental constructions as well as perfective converb constructions in Russian.

²⁷ The idea of the relationship with the verb *have* also falls short when Russian and other languages that use periphrastic possessive constructions are considered: *у него на груди (была) открытая рана* (at him on chest (was) open wound) 'he had an open wound across his chest'.

perceived as more stative, and accordingly less predicative, than the constructions in which the focus is on the location.²⁸

The two types of constructions mentioned here, the ones that present entities and the ones that present eventualities (resultant states or temporary properties), represent prototypical instances. In the present material, there are many intermediate instances, e.g., entities that have been mentioned before in context, but that are not used on par with inalienables.

(31) a Russian (Shishkin)

УВИДЕЛ ее и замер	с	валиком	в	руке.
	with	roller:INS	in	hand:LOC
Fick syn på henne och stelnade till	med	penseln	i	handen.
	with	paint_brush:DEF	in	hand:DEF

‘I saw her and froze, with the paint brush/roller in my hand.’

In (31), both the presence and the location of the entity may be in focus. Likewise, perfect converb constructions may be used to present co-present entities, cf. (21), although this is an exception to the main pattern.

Notwithstanding the non-prototypical instances, the presents study shows that bipartite Russian *s*+instrumental constructions largely conform to the characteristics of comitatives (co-presence, same place *with a glass in my hand*), whereas it is well known that Swedish or English bipartite comitatives may violate this pattern, using the predicative potential residing in the comitative structure to predicate resultant states (*with my arms on my back*), distant places (*with Putin at the helm in Moscow*) or even absence (*with both of us absent*, Jespersen, 1951, p. 124).

5. Conclusions. As a result of the contrastive investigation, four prototypical classes of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions of the form [*med* + NP + PP] emerge. The four classes can be said to convey different ontological types: 1) co-presence of entities, 2) co-occurrence of eventualities, i.e., states/properties, 3) manner, and 4) co-occurrence of states of affairs.

The class of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that convey co-presence of (primarily concrete) entities broadly corresponds to Russian comitative (*s*+instrumental) constructions, which constitutes the largest Russian correspondence category in the present investigation. These are either unipartite or bipartite. The Swedish constructions have the structure [*med* + NP_{alienable} + P + NP_{inalienable}]. A typical example is Swedish: *Hon stod på trappan med ett glas i handen* Russian: *она стояла на лестнице, со стаканом в руке* ‘She was standing on the stairs with a glass in her hand’. In such examples, the position of the entity is less relevant than the presence of the entity. The factors, over and above inalienability, which determine which Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions correspond to Russian *s*+instrumental constructions are proximity and dependence, and (presumably) the fact that the comitatives are depictive rather than adverbial.

The class of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that convey co-occurrence of eventualities (states or temporary properties) broadly corresponds to Russian perfective converb constructions with the meaning of resultant states, which constitute the second largest correspondence category of the present investigation. The Swedish constructions have the structure [*med* + NP_{inalienable} + P + NP].

²⁸ An additional observation that sets bipartite comitatives of this type apart from unipartite comitatives is that bipartite comitatives with animates are less compatible with accompaniment or reciprocal relations: ¹*Jag går tillsammans med Anna vid min sida* ‘I’m walking together with Anna by my side’; ²*jag pratar med Anna vid min sida* ‘I’m chatting with Anna by my side’ (Anna cannot be interpreted as the conversation partner), rather they express accompanying circumstances.

A typical example is Swedish: *Hon gick med händerna på ryggen*; Russian: *Она ходила заложив руки за спину* 'She was walking with her hands behind her back'. In such examples, the state or property of the body parts is more important than the presence of them, which is presupposed. The factor, over and above inalienability, which determines which Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions correspond to Russian perfective converb constructions is that the result of an action should follow along with the body.

The class of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that conveys manner primarily corresponds to Russian bare instrumental constructions. The Swedish constructions have the structure [*med* + NP_{inalienable} + P + NP]. A typical example is Swedish: *Han stod med ryggen mot publiken*; Russian: *Он стоял спиной к публике* 'He was standing with his back to the audience'. In such examples, the main message communicated does not concern the back or the audience per se, but the manner of standing or positioning of the body. The factor that differentiates such constructions from perfective converb constructions as correspondences to Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions is that the body parts generally have a fixed or stable position relative to the rest of the body and that the positioning of such body parts is an integral part of the description of the eventuality denoted by the matrix verb.

The class of Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions that convey co-occurring states of affairs primarily corresponds to Russian finite constructions in the present investigation. In the present material, these constructions have the structure [*med* + NP_{alienables} + P + NP_{alienables}]. A typical example is Swedish: [...] *med Putin vid rodret i Moskva är det viktigt för Sverige att spionera i Ryssland*. '[...] with Putin at the helm in Moscow it is important for Sweden to carry on espionage in Russia'; Russian: [...] *когда в Москве у руля стоит Путин, Швеции важно тоже вести шпионскую деятельность в России*. '[...] when Putin stands at the helm in Moscow, Sweden also needs to carry on espionage in Russia.' In such examples, it is not so much the structure of the *med*-construction itself, but its usage to condition another proposition that is the important trait. The factors, over and above inalienability, which determine which Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions correspond to Russian finite construction is either adverbial usage (in contrast to depictive usage) or that the entity denoted by the noun in the first part is independent or remote from the matrix subject.

The contrastive investigation shows that, while Swedish makes broad use of the predicative potential of comitative constructions, the use of bipartite comitatives in Russian seems to be limited to primarily conveying co-presence of entities, e.g., *со стаканом в руке* 'with a glass in [her] hand'. Several exceptions to the prototypical instances are discussed in the paper.

In future research, the impact of proximity and dependence in Russian bipartite comitative constructions should be further investigated. The behaviour of participles within Russian and Swedish comitative constructions is also a field that requires further research. An additional interesting topic concerns the functions of Russian bare instrumental forms.

Бібліографія

- Архипов, А.В. (2009). *Типология комитативных конструкций*. Москва: Знак.
- Акимова, Т.Г., Козинцева, Н.А. (1987). Зависимый таксис (на материале деепричастных конструкций). В Бондарко, А.В. (ред.), *Теория Функциональной Грамматики: Введение. Аспектуальность. Временная локализованность. Таксис* (с. 257–274). Ленинград: Наука.
- Васева-Кадынкова, И. (1961). Деепричастия совершенного вида с перфектным значением. *Русский язык в школе*. 6. 20–24.

- Исакова, Л.С. (2003). *Проблемы перевода абсолютных конструкций*. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук, Московский государственный областной университет.
- Михайлов, Н. (2012). *Творительный падеж в русском языке XVIII века*. PhD Thesis. Uppsala: Uppsala University. Retrieved from <https://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:563667/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.
- Прозоров, В.Г. (1998). *Основы теории и практики перевода с английского языка на русский*. Петрозаводск: Карельская государственная педагогическая академия. Retrieved from <http://kspu-archive.petrsu.ru/ru/structure/faculties/languages/english/7214>.
- Рецкер, Я.И. (2007). *Теория перевода и переводческая практика. Очерки лингвистической теории перевода*. Москва: Р. Валент. Retrieved from http://lib.yusu.am/open_books/311203.pdf.
- Зорихина Нильссон, Н.В. (2001). Русские деепричастные конструкции в зеркале шведского языка (выражение отношения одновременности между действиями). В: A. Barentsen (ed.) *Functional Grammar: Aspect and Aspectuality Tense and Temporality Essays in Honour of Alexander Bondarko* (pp. 143-155). München: Lincom Europa.
- Bjørn B. (1979). Det russiske gerundiums semantiske indhold og dets danske oversættelsesækvivalenter. *Svantevit, dansk tidsskrift for slavistik*. V (1-2). 167-175.
- Borin, L., Forsberg, M., Olsson, L.-J. and Uppström, J. (2012). The open lexical infrastructure of Språkbanken. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'12)*, Istanbul: ELRA. 3598-3602.
- Chappell, H. and McGregor, W. (eds.) (2011). *The Grammar of Inalienability: A Typological Perspective on Body Part Terms and the Part-Whole Relation*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110822137>.
- Coseriu, E. (1969). *Semantik, innere Sprachform und Tiefenstruktur*. Tübingen: Romanisches Seminar. Retrieved from <http://www.romling.uni-tuebingen.de/coseriu/publi/coseriu55.pdf>. <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.1970.4.1-2.53>.
- Eriksson, O. (2010). Den så kallade med-frasen i kontrastiv belysning. *Språk & stil*. 20 (1). 51-80.
- Fabricius Hansen, C. (2007). On Manners and Circumstances. In Nilsen, Appiah, Borthen (eds.), *Interpreting Utterances: Pragmatics and Its Interfaces. Essays in Honour of Thorstein Fretheim* (pp. 39-50). Oslo: NovusEditors. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260985630_On_Manners_and_Circumstances.
- Fabricius-Hansen, C. and Haug, D. (2012). Co-eventive adjuncts: main issues and clarifications. In C. Fabricius-Hansen and D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 21-54). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Fabricius-Hansen, C., Haug, D. and Sæbø, K. (2012). Closed adjuncts: Degrees of pertinence. In C. Fabricius-Hansen and D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 55-91). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Hasselgård, H. (2012). Possessive absolutes in English and their Norwegian correspondences. In C. Fabricius-Hansen and D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 229-258). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Janda, L.A. and Clancy, S.J. (2002). *The Case Book for Russian*. Bloomington: Slavica.
- Jespersen, O. 1951 (1924) *The philosophy of grammar*, London, Allen & Unwin.
- Jespersen, O. (1940). *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Vol. 4. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Kalyuga, M. (2020). *Russian Prepositional Phrases: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach*. Singapore: Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-5216-8>.
- Kortmann, B. (1991). *Free Adjuncts and Absolutes in English: Problems of Control and Interpretation*. London and New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315002880>.
- Krave Filiouchkina M. (2010). *Converbs in contrast: Russian converb constructions and their English and Norwegian Counterparts*. Oslo: Faculty of humanities, University of Oslo.

- König, E., van der Auwera, J. (1990). Adverbial participles, gerunds and absolute constructions in the languages of Europe. In J. Bechert, G. Bernini and C. Buridart (eds.), *Toward a Typology of European Languages* (pp. 337-355). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Körner, R. (1956). Strödda bidrag till komparativ lingvistik IX. *Moderna språk*. 50. 6. 449-463.
- Lakoff, G. (1968). Instrumental adverbs and the concept of deep structure. *Foundations of Language*. 4. 1. 4-29.
- Lundin, K. (2003). *Small Clauses in Swedish: Towards a Unified Account*. PhD Diss. Lund: Department of Scandinavian languages, Lund University. Retrieved from <https://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/4625685/912647.pdf>.
- McCawley, J.D. (1983). What's with with? *Language*. 59. 2. 271-87.
- Nichols, J. (1978). Secondary predicates. *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 114-127.
- Orehkova, E.Yu., Polatovskaya, O.S. and Badelina, M.V. (2019). Analysis of grammatical and stylistic features of translation of English absolute constructions into Russian. *XLinguae European Scientific Language Journal*. Issue 3, Volume 12, 2019. Retrieved from http://www.xlinguae.eu/files/XLinguae3_2019_9.pdf. <https://doi.org/10.18355/XL.2019.12.03.09>.
- Van de Pol, N., Hoffmann, T. (2016). With or Without with: The Constructionalization of the with-Augmented Absolute in English. *Journal of English Linguistics*. 44. 4. 318-345.
- Van Riemsdijk, H.C. (1978). A case study in syntactic markedness: The binding nature of prepositional phrases. *Studies in generative grammar*. 4. 1-313.
- Sakakibara, H. (1982). With-Constructions in English. *Studies in English Literature*. English Number 1982. Tokyo: English Literary Society of Japan. 79-95. Retrieved from https://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_11074052_po_ART0009666869.pdf?contentNo=1&alternativeNo=.
- Seiler, H. (1974). The principle of concomitance. Instrumental, comitative, and collective. *Foundations of Language*. 12. 2. 215-247.
- Schultze-Berndt, E., Himmelmann N. (2004). Depictive secondary predicates in crosslinguistic perspective. *Linguistic Typology*. 8. 1. 59-131. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lity.2004.004>.
- Sitchinava, D. Perkova, N. (2019). Bilingual Parallel Corpora Featuring the Circum-Baltic Languages within the Russian National Corpus. *Proceedings of the Digital Humanities in the Nordic Countries 4th Conference*. Copenhagen, Denmark, March 5-8, 2019. 495-501. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/39164269/Bilingual_Parallel_Corpora_Featuring_the_Circum_Baltic_Languages_within_the_Russian_National_Corpus.
- Stolz, T. Stroh, C., Urdze, A. (2006). *On Comitatives and Related Categories: A Typological Study with Special Focus on the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stump, G. (1985). *The Semantic Variability of Absolute Constructions*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Stassen, L. (2000). AND-languages and WITH-languages. *Linguistic Typology*. 4. 1. 1-54.
- Teleman, U., Hellberg, S., Andersson, E., Christensen, L. (1999). *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*. Vol. 3. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien. Retrieved from <https://svenska.se/grammatik/>.
- Weiss, D. (1995). Russian converbs: A typological outline. In M. Haspelmath and E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms — Adverbial participles, Gerunds* (pp. 239-282). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463>.

References

- Arxipov, A.V. (2009). *Tipologija komitativnyx konstrukcij*. Moscow: Znak.
- Akimova, T.G., Kozinceva, N.A. (1987). Zavisimyj taksis (na materiale deepričastnyx konstrukcij). In Bondarko, A.V. (ed.), *Teorija Funkcional'noj Grammatiki: Vvedenie. Aspektual'nost'. Vremennaja lokalizovannost'. Taksis* (pp. 257-274). Leningrad: Nauka.

- Bjørn B. (1979). Det russiske gerundiums semantiske indhold og dets danske oversættelsesækvivalenter. *Svantevit, dansk tidsskrift for slavistik*. V. 1-2. 167-175.
- Borin, L., Forsberg, M., Olsson, L.-J., Uppström, J. (2012). The open lexical infrastructure of Språkbanken. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'12)*, Istanbul: ELRA. 3598-3602.
- Chappell, H. and McGregor, W. (eds.) (2011). *The Grammar of Inalienability: A Typological Perspective on Body Part Terms and the Part-Whole Relation*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110822137>.
- Coseriu, E. (1969). *Semantik, innere Sprachform und Tiefenstruktur*. Tübingen: Romanisches Seminar. Retrieved from <http://www.romling.uni-tuebingen.de/coseriu/publi/coseriu55.pdf>. <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.1970.4.1-2.53>.
- Eriksson, O. (2010). Den så kallade med-frasen i kontrastiv belysning. *Språk & stil*. 20. 1. 51-80.
- Fabricius Hansen, C. (2007). On Manners and Circumstances. In Nilsen, Appiah, Borthen (eds.), *Interpreting Utterances: Pragmatics and Its Interfaces. Essays in Honour of Thorstein Fretheim* (pp. 39-50). Oslo: NovusEditors. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260985630_On_Manners_and_Circumstances.
- Fabricius-Hansen, C., Haug, D. (2012). Co-eventive adjuncts: main issues and clarifications. In C. Fabricius-Hansen and D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 21-54). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Fabricius-Hansen, C., Haug, D., Sæbø, K. (2012). Closed adjuncts: Degrees of pertinence. In C. Fabricius-Hansen and D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 55-91). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Hasselgård, H. (2012). Possessive absolutes in English and their Norwegian correspondences. In C. Fabricius-Hansen, D. Haug (eds.), *Big Events, Small Clauses: The Grammar of Elaboration* (pp. 229-258). Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110285864>.
- Isakova, L.S. (2003). *Problemy perevoda absoljutyx konstrukcij*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Moscow Region State University.
- Janda, L.A., Clancy, S.J. (2002). *The Case Book for Russian*. Bloomington: Slavica.
- Jespersen, O. (1951 / 1924) *The philosophy of grammar*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- Jespersen, O. (1940). *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. Vol. 4. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Kalyuga, M. (2020). *Russian Prepositional Phrases: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach*. Singapore: Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-5216-8>
- Kortmann, B. (1991). *Free Adjuncts and Absolutes in English: Problems of Control and Interpretation*. London and New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315002880>.
- Krave Filiouchkina M. (2010). *Converbs in contrast: Russian converb constructions and their English and Norwegian Counterparts*. Oslo: Faculty of humanities, University of Oslo.
- König, E., van der Auwera, J. (1990). Aderbial participles, gerunds and absolute constructions in the languages of Europe. In J. Bechert, G. Bernini and C. Buridart (eds.), *Toward a Typology of European Languages* (pp. 337-355). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Körner, R. (1956). Strödda bidrag till komparativ lingvistik IX. *Moderna språk*. 50. 6. 449-463.
- Lakoff, G. (1968). Instrumental adverbs and the concept of deep structure. *Foundations of Language*. 4. 1. 4-29.
- Lundin, K. (2003). *Small Clauses in Swedish: Towards a Unified Account*. PhD Diss. Lund: Department of Scandinavian languages, Lund University. Retrieved from <https://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/4625685/912647.pdf>.
- McCawley, J.D. (1983). What's with with? *Language*. 59. 2. 271-87.
- Mixailov, N. (2012). *Tvoritel'nyj padež v russkom jazyke XVIII veka*. PhD Thesis. Uppsala: Uppsala University. Retrieved from <https://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:563667/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.
- Nichols, J. (1978). Secondary predicates. *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. 114-127.
- Orekhova, E.Yu., Polatovskaya, O.S., Badelina, M.V. (2019). Analysis of grammatical and stylistic features of translation of English absolute constructions

- into Russian. *XLinguae European Scientific Language Journal*. 3. 12. Retrieved from http://www.xlinguae.eu/files/XLinguae3_2019_9.pdf.
<https://doi.org/10.18355/XL.2019.12.03.09>
- Van de Pol, N. and Hoffmann, T. (2016). With or Without with: The Constructionalization of the with-Augmented Absolute in English. *Journal of English Linguistics*. 44. 4. 318-345.
- Prozorov, V.G. (1998). *Osnovy teorii i praktiki perevoda s anglijskogo na russkij*. Petrozavodsk: KSU. Retrieved from <http://kspu-archive.petsu.ru/structure/faculties/languages/english/7214>.
- Van Riemsdijk, H.C. (1978). A case study in syntactic markedness: The binding nature of prepositional phrases. *Studies in generative grammar*. 4. 1-313.
- Recker, Ja.I. (2007). *Teorija perevoda i perevodčeskaja praktika. Očerki lingvističeskoj teorii perevoda*. Moscow: R. Valent. Retrieved from http://lib.ysu.am/open_books/311203.pdf.
- Sakakibara, H. (1982). With-Constructions in English. *Studies in English Literature*. English Number 1982. Tokyo: English Literary Society of Japan. 79-95. Retrieved from https://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_11074052_po_ART0009666869.pdf?contentNo=1&alternativeNo=
- Seiler, H. (1974). The principle of concomitance. Instrumental, comitative, and collective. *Foundations of Language*. 12. 2. 215-247.
- Schultze-Berndt, E., Himmelmann N. (2004). Depictive secondary predicates in crosslinguistic perspective. *Linguistic Typology*. 8. 1. 59-131. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lity.2004.004>
- Sitchinava, D. Perkova, N. (2019). Bilingual Parallel Corpora Featuring the Circum-Baltic Languages within the Russian National Corpus. *Proceedings of the Digital Humanities in the Nordic Countries 4th Conference*, Copenhagen, Denmark, March 5–8, 2019. 495-501. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/39164269/Bilingual_Parallel_Corpora_Featuring_the_Circum_Baltic_Languages_within_the_Russian_National_Corpus.
- Stolz, T. Stroh, C., Urdze, A. (2006). *On Comitatives and Related Categories: A Typological Study with Special Focus on the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stump, G. (1985). *The Semantic Variability of Absolute Constructions*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Stassen, L. (2000). AND-languages and WITH-languages. *Linguistic Typology* 4. 1. 1-54.
- Teleman, U., Hellberg, S., Andersson, E., Christensen, L. (1999). *Svenska Akademiens grammatik. Vol. 3*. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien. Retrieved from <https://svenska.se/grammatik/>.
- Vaseva-Kadynkova, I. (1961). Deepričastija soveršennogo vida s perfektnym značeniem. *Russkij jazyk v škole*. 6. 20-24.
- Weiss, D. (1995). Russian converbs: A typological outline. In M. Haspelmath and E. König (eds.), *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms — Adverbial participles, Gerunds* (pp. 239–282). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110884463>
- Zorixina Nil'sson, N.V. (2001). Russkie deepričastnye konstrukcii v zerkale švedskogo jazyka (vyraženie otnošenija raznovremennosti meždy dejstvijami). In A. Barentsen (ed.), *Functional Grammar: Aspect and Aspectuality Tense and Temporality Essays in Honour of Alexander Bondarko* (pp. 143–155). München: Lincom Europa.

Резюме

Меллквіст Сімон

РОСІЙСЬКІ ВІДПОВІДНИКИ ШВЕДСЬКИМ ДВОКОМПОНЕНТНИМ КОМІТАТИВАМ

Постановка проблеми. У шведській мові є тип конструкції із прийменником *med* 'з'. Ця конструкція не має однозначного еквівалента у російській мові. Вживання *med* + *NP* + *PP* співвідносяться з різними російськими конструкціями, наприклад: двоконпонентні комітативні (*с* + *інструментатив*) конструкції;

конвербні (дієприслівникові) конструкції; безприйменникові форми орудного відмінка; фінитні клаузи. Шведську конструкцію можна порівняти з англійськими так званими «доповненими абсолютними конструкціями».

Мета цього дослідження – виявити чинники, що є в основі цих відмінностей, використовуючи Шведсько-російський російсько-шведський паралельний корпус у складі російського національного корпусу. У ньому також використано результати контрастивного аналізу, щоб отримати уявлення про феномен двокомпонентних *med*-конструкцій.

Методи. Контрастивне дослідження паралельних корпусів. Дані перевірено за допомогою тесту незалежності χ -квадрат.

Результати. Корпусні дослідження показують, що наявність та положення *NP*, що позначають частини тіла, у шведських двокомпонентних *med*-конструкціях істотно впливає на вибір моделі-відповідника. Можна виділити 4 типи: 1) Невіддільні частини тіла в першій частині двоскладової конструкції після *med* 'з' корелюють з дієприслівниковими перфективними російськими конструкціями. Шведська: *Hon gick med händerna på ryggen*; російська: *Она ходила заложив руки за спину* 'Вона ходила, заклавши руки на спину'. 2) Шведські двочленні *med*-конструкції з нетілесними компонентами в першій частині і невіддільними частинами тіла в другій частині корелюють з російськими комітативними конструкціями (*s + інструментатив*). Шведський: *Hon stod på trappan med ett glas i handen*; російська: *Она стояла на лестнице со стаканом в руке* 'Вона стояла на сходах зі склянкою в руці'. 3) Шведські двокомпонентні *med*-конструкції, що позначають спосіб дії, корелюють із російськими безприйменниковими інструментальними (орудними) конструкціями. Шведська: *Han stod med ryggen mot publiken*; російська: *Он стоял спиной к публике* 'Він стояв спиною до публіки'. 4) Шведські двоскладові *med*-конструкції з нетілесними компонентами в обох частинах корелюють з російськими фінитними клаузами. Шведський: *Men med valet av Donald Trump till USA: s president försvann det sista hoppet om utländskt stöd*. Російська: *Но после того как Дональд Трамп был выбран президентом США, последняя надежда на иностранную поддержку исчезла* 'Але після того, як Дональд Трамп став президентом США остання надія на іноземну підтримку зникла'.

Дискусія. Чотири типи відповідності: дієприслівникові конструкції, *s+інструментатив* конструкції, безприйменникові інструментальні конструкції та фінитні клаузи представляють різні онтологічні типи, оскільки вони виражають відносини між матрицею та подіями, сутностями, способом та станами справ відповідно. Темою, що заслуговує на подальше дослідження, є функціонування дієприкметників у шведських і російських комітативних конструкціях.

Ключові слова: російська, шведська, комітативи, абсолютиви, дієприслівники, семантика, синтаксис.

Abstract

Mellquist Simone

RUSSIAN CORRESPONDENCES TO SWEDISH BIPARTITE COMITATIVES

Background. Swedish has a type of construction with the preposition *med* 'with' that does not have an unequivocal equivalent in Russian. Non-adnominal usages of *med* + NP + PP correlate with various Russian constructions: e.g., bipartite

comitative (*s*+instrumental) constructions; converb (*deepričastie*) constructions; bare instrumental case forms; or finite clauses. The Swedish construction is comparable to English so called «augmented absolute constructions».

Purpose. The present study seeks to investigate the factors underlying this variation using the Swedish-Russian Russian-Swedish parallel corpus within the Russian National Corpus, RNC. It also uses the contrastive findings to gain insights into the phenomenon of bipartite *med*-constructions.

Methods. A contrastive parallel corpus investigation. The data is tested using a χ -squared test of independence.

Results. The corpus investigations show that the presence and position of NPs referring to body parts in the Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions significantly influence the Russian correspondence patterns. 4 types can be discerned: 1) Inalienable body parts in the first part of the bipartite structure following *med* 'with' correlates with Russian perfective converb constructions. Swedish: *Hon gick med händerna på ryggen*; Russian: *Она ходила заложив руки за спину* 'She was walking with her hands on her back'. 2) Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with non-body parts in the first part and inalienable body parts in the second parts correlate with Russian comitative constructions (*s*+instrumental). Swedish: *Hon stod på trappan med ett glas i handen* Russian: *она стояла на лестнице, со стаканом в руке* 'She was standing on the stairs with a glass in her hand'. 3) Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions indicating manner relations correlate with Russian bare instrumental constructions. Swedish: *Han stod med ryggen mot publiken*; Russian: *Он стоял спиной к публике* 'He was standing with his back to the audience'. 4) Swedish bipartite *med*-constructions with non-body parts in both parts correlate with Russian finite constructions. Swedish *Men med valet av Donald Trump till USA: s president försvann det sista hoppet om utländskt stöd.* Russian: *Но после того как Дональд Трамп был выбран президентом США, последняя надежда на иностранную поддержку исчезла* 'But with the choice of Donald Trump for president of the U.S.A, the last hope of foreign support disappeared.'

Discussion. The four correspondence types: converb constructions, *s*+instrumental constructions, bare instrumentals and finite constructions represent different ontological types as they express relations between the matrix and, eventualities, entities, manners and states of affairs, respectively. A topic that deserves further research is the behaviour of participles within Swedish and Russian comitative constructions.

Key words: Russian, Swedish, comitatives, absolutes, converbs, semantics, syntax.

Відомості про автора

Меллквіст Сімон, аспірантка факультету мовних досліджень, Університет Умео, Умео (Швеція), e-mail: simone.mellquist@umu.se

Mellquist Simone, PhD Student, Department of Language Studies, Umeå University, Umeå (Sweden), e-mail: simone.mellquist@umu.se

ORCID 0000-0001-5142-5656

Надійшла до редакції 24 травня 2022 року

Прийнято до друку 20 серпня 2022 року

UDC 81'373.611[811.161.2+811.161.1]=111

Mariia Shchedrina



**LANGUAGE FEMINIZATION
IN UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN**

Over recent years, Ukrainian and Russian have been going through a number of sociolinguistic transformations. Feminist linguistic activism has become a marker of sociopolitical changes in the two language spaces. It has spread with a goal to identify and modify the rules that were developed and used to restrain the language and subject it to men-centered linguistic regulations.

This article will discuss and compare the transformations Ukrainian and Russian are experiencing as well as analyze the received data on the morphological level.

Key words: *language feminization, feminist linguistics, feminist linguistic activism, feminitives, gender linguistics.*

Introduction. Researchers have been studying the relations between language and society for centuries. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that came about in 1929 is an illustration of the idea that a person's language shapes the way they perceive the world. The patterns of language used in culture and society affect our thoughts and worldview. The linguistic relativity hypothesis, as it is also called, states that language one speaks either influences or determines the way one thinks about reality (Hussein, 2012, p. 642-646). If this reality is a world designed for men, it will be clearly reflected in the language.

Any given language is, from the anthropological point of view, an integral part of the culture, hence of the society that produces it. Even though the way people speak is not in itself cultural, it is closely related to social changes, which subsequently produce changes in language. Language expands, continuously adapting to social needs, and if the need of society is to live in gender harmony and equality, language will duly adjust.

Since changes in society and language are reciprocal, there is an urgent need to reconsider how nouns express the notions they represent. Nowadays, linguists observe a tendency for feminization among the Slavic languages. It is extremely important to talk about such tendencies as they are relevant in the research of *how we talk about them* and *how we choose to respond* to them (Pauwels, 2003, p. 550-571).

© Shchedrina M., 2022

According to the French sociologist and public intellectual Pierre Bourdieu, language is not only a way of communication but also a mechanism and construct of power (Bourdieu, 1991). Therefore, feminitives are not about suffixes or word-forming models, but the status of speakers who use these words and what impact they make on their listeners and interlocutors. The whole social pyramid can be seen in every act of such language representations.

It is important to mention that feminitives are not used exceptionally by women; they allow for the possibility of women and men producing both similar and different gender discourses; and of women and men constructing their gendered identities in a range of ways (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 64). Feminitives are not just about women's rights, they are about gender equality and fighting against gender bias. This article will discuss sociolinguistic transformations Ukrainian and Russian are going through as well as analyze and compare the received data on the morphological level.

Theoretical Background. Feminitives are feminine nouns that have two groups of meanings. One group names women by various characteristics: position, profession, nationality, marital or family status. For example, «депутатка», «німкеня», «сестра» for Ukrainian and «депутатка», «немка», «сестра» for Russian. The second group are the names of female animals «кішка», «корова» for Ukrainian and «кошка», «корова» for Russian.

Among Ukrainian and Russian speakers, there have always been discussions about the necessity of using loan words and foul language as well as about emergence and existence of feminitives. It is vital to keep in mind though, that both languages have been using feminitives for quite a long time, e.g., in Russian, «актриса», «певица», «поэтесса» vs «актриса», «співачка», «поетеса» in Ukrainian. The existence of such words among others pushed the speakers to find ways to legitimize them. From the sociolinguistic point of view, feminitives emerged because there were people for whom these words were important, who wanted them to exist and to be pronounced.

Initially, women's lives were limited to private space, so feminitives were the first to emerge when there was a need to name family and home members. Ukrainian linguist Maria Brus has been studying women's names in the old Ukrainian monuments of the XVI-XVII centuries for decades. Her research shows that feminitives initially appeared in those historical moments when a woman became an owner of a certain property, which was reflected in written memoirs. Such feminitives can be retrieved from the dictionary of a Ukrainian lexicographer, linguist and Orthodox monk Pamvo Berynda of the XVI century. However, feminitives had been in use way before that. For example, there was a word «княгиня» (same for Ukrainian and Russian) in the XI century, which means «duchess, princess» (Brus, 2007, p. 144-155).

In the XVI-XVII centuries, in Ukrainian territories, the Lithuanian Statute legitimized the equality of property and inheritance rights for women and men. This meant that women began to participate more actively in state, public, and other affairs, and, consequently, were represented in public space. Consequently, new words were needed to name them, this was exactly when the Ukrainian word «дорадниця» appeared. It means «a female counselor» and is being actively used in the modern Ukrainian language.

Maria Brus stresses that in general, feminitives formed an extensive and semantically rich lexical subsystem in the Ukrainian language of the XVI-XVII centuries, which reflected the history of Ukrainian women, their household,

cultural, educational, military, and charitable activities. In the dictionaries of the early XX century as well as in the official business documents belonging to that epoch, there was an active attempt to introduce female nouns where it could have been possible. That is why, in Maria Brus's point of view, feminitives are all about returning to the Ukrainian language traditions, which due to certain circumstances were rejected (Brus, 2007, p. 151). For example, in Lviv, «пані професорко» was used until 1939. This rejection may have happened due to the fact that a part of Ukraine was under the influence of the Russian Empire and another part was under the influence of Austria-Hungary and Poland. Where there was Polish influence, speakers would accept this word combination more promptly, and where Ukraine was under Russian influence, these words were less perceived, because there were fewer of them in public.

This is a normal process of language development, this is how it is arranged: we no longer say some words because we do not use certain objects, there are no certain titles, while others, on the contrary, we learn to use because the surrounding world requires it from us.

The «Gramota.ru»¹ portal, in collaboration with the Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences, published facts about the percentage of masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns in Russia. Linguists have calculated that there are only about 40.5% of masculine nouns, 43% – feminine, and only about 16.5% – neuter nouns. There are more feminine nouns in Russian than masculine words, although this happens in a more men-oriented language, in which adjectives and demonyms are mentioned in dictionaries mostly only in their masculine forms.

When foreigners learn Ukrainian or Russian grammar, they learn that there are three noun genders in both languages: masculine, feminine, and neuter; always in this order, starting with masculine. When foreigners learn Ukrainian or Russian adjectives, masculine adjectives will be dealt with first as only they will certainly be found in dictionaries. The endings for feminine, neuter, and plural adjectives must be learnt separately and used instead of masculine endings that are introduced first. As one of the ways to eradicate such a linguistic gender bias, Google has launched a new system for its online machine translators and dictionaries. Learners of French and Spanish as well as other European gender languages will find their searched adjectives in all forms – masculine, feminine, and neuter (if any), whereas learners of Ukrainian when searching for the word 'good' on Google Translate, or any other adjective, will only get this word translated into Ukrainian with a masculine form. Therefore, it is always a learner's duty to memorize the endings of feminine, neuter, and plural forms.

Russian demonyms are another bright example of a men-centrist language approach. One can find masculine demonyms for each and every inhabitant, resident, or native in particular regions or cities, whereby it is not the case with feminine equivalents (Mazikina, 2021). For some toponyms in Russian there is no corresponding well-established demonym; most often feminine one. In this case, the female inhabitants of a particular locality are called descriptively, for example, «жительница города» which is translated to «a female citizen of the city».

This does not depend on the size of the city. For instance, such a big city like Vladivostok is still trying to get used to its demonyms. Traditional dictionaries of the names of residents of Russian cities give only the «владивостокец» variant, accompanying it with a note that this word is not used in the nominative singular

¹ <http://new.gramota.ru/>

form. However, the need to name a male or female resident of Vladivostok in one word in the initial form among native speakers of the Russian language arises regularly, therefore modern dictionaries already recognize as the norm the variants of «владивостокчанин» and «владивостокчанка», which until recently were considered non-normative.

The study of language and gender is very much dependent on societal norms, everyday practices, and vastly on the ideologies about women and men, their roles and places in society (Ehrlich, 1994). When Ukrainian women started participating in the political life of the country, it affected immediately the Ukrainian language as the society realized there was an urgent need in creating feminines for their job titles and positions (Sydorenko, 2018). In Ukrainian, the noun «міністр» («minister») has proven to be insufficient as it does not represent the whole multifaceted spectrum of grammatical functionality. Since an interlocutor can only unmistakably retrieve information about this noun's grammatical categories of number and case, whereby the category of gender can only be checked by examining an adjective or a verb adjacent to it, the Ukrainian language has created its feminine form «міністерка» which directly represents a noun that does not depend on any additionally attached parts of speech.

It is important to mention, however, that this word first appeared in 2007, when Yulia Tymoshenko became the Prime Minister of Ukraine. The sociopolitical development of the country forced the Ukrainian language to react appropriately. However, in the very first place it faced a wave of criticism not from the expected speakers-bearers of a men-centered language tradition, unprepared to embrace newly appeared realities and practices, but from the linguists who perceived feminines as a threat to the beauty and purity of the language. Quite similar attitudes towards feminines can be found among Russian linguists as well. Among them, who are still fighting against already accepted, registered, normalized neuter gender of the word «кофе» and an alternative first stressed syllable in the word «договор», there are lots of disputes about the newly appeared feminines. Such opposition towards the feminization of the language can be called language sexism.

While Ukrainians were promoting the idea of adopting new feminines, the society noticed how strongly gender relations in language discourse were connected to power and status. Nonetheless, twelve years later, in 2019, rules of Ukrainian orthography were changed. Such feminines like «міністерка» became a norm and are currently widely used, symbolizing the political and institutional evolution of the country. Were it not thanks to Yulia Tymoshenko, whose promotion triggered the creation of the feminine «міністерка», the existence of this word would have remained questionable. In Russian, on the other hand, such a word is not used in any normative documents or media despite the fact that since 1991, there have been ten female ministers in the country, all of them wearing the masculine title «министр».

The language feminization movement in Russian in the form we see it now started in 1960s with the appearance of the word «стюардесса» alongside its officially registered and normalized synonym «бортпроводница». The word was created following the morphological pattern of such feminines like «принцесса» and «поэтесса» with the suffix -есс-, which the official academic grammars back then did not consider as a productive suffix (Yaroshchenko, 2021). Almost two decades later, Russian linguists noticed this suffix's tendency for productivity; for example, such feminines like «авторесса» and «критикесса» appeared. However, in the 1980s feminines with -есс- received a derogatory meaning and became

elements of mostly disparaging and belittling connotation. The only word with a neutral meaning that survived until now is «стюардесса».

Russian morphological word formation is rich in suffixes that can be used to create neutral feminines, avoiding their foreseeable derogatory meanings in future. Such suffixes like -ниц- («учительница», «писательница», «художница»), -к- («студентка», «журналистка»), -ис- («актриса»), -иц- («певица»), -есс- («поэтесса») productively form feminine roles and professions.

This comparison might be a sign of how deeply feminines can be intertwined with the other aspects of identity, for instance, class and status. In Ukrainian, such concepts are no longer predominantly masculine, therefore women feel more empowered to participate in political life of the country and, most importantly, feel equally treated, and the other way around (Belovolcheko, 2018). Feminization of the language will definitely benefit future generations of native speakers because to them, such words as «міністерка» will be a norm. As individuals grow up performing the practices around which the community is formed, these practices will eventually become part of their everyday life or 'habitus' (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 43-69). In such a way, individuals will form their biased or unbiased opinion regarding many concepts of identities, including gender, in the very first place. The ongoing re-evaluation of the language attitudes towards feminines means that this field is constantly developing and debates around this topic are flourishing. Thus, it is remarkable how the feminization of the language in Ukraine launched a shift towards inclusion of women as equal participants in all spheres of life. Russian goes through these changes as well, however comparatively slower than Ukrainian.

Methods. For research purposes, the descriptive method of a synchronous analysis of Ukrainian and Russian has been chosen. The descriptive method will help us better analyze the forms, processes, and structures of the illustrated examples on the morphological level. In addition, sociolinguistic analysis based on the method of correlation of linguistic and social phenomena in two independent language geographies will be conducted.

Results and Discussion. In Ukrainian linguist Olena Synchak²'s point of view, there are five reasons to use feminines. Firstly, they are important as any language encodes social relations. Secondly, she refers to another prominent Ukrainian linguist Oleksandr Ponomariv³, who noted in 1999 that the use of the masculine gender to denote women contradicts morphological and syntactic norms of the Ukrainian language. Besides, it is obvious that avoiding femininities impoverishes language: it makes it more clerical because of narrowing it to a formal style (Synchak, 2015).

Olena Synchak notes that in the XIX and the beginning of the XX century, there was a real boom in creating women's names that had ancient origins. It is at that time that the number of professions was increasing. Therefore, creating feminines was progressing in the same plane with Ukrainization. The linguist cites the example of «Agatangel Krymsky's Russian-Ukrainian Academic Dictionary», which contains a number of female names to denote a woman as a participant in legal relations. However, the number of female titles in the «Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language in 11 Volumes» exceeds three thousand, but only a few of them existed at the time of Ukrainization. That is, if we discuss the beginning of the XX century, this creation of female names moved in parallel with

² <https://povaha.org.ua/pyat-prychyn-vzhyvaty-feminityvy/>

³ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/ukrainian/ponomariv/2011/05/----2.html>

Ukrainization since back then it was important to create Ukrainian terms. Ukrainization was implemented together with feminization. But in Soviet times, it was slowed down by Soviet language policy, the essence of which was a woman holding a prominent position and calling her profession by a masculine noun (Synchak, 2022).

These days, when we see a substantial difference in the societal attitude towards language feminization, we can clearly differentiate two opposite societies in Ukraine and in Russia. Femininitives in Ukrainian compared to their non-existing equivalents in Russian are markers of how the Ukrainian language has distanced itself from Russian.

The Ukrainian linguist Iryna Salata points out: «The form of the female gender had low-skilled occupations: maid, housewife, although high positions were marked by the male gender: minister, deputy.» (Salata, 2020). In Ukrainian, this tendency has changed. Such words as «міністерка», «депутатка» are widely used, whereas Russian has registered only «депутатка».

Since February 24, 2022, when Russia started the full-fledged war against Ukraine, President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyu has been addressing the nation daily. His every speech starts with «Дорогі українці, дорогі українки». Ukraine's President Zelenskyu chooses to use two separate plural forms of the adjective «Ukrainians» emphasizing everyone's inclusion and participation in the war against the Russian army. Regardless of the listener's sex, the President appeals in a direct and clear, non-ambiguous way to both – men and women. In fact, according to the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine⁴, as of December 2021, 57,000 women served in the Armed Forces, i.e., almost 22% of all personnel. About 32,000 of them are military personnel (more than 12% of personnel). But after February 24, many women joined territorial defence units and the army. Therefore, we will learn about the exact number of women in the war later. The Ukrainian language reflects this phenomenon as well. When talking about female soldiers in Ukrainian, such terms are used: «жінка-військовослужбовець» («a female enlistee»), «бійчиня» («a female soldier»), «військова парамедикиня» («a female military paramedic»), «офіцерка» («a female officer»), «доброволиця» («a female volunteer»). The word «солдатка» means «a male soldier's wife or his widow» and is not used to denote enlisted female soldiers. In contrast to Ukrainian, such femininitives do not exist in Russian.

On May 22, 2019, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine approved an updated version of the Ukrainian orthography, and on May 30, 2019, this document entered into force. The orthography allows the use of femininitives but offers a fairly wide range of rules on how to create them⁵. Besides, the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine approved a new classifier of professions, which allows the use of female nouns if desired.

The head of the National Commission on State Language Standards Orysia Demaska⁶ stressed that «The initiative of the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine remains solely their idea. The Commission did not join the project, did not participate in its approval and is not responsible for those proposals, which means that at the official level in Ukraine, there is still no standardized writing for femininitives. The updated Ukrainian orthography gives a general direction on how to create, but it cannot predict all the nuances. The regulation of femininitives

⁴ <https://ukrainer.net/ukrainian-women/>

⁵ <https://mova.gov.ua/dokumenti/rozyasnennya/2021/zhovten-2021/rishennya-238>

⁶ <https://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2021/03/2/244092/>

is not the task of the Ukrainian orthography, but of the National Commission on State Language Standards. Once the commission makes recommendations, Ukrainians will no longer hesitate between which is correct «фотографиня», «фотографеса» or «фотографка»».

Language expert Olena Burkovska named a number of reasons why there are people expressing their disregard for feminines (Khryshchuk, 2021). In the majority of cases, their explanation might be one of the following: 1) feminines are not regulated, therefore, there is no correct way to create a new feminines form; 2) it is difficult to form feminines to a number of masculine professions, e.g. «бос» in Ukrainian, «босс» in Russian; 3) new feminines might not sound beautiful, hence may not be accepted by listeners and speakers; 4) sometimes feminines with the productive suffixes can be perceived as offensive and derogatory; 5) some feminines got extinct historically, so there is no need to revive them.

However, Olena Synchak mentions: «When we look at the word-formation tools of the Ukrainian and Czech languages, we see that we have the same resources for creating feminines. The fact that they have been in Czech for a hundred years is not related to the structure of the language, but to the structure of society. This society was ready to accept them earlier, but there were other mechanisms in Ukrainian society, and it turned out to be unprepared at that time. »

A great contribution to the spread of femininities also belongs to literary editors, who follow all the innovations and features of spelling and correct in accordance with current regulations (Smolyar, 2017).

Conclusions and prospects for future research. Language feminization can be pursued by two linguistic strategies like neutralization and feminization. Since Ukrainian and Russian are both grammatical gender languages, they focus primarily on feminization of the language through morphological patterns.

Gender-fair language practices in both languages are very much dependent on the social transformations in these countries. The appearance of Ukrainian feminines in dictionaries indicates that they are increasingly becoming normalized. The creation of new Ukrainian feminines and their revival is the return to the proper Ukrainian laws of the language. After all, many Ukrainian feminines were rejected in Soviet times (Brus, 2007). The Ukrainian language back then was brought closer to the Russian language, in which femininities were not registered so frequently.

However, since these days speakers feel the necessity to use deliberate feminine forms of initially available exceptionally masculine forms, the awareness of the gender equality issues will restrain people from using masculine denominations which are nothing less than a sexist language.

Talking about these language transformations – the feminization of languages – is vital, because in our conversations about language, we get to understand ourselves better (Pauwels, 2003).

It is obvious that mockery of feminines is related to the status of women in society, that is, more related to stereotypes. This is not so much a mockery of words as a rejection of the incarnations of a woman who may be active in a particular field.

Today, women are visible in public. That is why they deserve this verbal recognition that language can give them. Besides, when we talk about gender equality, equal access of men and women to positions and professions, we should also think about feminines.

And yet it is evident that the language feminization processes in the two languages are unfolding very differently. Over the past three decades, Ukrainian has created, adopted, and registered hundreds of new feminines, whereas Russian has put these processes on hold, having chosen to stick to male-dominant forms to denote women in various professions. Ukrainian media, on the other hand, have been using new military-related feminines that do not have their equivalents in Russian.

Currently, we see a significant difference in the societal attitude towards language feminization, therefore juxtaposed societies in Ukraine and Russia. Feminines in Ukrainian, compared to their non-existing equivalents in Russian, are markers / indicators of how the Ukrainian language has been distancing itself from Russian; it also demonstrates the different ways in which Ukraine and Russia perceive women's role in society and their recognition through their respective languages.

Бібліографія

- Беловольченко, Г. (2018). Що таке фемінітиви та як їх утворювати. Секція: електронне наукове фахове видання. Retrieved from: <https://section.in.ua/erudition/feminities/>
- Білодід, І.К. (ред.). (1970-1980). Словник української мови: в 11 томах. АН УРСР. Інститут мовознавства; Київ: Наукова думка.
- Блог професора Пономаріва. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/ukrainian/ponomarov/2011/05/-----2.html>
- Брус, М. (2007). Фемінітиви як відображення історії українського жіноцтва XVI-XVII століть. Retrieved from: <http://194.44.152.155/elib/local/2244.pdf>
- Мазикіна, Л. (2021). *Малый справочник феминитивов*. Ridero.
- Хрищук, А. Що таке фемінітиви та навіщо їх вживати. Retrieved from: <https://explainer.ua/shho-take-feminiviti-ta-navishho-yih-vzhivati/>
- Ярошенко, А. (2021). Авторки, депутатки, експертки: кандидат філологічних наук о фемінітивах в руском языкe. Retrieved from: <https://www.newsvl.ru/vlad/2021/03/09/197621/#ixzz6qd5tampZ>
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.
- Bucholtz, M. (2003). Theories of discourse as theories of gender: discourse analysis in language and gender studies. In J. Holmes, & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp. 43-69). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ehrlich, S., King, R. (1994). Feminist meanings and the (de)politicization of the lexicon. *Language in Society* 23. 59-76.
- Hussein, B. A. S. (2012). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis today. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2(3), 642-646.
- Pauwels, A. (2003). Linguistic sexism and feminist activism. In J. Holmes, & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp. 550-570). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Salata, I. (2020). Tendencies in using feminines in modern English, Ukrainian, and Russian. Difficulties in translation. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32839/2304-5809/2020-78.1-24>
- Sydorenko, S. (2018). Feminine nouns in the present-day English and Ukrainian: Some aspects of gender-fair language translators should be aware of. Retrieved from: <https://er.nau.edu.ua/bitstream/NAU/33691/1/Feminine%20Nouns%202018.pdf>
- Synchak, O., & Starko, V. (2022). Ukrainian Feminine Personal Nouns in Online Dictionaries and Corpora. Retrieved from: http://www.er.ucu.edu.ua:8080/bitstream/handle/1/3192/121_paper%28revised%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

References

- Belovolchenko, H. Shcho take feminityvy ta yak yikh utvoriuvaty. Retrieved from: <https://section.in.ua/erudition/feminities/>
- Bilodid, I.K. (red.). (1970-1980). *Slovyk ukrainskoi movy: v 11 tomakh*. AN URSR. Instytut movoznavstva; Kyiv: Naukova dumka.

- Bloh profesora Ponomariva. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/ukrainian/ponomariv/2011/05/----2.html>
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.
- Brus, M. (2007). *Feminityvy yak vidobrazhennia istorii ukrainskoho zhynotstva XVI-XVII stolit*. Retrieved from: <http://194.44.152.155/elib/local/2244.pdf>
- Bucholtz, M. (2003). Theories of discourse as theories of gender: discourse analysis in language and gender studies. In J. Holmes, & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp. 43-69). Oxford: Blakwell.
- Ehrlich, S., King, R. (1994). Feminist meanings and the (de)politicization of the lexicon. *Language in Society* 23: 59-76.
- Hussein, B. A. S. (2012). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis today. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2(3), 642-646.
- Khryshchuk, A. Shcho take feminityvy ta navishcho yikh vzhlyvaty. Retrieved from: <https://explainer.ua/shho-take-feminitivi-ta-navishho-yih-vzhivati/>
- Mazikina, L. (2021). *Malyj spravocchnik feminitivov*. Ridero.
- Pauwels, A. (2003). Linguistic sexism and feminist activism. In J. Holmes, & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender* (pp. 550-570). Oxford: Blakwell.
- Salata, I. (2020). Tendencies in using feminines in modern English, Ukrainian, and Russian. Difficulties in translation. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32839/2304-5809/2020-78.1-24>
- Sydorenko, S. (2018). Feminine nouns in the present-day English and Ukrainian: Some aspects of gender-fair language translators should be aware of. Retrieved from: <https://er.nau.edu.ua/bitstream/NAU/33691/1/Feminine%20Nouns%202018.pdf>
- Synchak, O., & Starko, V. (2022). Ukrainian Feminine Personal Nouns in Online Dictionaries and Corpora. Retrieved from: http://www.er.ucu.edu.ua:8080/bitstream/handle/1/3192/121_paper%28revised%29.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Yaroshenko, A. (2021). Avtorki, deputatki, ekspertki: kandidat filologicheskix nauk o feminitivax v russkom jazyke. Retrieved from: <https://www.newsru.ru/vlad/2021/03/09/197621/#ixzz6qd5tampZ>

Резюме

Щедрина Марія

ФЕМІНІЗАЦІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ТА РОСІЙСЬКІЙ МОВАХ

Постановка проблеми. Наразі українська та російська мови зазнають ряд соціолінгвістичних трансформацій. Феміністичний лінгвістичний активізм став маркером суспільно-політичних змін у двох мовних просторах. Він поширився з метою виявити та змінити правила, які були розроблені та використані для обмеження мови та підпорядкування її лінгвістичним правилам, орієнтованим на чоловіків. Гіпотеза Сепіра-Уорфа є ілюстрацією ідеї про те, що мова людини формує її спосіб сприйняття світу. Лінгвістична гіпотеза відносності, як її ще називають, стверджує, що мова, якою людина розмовляє, впливає або визначає те, що людина думає про реальність і як вона її сприймає. Якщо ця реальність є світом, створеним для чоловіків, це буде чітко відображено в мові.

Мета статті – дослідити та порівняти соціолінгвістичні трансформації, які проходять українська та російська мови, а також проаналізувати отримані дані на морфологічному рівні.

Методи дослідження. Для дослідження було обрано описативний метод синхронного аналізу української та російської мов. Описативний метод

допоможе проаналізувати форми, процеси та структури ілюстрованих прикладів на морфологічному рівні. Буде проведено соціолінгвістичний аналіз на основі методу співвідношення мовних і соціальних явищ у двох незалежних мовних просторах.

Основні результати дослідження. Процеси лінгвістичної фемінізації в двох мовах розгортаються по-різному. За останні три десятиліття українська мова створила, прийняла та зареєструвала сотні нових фемінітивів, тоді як у російській мові соціум досі дотримується чоловічих форм для позначення жіночих професій. З іншого боку, українські ЗМІ використовують нові фемінітиви військової тематики, які не мають відповідників у російській мові. Ми виявили велику різницю в суспільному ставленні до мовної фемінізації. Фемінітиви в українській мові, порівняно з їхніми неіснуючими еквівалентами в російській, є маркерами дистанціювання української мови від російської. Наявність значної кількості нових фемінітивів в українській мові також демонструє різний спосіб, у який Україна та Росія сприймають роль жінок у суспільстві.

Висновки та перспективи дослідження. Дослідження соціолінгвістичних трансформацій, зокрема, фемінізації мов, вкрай важливе, оскільки в наших розмовах про мову ми краще розуміємо себе. Сучасні мовці відчують необхідність створення та використання форм жіночого роду для слів, що початково були доступні виключно у чоловічих формах. Усвідомлення проблем гендерної рівності сприятиме розвитку суспільства та уникненню сексистських мовних ознак.

Ключові слова: мовна фемінізація, феміністична лінгвістика, феміністичний лінгвістичний активізм, фемінітиви, гендерна лінгвістика.

Abstracts

Shchedrina Mariia

LANGUAGE FEMINIZATION IN UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN

Background. In recent years, Ukrainian and Russian have been undergoing a number of sociolinguistic transformations. Feminist linguistic activism has become a marker of sociopolitical changes in the two language spaces. It has spread with a goal to identify and modify the rules that were developed and used to restrain the language and subject it to men-centered linguistic regulations. Scientists have been studying the relations between language and society for centuries. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is an illustration of the idea that a person's language shapes the way they perceive the world. The patterns of language used in culture and society affect our thoughts and worldview. The linguistic relativity hypothesis, as it is also called, states that the language one speaks either influences or determines the way one thinks about reality. If this reality is a world designed for men, it will be clearly reflected in the language.

The purpose of the article is to discuss and compare the sociolinguistic transformations Ukrainian and Russian are going through as well as analyze the received data on the morphological level.

Methods. For research purposes, the descriptive method of a synchronous analysis of Ukrainian and Russian has been chosen. The descriptive method will help us better analyze the forms, processes, and structures of the illustrated examples on

the morphological level. In addition, sociolinguistic analysis based on the method of correlation of linguistic and social phenomena in two independent language geographies will be conducted.

Results. It has become evident that the language feminization processes in the two languages are unfolding very differently. Over the past three decades, Ukrainian has created, adopted, and registered hundreds of new feminines, whereas Russian has put these processes on hold, having chosen to stick to male-dominant forms to denote women in various professions. Ukrainian media, on the other hand, have been using new military-related feminines that do not have their equivalents in Russian. Currently, we see a significant difference in the societal attitude towards language feminization, therefore juxtaposed societies in Ukraine and Russia. Feminines in Ukrainian, compared to their non-existing equivalents in Russian, are markers/indicators of how the Ukrainian language has been distancing itself from Russian; it also demonstrates the different ways in which Ukraine and Russia perceive women's role in society and their recognition through their respective languages.

Discussion. Talking about these sociolinguistic transformations – the feminization of languages – is vital, because in our conversations about language, we get to understand ourselves better. Since these days speakers feel the necessity to use deliberate feminine forms of initially available exceptionally masculine forms, the awareness of the gender equality issues will restrain people from using masculine denominations which are nothing less than a sexist language.

Key words: language feminization, feminist linguistics, feminist linguistic activism, feminines, gender linguistics.

Відомості про автора

Щедрина Марія, викладачка кафедри іноземних мов Нан'янської політехніки, (Сінгапур), e-mail: mariia_shchedrina@nyp.edu.sg.

Shchedrina Mariia, lecturer, Center for Foundation and General Studies, Nanyang Polytechnic, Singapore, e-mail: mariia_shchedrina@nyp.edu.sg.

ORCID 0000-0002-0214-2024

Надійшла до редакції 10 червня 2022 року

Прийнято до друку 20 серпня 2022 року

ET CETERA (есеї, роздуми, враження)

МОВА І ВІЙНА

У цьому випуску ми відступили від звичного формату і запропонували колегам, науковцям, викладачам, письменникам і усім, кого зараз турбує доля української мови в умовах війни, висловити свої думки щодо цього. Ми не редагували отриманих текстів і не оцінювали їх. Думка авторів може не збігатися з думкою редакції.

Щиро вдячні усім, хто відгукнувся на наш заклик і надіслав свої роздуми.

Редакція



Богдан САВЧЕНКО.
Конкурсна робота «Лютий ранок»
#ВОЛЬНАНОВА

На останньому засіданні Комітету експертів Європейської хартії регіональних або міноритарних мов, у червні 2022, його члени висловили засудження зловживання мовним питанням як приводом для російської агресії в Україні. Членами Комітету є відомі європейські мовознавці. Текст заяви Комітету наведено нижче.

*Ljudmila Popović,
Ph.D., Professor of Slavic Studies
Faculty of Philology - University of Belgrade,
Member of the Council of Europe Committee of Experts
for the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
www.coe.int/minlang*

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS OF THE EUROPEAN
CHARTER FOR REGIONAL OR MINORITY LANGUAGES
ON RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE¹

15 June 2022

The Committee of Experts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages condemns in the strongest possible terms the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. It expresses its deep concern and its solidarity with all people of Ukraine. The Committee of Experts finds it unacceptable that the Russian Federation continues to use the situation of Russian as a minority language in Ukraine as a pretext for aggression.

The Committee of Experts recalls that, in accordance with Article 5 of the Charter, nothing in it “may be interpreted as implying any right to engage in any activity or perform any action in contravention of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations or other obligations under international law, including the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.” As a signatory to the Charter, the Russian Federation remains under the obligation not to defeat the object and purpose of the treaty, as provided for by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

In the context of the ongoing 4th monitoring cycle in respect of Ukraine, the Committee of Experts conducted an on-the-spot visit in July 2021. The Committee could notice the efforts of the Ukrainian authorities, but as well areas where measures were needed in order to provide adequate protection to all minority languages in the country. The Committee stands ready to continue its support to the Ukrainian authorities in implementing the Charter and reiterates that the Council of Europe is the appropriate forum to address by dialogue and co-operation any issues related to the protection and promotion of minority languages.

¹ Ця заява викликала резонанс в українських ЗМІ:

<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2022/06/20/7141616/>

https://lb.ua/world/2022/06/20/520648_rf_vikoristovuie_movu_yak_privid.html

<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-politics/3510982-moskva-vikoristovue-rosijsku-movu-ak-privid-dla-agresii-proti-ukraini-rada-evropi.html>

РФ використовує російську мову як привід для агресії проти України, – Рада Європи

Дорогі колеги,
останні кілька років я займався темою "Мова та війна", результатом чого стала однойменна книга про мовну політику в окупованих слов'янських країнах під час Другої світової війни². Коли я писав розділ про Україну, то я навіть подумати не міг, що найближчим часом питання про функціонування мов в умовах окупації буде знову актуальним для багатостраждальної України, що російські війська повторять "подвиг" німецьких націонал-соціалістів, окупуєть частину України і маніпулюватимуть українською мовою та культурою для досягнення своїх імперіалістичних цілей. При цьому російська влада пішла навіть далі німецьких окупаційних сил: якщо німці визнавали культурну та національну ідентичність українців, то сьогоднішня російська влада заявляє про "культурну та соціальну неповноцінність українців"! Більшій деградації російського суспільства, зокрема великої кількості діячів культури та науки (якщо більшості з них!) важко було собі уявити! Але історія, як і у разі Другої світової війни, все розкладе по своїх місцях – окупантів буде з ганьбою вигнано з України, путінську росію буде осоромлено і відкинуто у своєму розвитку на десятиліття тому, а російські вчені-славісти, які підтримали цю війну, ніколи не зможуть більше почуватися комфортно у міжнародному славістичному співтоваристві. Слава Україні!

*Андрій Зінкевич,
доктор наук, старший лектор
Інституту слов'янознавства,
Віденський університет, Австрія*

² Рецензія на книгу Андрія Зінкевича «Язык и война», що вийшла з друку у видавництві Tribun EU (Брно, Чехія), опублікована у нашому попередньому випуску №2(5)2021. – Редакція.

Це завжди було моє переконання, підтвержене європейським та італійським досвідом: мова представляє лише один із компонентів, який створює відчуття належності до певної «нації» а, тим більше, до держави. Держава може бути плюралістичною, але віддавати перевагу одній мові та культурі замість іншої через низку історико-культурних та економіко-політичних причин. Проте це не означає, що представники іншої мовної та культурної групи не можуть ідентифікуватися з тією самою державою.

Мій довготривалий особистий досвід як в Україні, так в різних українських діаспорах в Європі, підтверджує, що мовці інших мов та культур України, зокрема російської, можуть так само бути патріотами України і прихильниками спільної української справи.

У цьому дуже короткому викладі ми обмежилися лише висловленням нашої думки. Соціолінгвістичні розвідки, які підтверджують вищесказане, – можливо, менш ‘популярні’ – будуть об’єктом окремого дослідження.

*Сальваторе дель Гаудіо,
доктор філософії, габіл.,
професор кафедри романської філології
та порівняльно-типологічного мовознавства,
Інститут філології, Київський університет ім. Бориса Грінченка,
стипендіат фонду фон Гумбольдта,
Інститут славістики, Грейфсвальдський університет, Німеччина*

Экуменическое

Хельмуту Яхнову

Джованни, Джон, Иоганн и Иван,
Каким допросам вас не подвергали!
На полиграфе даже проверяли,
А получалось – тот же Йоханан.

От цвета кожи до разреза глаз,
От веры до анализа из вены!
На берегах безбрежной Ойкумены
Вас разводили, разделяли вас.

Я не хочу смотреть на форму век,
Мне все равно – тунгуса иль нанайца!
Я не приемлю гнусного зазнайства.
Ты – человек. Я тоже человек.

Ноябрь 2021

Борис Норман,
доктор філологічних наук, професор
Мінськ, Білорусь.

Нині наша держава переживає дуже важкі часи – війна прийшла в Україну. І, на жаль, саме питанням мови прикривається агресор. Росія, розпочавши війну, убиваючи українців, знищуючи російськомовні міста, апелює захистом російськомовних. Мова, як ніщо інше, миттєво реагує на все те, що відбувається в суспільстві. З початком повномасштабної війни в Україні загострився мовний маркер «свій-чужий».

Зона комфорту визначається насамперед мовою середовища – на собі це відчули мільйони вимушених переселенців. Ті, що ще морально й емоційно не готові стати україномовними, не дискримінують україномовних українців, хоча з боку україномовних досить часто звучать заклики не спілкуватися мовою агресора.

Словник війни повсякчас поповнюється. Щоденний лексикон кожної сім'ї має тепер такі слова з військової лексики, як *двохсоті, трьохсоті, гаубиці, броніки, берці, тепловізори, хаймерси*.

Лексема «*приліт*» набула нового відтінку в значенні «влучення і вибух ракети».

Події на фронті відразу знаходять мовний еквівалент: напівсерйозні пропозиції називати новонароджених Байрактарами, Джавелінами; утворення нових слів від епонімів у відповідь на ту чи іншу подію:

шольцити – постійно обіцяти, але завжди знаходити причину, щоб відкласти виконання;

макронити – вдавати стурбованість або часто і без користі телефонувати;

чорнобайти – постійно робити одне і те ж не отримуючи іншого результату та дуже страдати через те;

арестовлення – заспокоєння;

шойгувати – робити вигляд, що все йде за планом (slangzone.net).

Через війну з політичного лексикону зник вираз «*висловити глибоку стурбованість*», бо насправді це означає повну бездіяльність. Висміювання цього виразу змусило політиків змінити свої усталені мовні конструкції.

Ворог теж усвідомлює роль мови в ідентифікації нації, тому на окупованих територіях першочергово змінюють вивіски та написи, н-д: *Маріуполь – Мариуполь*.

Живе слово повстанських пісень, вірші Шевченка дістали друге дихання.

Ті українці, що виїхали за кордон, шукаючи прихистку, різко відчули необхідність знати іноземні мови, намагаючись спілкуватися між собою українською.

Сьогодні війна переконала багатьох у тому, що не може бути нації і держави без мови. Важко не погодитися з І. Фаріон, яка стверджує, що мова – це чинник національної безпеки, яка в час війни набуває виняткового ідентифікаційного значення. Ця війна об'єднала українців із різних регіонів, мовних груп, піднісши українську мову на новий рівень, надавши їй рушійної сили в боротьбі з окупантом.

Людмила Сидоренко,

кандидат філологічних наук, доцент,

*доцент кафедри української мови та загального мовознавства
Черкаський державний технологічний університет, Черкаси, Україна*

Слово українське

Розтрощений аеропорт. Бійці
Серед руїн – з єдиним кулеметом,
Крізь морок пробивались промінці.
З'явилися невідомі силуети,

І перша думка: вороги, стрілять!
Інстинкт самозбереження працює.
Тож будуть до останнього стоять.
І раптом: «Є живі тут? Нас хтось чує?»

Та це ж Господь промовив із небес!
Свої! Бо мова рідна, не чужинська.
І кожен заново в ту мить воскрес.
Так врятувало слово українське.

*Людмила Джулай,
член Національної спілки журналістів
України, поетеса*

Під час війни мало бути громадянином України. Задля перемоги ми всі повинні бути справжніми українцями, а значить розмовляти українською. Тільки через мову прийде справжня любов до України, а справжню любов нічим не залякати. Україна понад усе!

*Гліб Фоменко,
учасник волонтерських курсів української мови
для переселенців у ЧДТУ,
працював керівником виробничої ділянки
на металургійному підприємстві Маріуполя*

Наукове видання

LANGUAGE:
Codification • Competence • Communication
International Scientific Journal
1-2(6-7)/2022

МОВА:
Кодифікація • Компетенція • Комунікація
Міжнародний науковий журнал
1-2(6-7)/2022
(змішаними мовами)

Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію друкованого засобу
масової інформації КВ № 24121-13961Р від 14.08.2019.

*За достовірність фактів, цитат, цифр відповідають автори матеріалів.
Редколегія не завжди поділяє теоретико-методологічні погляди авторів.*

Літературні редактори:

Людмила Сидоренко, Людмила Усик, Мирослава Чепурна

Переклад: Богдан Пукась

Технічний редактор Катерина Давиденко

Дизайн обкладинки: Альона Гребенюк

Видавець – De Gruyter Poland Sp. z o.o.,
with offices at ul. Bogumiła Zuga 32A, 01-811 Warsaw, Poland,
entered into the National Court Register kept by the District Court of Warsaw
under number KRS 0000055478, NIP (fiscal identification) number PL 9521878738,
trading under the name Sciendo.

Виготівник – ФОП ГОРДІЄНКО Є.І.

Свідоцтво про внесення суб'єкта видавничої справи до Державного реєстру видавців,
виготівників і розповсюджувачів видавничої продукції Серія ДК № 4518 від 04.04.2013.

Україна, 18000, м. Черкаси тел./факс: (0472) 56-56-12, (067) 444-28-94
e-mail: book.druk@gmail.com

Формат 70x108/16. Папір офс. Друк цифровий. Гарн. Times New Roman, Arial.
Умов. друк. арк. 9,6. Обл.-вид. арк. 9,9. Наклад 50 прим. Зам. № 22-50.