Summaries and Keywords

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Peter M. Arkadiev. Interaction of actionality, aspect and tense in conditional constructions in the Kuban dialect of Kabardian

I investigate the use of tense-aspect markers in counterfactual conditionals in the Kuban dialect of Kabardian, focusing on the expression of perfective vs. imperfec-tive aspectual viewpoints in combination with different eventuality types. I show that while aspectual and actional information plays an important role in determining the morphological encoding in Kuban Kabardian conditionals, mostly having to do with the choice of the Imperfect vs. Pluperfect tenses, temporal reference remains largely underspecified.

Keywords: Circassian languages, conditionals, counterfactuality, tense, aspect, pluperfect, imperfectivity.

Daria A. Bikina. Double-marking of indefiniteness in Hill Mari

In Hill Mari, several indefinite pronoun series are derived by attaching two different indefiniteness markers — e.g., there is a series with a marker *ta-*, a series with a marker *gə̈n'ät*, and a special series which has the following structure: *ta-STEM-gə̈n'at*. This research deals with the semantics of such double-marked indefinites in Hill Mari. We briefly overview the system of indefiniteness markers in Hill Mari and propose an analysis for two double-marked indefinite pronoun series (*ta-gə̈n'ät* series and *ta-än'ät* series). We suppose that their semantics is compositional; in this particular case, double-marked forms are associated with the semantics of partitivity in non-referential contexts.

Keywords: indefinite pronouns, specificity, partitivity, indefiniteness, semantic maps, Hill Mari.

Anna D. Bochkova. Number marking of nouns in Hill Mari

This article addresses the problem which factors determine noun number marking in Hill Mari. I show how such factors, as referential status, animacy, semantic class of a noun, and specificity of a NP may govern the

choice of singular or plural with non-singular referents. The results are compared to data from other Uralic languages and typological evidence about the category of noun number.

Keywords: Hill Mari, number, differential number marking, referential status, semantic class, animacy hierarchy.

Aleksej I. Vinyar, Ekaterina A. Gerasimenko. Non-syntactic restrictions on incorporation in Chukchi

We examine three incorporation constructions in Chukchi: incorporation of a verbal stem as a modifier of a nominal stem; incorporation of a nominal stem denoting Path inside the verb denoting a translational Motion event and incorporation of a non-Motion verb by a Motion verb. As our study shows, semantic (rather than purely morphosyntactic) properties of these constructions can influence the constraints on the construction formation.

Keywords: Chukchi, Incorporation, Compounding, Motion verbs.

Oleg S. Volkov, Daria I. Ignatenko. Verbal derivations in Chukchi towards the domain of pluractionality

Verbal derivations in Chukchi language cover many different semantic domains. In the same time, many of those derivations establish polysemy towards the domain of pluractionality. The paper considers three such derivations: meteorological inchoative *-rʔu*, antipassive / iterative *-tku* and durative *-lʔet* (in terms of [Dunn 1999]). It will be shown that pluractionality in Chukchi is not a homogeneous category. It is rather that the semantics of pluractionality coexists with other meanings in markers, which undergoes desemantization and becomes more and more abstract, indicating a shift towards intensifiers.

Keywords: aspect, Chukchi language, verbal plurality, inchoative, antipassive, durative, inversive.

Anastasia R. Garejshina. Correlatives in Hill Mari — relative clauses or topic?

The present paper deals with correlative constructions in the Hill (Western) Mari language and aims at describing the exact repertoire of correlatives and their properties originating from relative clauses and topics. Focusing primarily on syntactic tests, I conclude that Hill Mari

correlatives are topic-like structures. Overall, the research is a contribution to the syntactic typology of Uralic languages and proves that Hill Mari correlatives possess properties distinct from ones typical for Indo-European correlatives, e.g. in Russian.

Keywords: Hill Mari, Western Mari, Uralic, correlatives, relative clauses, topic.

Fedor V. Golosov, Aleksej A. Kozlov. Perspective point in past tenses' system in Hill Mari

Our article is devoted to the difference between two synthetic past tenses in Hill Mary, which we denote as Aorist and Perfect. The difference between Aorist and Perfect is usually explained in terms of evidentiality or time distance (from the moment of speech). We will consistently disprove these explanations and offer our own hypothesis, which is based on the concept of perspective point: Aorist is used in contexts adjacent to the perspective point, while Perfect used in contexts, when there is a time distance between the perspective point and the described event.

Keywords: past tenses, discourse, perspective point, Hill Mari, evidentiality.

Tatiana I. Davidjuk. Lative in Hill Mari

There are three locative cases in Hill Mari — inessive, illative, and lative. Inessive and illative encode respectively location and direction, while lative can mark both these situations, but with some restrictions to be considered in this paper. In addition, unlike inessive and illative, lative has many non-spatial meanings that may be related, in my view, to its spatial meanings. Thus, in this paper I consider the spatial and non-spatial uses of lative, as well as relations between these uses.

Keywords: Hill Mari, lative, spatial cases, non-spatial meanings of spatial cases.

Elena V. Delikanova. On two Buryat particles

The paper focuses on comparison of two Buryat particles — *xa(xaʃ)* and *bʃu:*, their linear position within the verbal form, distributive and semantic properties. It was shown that the particle *xa(xaʃ)* expresses two types of evidentiality — inferential evidence and reported evidence, the

particle *bʃu:* marks epistemical possibility, and the distribution of the two particles turns out to overlap in inferential evidence contexts.

Keywords: Buryat language, epistemic modality, evidentiality, particles.

Inna A. Sieber. Variation and sound change: on cases of assimilative vowel labialization

The article deals with several cases of distant assimilative labialization of vowels that can be interpreted either as sound change or as synchronic phonetic variation. The article focuses on experimental data of Russian, in which not only reduced vowels undergo assimilative labialization, but also non-reduced pretonic ones. Fieldwork data of Beserman Udmurt demonstrates significant variation of this type as well. Cases of distant vowel assimilation in Russian and Beserman Udmurt are comparable with those in languages with vowel harmony and umlaut.

Keywords: labialization, assimilation, vowel harmony, umlaut, Russian, Beserman Udmurt, phonetic variation, sound change.

Egor V. Kashkin, Daria O. Zhornik, Maria A. Sidorova. Typological discoveries in the domain of closing (a study of the semantics of verbs with the meanings 'to open' and 'to close')

This article presents a study in lexical typology. We focus on the semantic domain of closing (creating a barrier) and opening (removing a barrier) cross-linguistically. The field of closing is of great interest, as it demonstrates a fine-grained argument structure: **who** closes **what with_what from_what.** The lexicalization of these situations depends not only on the type of barrier (visual vs. physical) and the number of arguments involved (for example, the presence or absence of an instrument), but also on their characteristics and mutual disposition (contact vs. distance). Having compared the situations of opening and closing, we discovered that they are rather asymmetrical. The languages included in the scope of research are Russian, Polish, Swedish, Hill Mari, Komi and Khanty. The research presented led to revealing relevant oppositions in the semantic field of closing and opening.

Keywords: lexical typology, semantics, argument structure, frame-based approach.

Maria A. Nagornaja. Complex reflexive in Buryat

The article investigates the Buryat complex reflexive pronouns that are composed of two simple reflexive stems attaching specific case-markers and reflexive or 3rd person markers. The complex reflexive structure is compared with the structure of the Buryat reciprocal that is composed of the same stems, but has stronger restrictions.

It is proposed to analyze the complex reflexive forms as a combination of a reflexive itself and an intensifier which at the first stage of derivation occupy different syntactic positions as the intensifying component and the antecedent of the reflexive at a certain stage should form a single constituent.

Keywords: Altaic languages, Mongolic languages, Buryat, anaphora, complex reflexive.

Sofia O. Nikiforova. Adverbial verbs in Modern Hebrew

This work focuses on semantics of the constructions with adverbial verbs in Modern Hebrew. These constructions contain a verb with partly adverbial meaning, which is not a matrix verb in general but can acquire a sentential argument (an infinitive) and in this case serves to describe some parameter of the situation denoted by this infinitive (e. g. *lehaarix* 'prolong' → 'for a long time'). We provide a classification of verbs that form such constructions. Based on meanings of the constructions and their behavior in the context of negation, two different types of their semantic structure are proposed.

Keywords: Modern Hebrew, adverbial meanings, adverbial verbs, sentential arguments, semantics.

Elizaveta A. Ryzhkova. Clarification of the status of some spatial adpositions in Ingrian Finnish

The issue this article is dedicated to is about the extent to which Ingrian adpositions *väli-* 'between', *keske-* 'in the middle of', *(i)e-* 'in front of', *ümpär-* 'around', *viere-* 'beside', *piä-* 'on', *luo* 'next to' are grammaticalized. In order to place these items on the Noun — Adposition scale syntactic tests were carried out. On the whole, the items are of different grammaticalization stages and can be classified neither as adpositions nor as nouns.

Keywords: Ingrian Finnish, adpositions, grammaticalization.

Ivan V. Sarkisov. On ergativity in Neo-Aramaic languages

This research examines the ergativity in Neo-Aramaic languages. It is based on the materials of the previous works and field studies. The results show that the system of Neo-Aramaic preterit constructions, that is usually being called «ergative», in sober fact is not ergative. In reality in Neo-Aramaic languages two different systems of the marking of verbal arguments can be found: a nominative alignment with the reversed meaning of agreement suffixes and an active alignment, while the real ergativity never appears.

Keywords: Neo-Aramaic languages, ergativity, active alignment, Semitic languages.

Maria A. Sidorova. Number marking of nouns in quantified expressions in Hill Mari

This article deals with number marking in different types of quantified expressions in Hill Mari. The aim of the study was to find out, which factors have an influence on number marking within such expressions and examine the way they interact. As a result, a peculiar set of rules was discovered (the plural marking is favored by such factors as dependents, syntactic position and distributive interpretation). In addition, these factors seem to be underdescribed in typology of numeral constructions.

Keywords: Hill Mari, number marking, numeral constructions, numerals, quantifiers, variability.

Evgenija A. Sudarikova. Possession and relativity in Chukchi, the example of the markers *-in(e)/-en(a)* and *-kin(e)/-ken(a)*

This article includes the study of the properties of possessive and relative markers in the Chukchi language, such as plurality of possessor, incorporation, possessed predicates. Possessive and relational markers influence on the position of nouns on the animacy hierarchy. The animacy hierarchy in Chukchi language is compared to the universal hierarchy [Croft 2003] and hierarchy in Koryak language [Kurebito 2004].

Keywords: Chukchi, possessive forms, relational forms, animacy hierarchy.

Daniel B. Tiskin. External in internal adverbial modification in Russian prepositional phrases of the type Pred+Adj+N

The paper discusses the competition between word order strategies in Russian, where an adverb modifying an adjective within a prepositional phrase may be itself either within the PP or to the left of it. Several factors are shown to condition the choice of word order, including the properties of the NP complement of the preposition, the choice of the adverb and, importantly, the length of the preposition. An analysis of leftward displaced modification in terms of the PF lowering of the preposition is sketched.

Keywords: clitics, gradable adjectives, noun phrase, post-syntactic lowering, prepositional phrase, Russian, word order.

Evgenija A. Khristoforova. Agentivity of semantic classifiers in Russian Sign Language

Semantic classifiers in sign languages is one of the types of classifiers. These elements indicate their referents, by referring them to a certain class of entities (class of humans, animals, etc.). Among eleven semantic classifiers observed for Russian Sign Language [Khristoforova 2016] three can refer to animated entities. According to corpus data, it is possible to use several different semantic classifiers to encode the same animated referent. We hypothesized that the choice between these three classifiers might be motivated by a particular sematic role of the referent. The paper presents the analysis of sematic roles of the animated referents in the corpus aimed to examine this hypothesis. We came to the conclusion that all three classifiers can refer to Agent, but only one of them is always restricted to an animate referent.

Keywords: sign languages, Russian Sign Language, classifiers, semantic classifiers, Agent, Theme, classifier predicates.

Andrea Ariza-García. Phonation types and tones in Zapotec languages: a synchronic comparison

The languages of the world display different types of interactions between tone and voice quality. This study investigates the typological diversity of vowel phonation and its interaction with tone in Zapotec languages. For the study, ten Zapotec languages were selected, representing the traditional and geographical internal classification of this subgroup. These languages are synchronically and diachronically compared regarding their phonation inventories to establish a preliminary typology. Furthermore,

the simultaneity of tone and voice is compared across the ten languages establishing that the interaction of these two prosodic features, in the majority of these languages, corresponds to what has been called a *mixed system* [Kuang 2013]. A *mixed system*, with regards to the relationship between tone and voice, is the co-occurrence of contrast and correlation between certain tones and certain phonation types.

Keywords: Zapotec languages, phonation types, tones, voice quality, pitch, prosodic features, typology, laryngeal complexity, mixed systems.

Simone Mattiola. Pluractional conceptual space: three case studies and their typological relevance

This paper investigates how pluractional constructions work in three specific languages adopting the analysis proposed in Mattiola [2017a]. Cross-linguistically, these constructions are multifunctional and can be explained through semantic maps. These case studies also raise certain issues on the grammatical status of pluractionality: cross-linguistically grammatical categories are not universal, but they seem to be best conceived as comparative concepts [Haspelmath 2010].

Keywords: pluractionality, typology, semantic maps.

Varia

Ekaterina O. Borzenko. Vchera stanovitsja vcheree: non-standard adverbial comparatives in Modern Russian

This article is devoted to the unusual forms of comparative formed from adverbs in the modern Russian language. Through analysis of the texts of the Internet are revealed the most frequent comparatives of this kind: *gorazdee* (770 occurrences), *davnee* (200) and *vperedee* (from *vperedi*) (152). Altogether there were discovered non-standard comparatives from 86 adverbs. The total number of such comparatives is 2163. Such forms are formed by addition of the suffix of the comparative *-ee/-ej* to the base abverb, the last vowel of this adverb (*sleva — slevee*) and sometimes also the former ending of the noun-base of the adverb (*rjadom — rjadee*) are truncated. Non-standard comparatives formed from adverbs are in many respects similar in the semantics of graduality to comparatives from qualitative adjectives. All semantic groups of adverbial comparatives correspond to semantic groups of the adverbial comparative forms, and every adverb in the formation of comparative acquires the grading scale:

either external (e.g., temporary scale, spatial scale or scale of the necessity) or internal. In the latter case the feature indicated by the adverb, in the form of comparative indicates the greater closeness to the prototype of this feature. If a sign indicated by the adverb originally can be calibrated, the native speaker only overcomes formal restrictions on the formation of comparative (*inogdee* from *inogda*). These forms have various syntactical functions in the sentence: for example, quite often they perform the function of the predicate and the adverbial modifier and less often the function of the definition. The number of such comparatives is growing from year to year, which may be a reason to assume that they will soon become standard in the language.

Keywords: adverb, comparative, non-standard comparatives, adjectival semantics, graduality.

Sergei B. Klimenko, Maria V. Stanyukovich. Yattuka and Tuwali Ifugao hudhud: Yattuka, Keley-I, and Tuwali Ifugao interference

The hudhud — epic genre in the Ifugao province of Northern Luzon — is sung in at least three languages: two Central Cordilleran languages — Tuwali Ifugao and Amganad Ifugao — and one Southern Cordilleran language — Yattuka. There have been numerous claims that Tuwali hudhud texts employ elements from one or more Southern Cordilleran languages. The paper attempts to address the following questions: (i) which Southern Cordilleran language do these elements come from — Keley-i, Yattuka, or both; (ii) is there any linguistic evidence of Southern Cordilleran origin of hudhud genre; (iii) are there elements borrowed from Tuwali in Yattuka hudhud? These issues are approached through examination of possible grammatical and lexical borrowings in several hudhud texts in Tuwali and Yattuka. The major findings include a limited amount of grammatical interference both in Yattuka and Tuwali texts and a more conspicuous number of lexical borrowings in Tuwali texts, although a minor number of Tuwali borrowings is also present in Yattuka texts.

Keywords: Ifugao; Yattuka; Philippines; epic; interference; hudhud.

Tatiana V. Repnina. Iterative conditional constructions (based on the Catalan language)

The article focuses on iterative conditional constructions in Catalan language. The author analyses Iterativity expression forms are analysed: verb tenses and modes, adverbial modifiers. The author distinguishes five

models of the iterative conditional constructions: 1) imperfect indicative both in protasis and in apodosis; 2) present indicative both in protasis and apodosis; 3) present indicative in protasis and future indicative in apodosis; 4) imperfect indicative or conjunctive in protasis and present indicative in apodosis; 5) pluperfect conjunctive in protasis and perfect conditional in apodosis. In addition, the author concludes that the increase of the irrealis meaning correlates with the loss of iterativity.

Keywords: conditional constructions, constructions with two predicates, iterative constructions, iterativity, Catalan language.

Natalia V. Serdobolskaya. Asyndetic complements with the verb *dumat'* in Russian

The verb *dumat'* in Russian can take asyndetic complement clauses, e.g. *A my-to dumali, oni normal'nye arendatory*. I show that the complements of this class, unlike direct speech constructions, require preposing of the clause with the verb *dumat'*, do not allow imperative and negation with *dumat'*. Besides, the discussed construction differs from parentheticals with the same verb (*On, yadumayu, ne priedet*): it can host various kinds of adverbials, focus particles, appositions, converb clauses and other types of dependent clauses. The verb *dumat'* in the constructions in question is a state and denotes opinion (and not pondering, see Apresyan 2015). The discussed construction can be diagnosed as an answer to a question concerning the opinion of the addressee. Semantically, it is close to parentheticals; however, it allows the false opinion reading, as well (unlike parentheticals).

Keywords: complementation, sentential complements, mental verbs, direct speech, indirect speech.

Andrey N. Sobolev, Maksim L. Kisilier, Vyacheslav V. Kozak, Daria V. Koner, Anastasia L. Makarova, Aleksander Yu. Rusakov. South-Slavic dialects in the symbiotic societies of the Balkan

The paper presents new diachronic and synchronic data from the zones of intensive Slavic-non-Slavic contact in South-Eastern Europe within the framework of major theoretical issues of the Balkan and general contact linguistics. The contact induced change and variation through time and space (on the Island of Krk, in Tsakonia, in Prespa, in Golo Bordo, in Mrković and in Caraşova) reveal the general paths of language convergence and the restrictions that apply to that convergence. Historically changing social circumstances of contact, such as symbiosis

with dominant and non-dominant bilingualism are taken into consideration together with the roles of a high culture language vs. a language of traditional culture.

Keywords: Balkan languages, Balkan Sprachbund, language contact, symbiotic societies, Krk, Tsakonia, Prespa, Golloborda, Mrkovici and Karashevo.