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Plenary lectures

Two perennial problems of morphology, and how a constructional approach solves them

In this talk, I address two perennial problems of morphology: the unclear inflection-derivation distinction, and the ideological contrast between morph-based and paradigm-based approaches. Both have been seen as having large-scale repercussions for grammatical theory, but I will argue that the problems disappear once we adopt a constructional approach in which there is not necessarily any componential (or architectural) difference between grammar and lexicon, but where a grammatical system consists of inventorial items (forms and constructions) of various degrees of generality.

The inflection-derivation distinction has sometimes been said to be essential for the notion of “lexeme” and thus for the word-based (or lexeme-based) approach to morphology (e.g. Bonami et al. 2018). In practice, linguists typically make the distinction in the language they use, e.g. by talking about words “inflecting for categories” (for inflection), and about “words being formed or created” (for derivation). But in practice, the distinction has been found hard to draw (e.g. Plank 1994; Booij 2000), and I will suggest that it is mostly based on traditional stereotypes (words as described by grammatical paradigms, or words as described in dictionaries). On a constructional view (e.g. Jackendoff & Audring 2020), no distinction needs to be made.

Similarly, the distinction between the morph-based approach (associated with American descriptivism) and the paradigm-based or word-based approach (e.g. Anderson 1992; Stump 2001) has often been highlighted by morphologists (cf. Stewart 2016) and has taken on an almost ideological quality. But while many morphologists have rightly emphasized the limitations of the classical morph(eme) concept (e.g. Anderson 2015; Luís 2023), saying that morphology must be “word-based” cannot be a general solution, as there is no good basis for a universal “word” concept (Haspelmath 2011). I will argue that again, the solution comes from the constructional view: Not only non-concatenative and non-isomorphic patterns can be described in this way, but also concatenative patterns, and all syntactic patterns, too. Thus, the constructional approach is fully compatible with a non-componential view of morphosyntax, where there is not only no grammar-lexicon dichotomy, but no dichotomy between morphology and syntax either.

It is true that languages have some properties that make it appear that their structures

correspond to our traditional divisions (syntax, morphology, lexicon), but the constructional view does not make it necessary to assume these divisions. On the contrary, it becomes possible to investigate empirically whether these properties are more than just appearances, whether they can be explained in other ways (e.g. by appealing to principles of efficient coding), or whether a qualified componential view may be justified after all.

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Attraction and Prediction: Two Corpus Studies from Russian

I will discuss two situations that we often face in usage-based linguistics working with corpus data. I will refer to them as “attraction” and “prediction”.

Attraction is when two linguistic elements co-occur, and we wonder whether they represent a robust pattern that L2 learners need to focus on. A well-known case is Russian motion verbs, where certain prefixes tend to combine with certain prepositions. For instance, in *vojti v dom* ‘walk into a house’ we find both the prefix *v-* and the preposition *v*. How strong is the attraction between the prefix and the preposition? Which combinations represent patterns that L2 learners need to focus on?

I will report on a corpus study of ca. 20,000 examples from the Taiga corpus. Although there are many possible combinations of prefixes and prepositions, a collostructional analysis (Gries 2019) shows that only a small number of combinations involve strong attraction, and therefore would be most strategic for L2 learners of Russian to focus on.

In addition to identifying patterns of relevance for L2 learning, the study addresses the so-called goal-over-source hypothesis (Ikegami 1979), according to which we talk and think more about where we are going than where we come from (Stefanowitsch 2018: 143). The prediction is that prefixes and prepositions describing goals are more frequent than prepositions referring to the source of a motion event. Our study lends support to this hypothesis but adds some nuances to the picture. We demonstrate that there are differences in the behavior of expressions of goals vs. sources with respect to (a) prefixes and prepositions, (b) literal and metaphorical motion, and (c) macro and micro level constructions.

“Prediction” is a situation that occurs when a language has two or more competing forms that seemingly fulfill the same function. A classic example from Russian syntax involves predicate adjectives, where three rival forms compete. In order to say ‘the house was empty’, we may use the long form *pustoj*, the short form *pust*, or the instrumental form *pustym* of the adjective meaning ‘empty’. Can the choice of adjective form be predicted from the context? Or do the three forms express different meanings? Stated differently, are we dealing with complementary distribution (same meaning in different contexts?) or a distinctive opposition (different meanings in the same context)?

I report on findings from two corpus studies of Russian adjectives showing that the choice of adjective is partly, but not fully predictable from the context. I suggest that the distinction between complementary distribution and distinctive opposition is not categorical, but that the

two concepts represent endpoints on a cline. Over the years, cognitive linguistics has reinterpreted a number of fundamental concepts in linguistics. What were thought to be categorical distinctions have turned out to be scalar. Now the time has come to reconsider the distinction between complementary distribution and distinctive opposition.

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Pictures, Images and Words: Ekphrasis, Iconicity and Cognitive Linguistics

The nature of relations that interconnect pictures (artefacts), (mental) images and words (*langue* and *paroles*) has inspired – and antagonised – scholars ever since Aristotle claimed that “the soul never thinks without *εἰκόνα*”. In English translation the *εἰκόνα* is rendered, by various commentators and interpreters, as, alternatively, “picture”, “mental picture”, “image”, “mental image” or “phantasm”. Lexical terminological differences and, in consequence, different understandings of Aristotle’s idea are a moot point of many pertinent discussions.

I do not feel competent to try and present arguments for the belief that if not all, then much thinking is based upon pictures (or images, or phantasms), thus following numerous researchers in taking the relationship for granted. I will focus upon those aspects of terminological, and therefore notional, distinctions that seem relevant to linguists, particularly of cognitivist persuasion, with particular reference to intersemiotic and interlingual translation.

Relationships between pictures (usually taken to be (re)presentations of artefacts) and their verbal descriptions are typically discussed in terms of ekphrasis. In the narrow sense, ekphrasis is taken to refer to a poetic text describing a painting, a sculpture or an edifice; to quote yet another classic, the Greek poet Simonides, “painting is silent poetry, poetry is *eloquent painting*”, or *ut pictura poesis*. In a broader sense, the term ekphrasis stands for verbal representation of a graphic or visual representation. It is with this larger sense in view that I will discuss some crucial properties of ekphrasis: the **similarity** between the represented and the representation, the implied **presence of an interpreter** as author of the representation, and the **subjectivity**, or the inherently phenomenological character of all representation. Interestingly, ekphrasis shares these three characteristics with the theory of language – and verbal expression(s) – proposed within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics. I will claim that Langacker’s dimensions of construal, notably the level of specificity, point of view, perspective and objectification, make it possible to describe significant elements of ekphrasis in texts which are not “ekphrastic” in the orthodox sense. Reconstructing pictures – or images – that give rise to different construals might reveal linguistic underpinnings of ekphrasis. In turn, linguistic analysis of representations traditionally considered “ekphrastic” might shed some light upon the crucial relationship between Talmy’s *-ception* (combination of per- and con-ception) and its linguistic expression. In conclusion, I will make a (not too original) plea for cross-fertilization.

General session

Cross-linguistic perspectives on DESPAIR: a corpus-based study of Croatian, Slovene, and Polish

This study investigates the conceptualization of DESPAIR utilizing data from Croatian, Slovene, and Polish web corpora (hrWaC, SITenTen15, and plTenTen19). It comprises two main parts, each examining a random sample of 400 sentences per language. The first part examines sentences containing the target-domain lexemes (nouns) meaning ‘despair’, building upon Šarić’s (2023) study on *očaj* (‘despair’) in Croatian and comparing metaphorical patterns (Stefanowitsch 2006; Pragglejaz Group 2007) of DESPAIR across all three languages. The second part focuses on sentences with the three verbs meaning ‘to despair’ (Croatian *očajavati*, Slovene *obupati*, Polish *rozpaczać*), analyzing their syntactic and semantic frames.

Our preliminary results suggest that the metaphorical understanding of ‘despair’ in Croatian, Slovene, and Polish shares common source domains, depicting a state of hopelessness, profound sadness, and sometimes depression. Furthermore, our examination of verbs meaning ‘to despair’ in each language reveals additional connotations: ‘to worry’ in Croatian, ‘to give up’ in Slovene, and ‘to lament’ in Polish. Consequently, while the metaphorical patterns of DESPAIR are analogous across these languages, the nuanced meanings of associated verbs differ, suggesting variations in the conceptualization of this concept. The findings also indicate that the Croatian verb *očajavati* frequently connotes experiencing shallow sadness, whereas the Polish verb *rozpaczać* implies deep sadness, distress, or grief, and the Slovene verb *obupati* conveys resignation and hopelessness. Our data confirm the complexity of despair as an emotional state, wherein each language underscores a distinct facet of the associated emotional experience.

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Corpora

hrWaC: The Croatian Web Corpus. <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/hrwac-croatian-corpus/>.

plTenTen: The Polish Web Corpus. <https://www.sketchengine.eu/pltenten-polish-corpus/>.

SlTenTen15: The Slovenian Web Corpus. <https://www.sketchengine.eu/sltenten-slovenian-corpus//>

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Warszawie

Insights into pre-school bilingual education in Poland

Bilingual development from the early years has, over the years, gained popularity not only in naturalistic second language contexts, but also in foreign – largely monolingual and monocultural – settings, such as the Polish one. Such contexts seem much more limited in terms of possibilities of developing a child's competence in a language different from their heritage one. Yet, many Polish parents – be it for reasons, such as the advantage of an early age for language acquisition coupled with the perceived importance of possessing foreign language competence – look for opportunities for their off-spring to develop a measure of FL skills from an early start.

In this study, we look into the demographic profiles and linguistic experiences of children attending bilingual kindergartens in Poland. The study is part of the larger research on morphosyntactic abilities of Polish-English and Polish-German bilinguals with the use of the LITMUS Sentence Repetition Task (SRep; short, Polish version; Przygocka et al., 2021) and Cross-linguistic Lexical Task (Haman et al., 2021) to vocabulary control. So far, we have collected data on 94 bilingual children (n=94), their family backgrounds, language development and types of linguistic exposure. We have compared the results in SRep and CLT of the children in bilingual kindergartens, monolinguals and native bilinguals. All the groups were matched on age (5;0-6;11) and sex. The preliminary findings found no significant quantitative differences between educational bilingual and monolingual children. Our intention in this article, however, is to give a qualitative insight into the patterns of early educational bilingualism in the Polish context.

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In search of Russian verbs denoting the activity of shopping: Interaction of borrowing and word formation

Word formation in the context of loan words is a somewhat understudied area of linguistic research (ten Hacken and Panocová 2020). Backus (2013) proposes the usage-based approach as a useful tool for taking a fresh look at loanwords. Sokolova et al. (2023) adopt this tool in their analysis of the choice of suffix and prefix in loan verbs compared to original Slavic verbs.

In my paper, I adopt a usage-based approach to study loan verbs that denote the activity of shopping, formed through suffixation from the loanwords *šop* (n. ‘shop’) and *šoping* (n. ‘shopping’) (also spelled *šopping*, against recommendation). As attestations of such verbs in the Russian National Corpus are scarce, I use Integrum database of Russian-language media.

Like many loanwords of English origin ending in *-ing*, *šoping*/*šopping* have formed verbs with the suffix *-ova-*: *šopingovat’*/*šoppingovat’*. As found by Sokolova et al. (2023), the suffix *-ova-* is widely used to form verbs both from foreign and Slavic stems. Semelfactive *šopingnut’*/*šoppingnut’* also occur in Integrum. When it comes to verbs formed from *šop*, several suffixes are attested (*-a-*, *-irova-*, *-niča-*, *-stvo-*, *-nu-*, and *-i-*). All suffixes but *-i-* are marginal, and verbs with some of them also convey other meanings. The only serious candidate is reflexive *šopit’sja* with the suffix *-i-*, which is extensively used in recent loan verbs of English origin (Sokolova et al. 2023).

From Integrum (all dates up to 20 April 2024) I retrieved a corpus of about 600 documents containing *šopingovat’*, some 100 with *šoppingovat’*, and nearly 1,150 featuring *šopit’sja*. The tendency to form new verbs in *-i-* in addition to earlier borrowings in *-irova-* (noted by Sokolova et al.) is reflected in the order of appearance of *šopingovat’*/*šoppingovat’* and *šopit’sja* in Integrum: the former make their first appearance in 1997, whereas the latter follows in 2001. All three variants mostly occur in the infinitive, but also present tense, past tense, imperative, participle, and gerund forms occur in different proportions. Judging by the numbers of attestations on the whole and during the last years, *šopit’sja* might be on its way to supersede *šopingovat’*/*šoppingovat’*. However, *šopingovat’* outnumbers *šopit’sja* when it comes to attestations of present participle forms and gerunds.

The paper presents quantitative and qualitative analyses of the Russian “shopping” verbs across times, constructions, and types of media sources in Integrum.

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Masculinity as Superiority: A Study of Multimodal Metaphors in Russian Promotional Discourse

The presentation reports on an analysis of multimodal metaphors promoting the superiority of Russia over other nations in military and technological fields in promotional discourse for beer. In promotional discourse, metaphor operates as a powerful cultural tool (Kövecses 2002) embedded in contextualized social practices (Scollon 2001). Social and cultural practices featured in advertising provide valuable insight into socio-cultural values and principles exercised in society. Multimodal metaphors have received little attention in the Russian promotional discourse on alcoholic beverages. To my knowledge, Timofeev (2005, 2008) has been the only one to date to analyze vodka and beer ads focusing on the gender semantics of Russian brand names and the symbol of the bear extensively employed in Russian vodka ads. Drawing on the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the multimodal metaphor theory (Forceville 2009), and the mediated discourse theory (Scollon 2001), the analysis of seven Russian beer commercials has revealed the conceptual metaphors BEER IS A WINNER and BEER IS A SCIENTIFIC INVENTION manifested through verbal, imagistic, and sonic modalities. Associating beer with a winner, weapon, and scientific inventions, designers attempt to convince viewers that the consumption of Russian beer empowers their masculinity. The metaphors generate conceptual mappings that construe masculinity as a winner in such large-scale events as a universal battle in the name of good and gaining scientific superiority over other countries. The presenter will demonstrate the robustness of the metaphors and their conceptual mappings in sample video clips of beer commercials, will discuss how the mappings reflect such a complex social-cultural phenomenon as masculinity through different modalities and will detail how Russian culture integrates beer drinking into its daily social practice.

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Metaphors We Fix Our Teeth With: Cognitive Metaphor In (Croatian) Dental Tourism

By elucidating how abstract concepts are conceptualized through tangible experiences, metaphors offer an access point leading from language to cognition (and vice versa), while also exemplifying the application of Cognitive Linguistics. In this paper we present the results of a comprehensive analysis of metaphors used in a particular segment of Croatian; the domain of dental tourism. Employing a comparative and contrastive approach, we juxtapose our findings regarding metaphors embedded within (dental) tourism discourse against conventional metaphoric constructs in Croatian dental tourism. Additionally, we compare prevalent metaphoric categories in Croatian dental tourism discourse with established motivations prompting foreign patients to select Croatia for dental procedures. By final analysis, we examine the metaphors used on the web sites under examination in the English and Italian translations of web material (translated subpages of the sites).

Our study pursues two primary objectives: firstly, the goal is to delineate the similarities and differences between metaphoric expression in general tourism and those distinct to dental tourism. Secondly, we aim to uncover the extent to which creators of promotional content employing dental tourism metaphors are cognizant of the preferences and motivations driving international patients to choose Croatia for dental care.

Through this investigation, we aim to assess the resonance of promotional language in dental tourism with the authentic motivations and requirements of the international patient cohort.

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Evaluative morphology and (inter)subjectivity in a digital genre: a case study

A recent corpus study of the Croatian derivational suffix *-ar-a* (Buljan 2024) revealed that it is breaking free from its old mold. Its long marginalized/unrecognized function as an evaluative (*komunjara* ‘a staunch communist’ < *komunist* ‘a communist’) was found to be more type frequent and productive than its presumably “primary” function as a locative (*cementara* ‘cement factory’ < *cement*). These unorthodox findings were possibly an artefact of corpus composition (hrWaC is a web corpus, with 25% of tokens from the forum.hr and blog.hr websites; Ljubešić & Klubička 2014) but are valuable nonetheless.

The goal of this new corpus study (new data sourced from genre-annotated CLASSLA-web.hr, v.01, 2.4 billion words; Ljubešić & Kuzman 2024) is to probe deeper into *ar-a*’s evaluative tokens to explore whether: (1) their own semantic variability reflects a typical path of semantic change from meanings grounded in the objective situation (augmentation of a dimensional feature of proposition-internal referents, plus possible connotations) to non-propositional, (inter)subjective meanings indexing the speaker’s identity and his perspective on the speech situation (Traugott & Dasher 2002, Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994, Geeraerts 1997); and whether (2) this type of change might be especially characteristic of certain genres of online communication where linguistic innovation is mainly about “doing identity” within virtual communities (Paolillo 1999), “attention seeking” through linguistic creativity/playfulness (Schultz 2000, Deumert 2008, Raymond 2003, Danet 2001). Our comparison of *ar-a* evaluatives sourced from the “forum” vs. “promotional” vs. “explanatory/informational” genres of the CLASSLA corpus indicates that the non-propositional, (inter)subjective readings are indeed particularly characteristic of the forum. Beyond that our data suggest that, while it is indeed possible to motivate some of the semantic variability by recourse to conceptual metonymy and metaphor, a complete account of our data depends on embedding these conceptual factors into a more decidedly socio-pragmatic approach to meaning-making (Harder 2010, etc.).

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Nowomediale żarty immersyjne w świetle kognitywnej filozofii poznania i języka

Tematem proponowanego wystąpienia są nowomediale multimodalne wypowiedzi komiczne, kolportowane w mediach społecznościowych, o specyficznej strukturze kompozycyjno-konceptualnej, którą autorka wystąpienia nazywa konstrukcją immersyjną. Immersyjna konstrukcja komunikatu oznacza, że ma on zdolność kreowania amalgamatywnej przestrzeni mentalnej obejmującej osobę użytkownika – nadawcę lub odbiorcę.

Przykładowo, będzie to mem internetowy przedstawiający grupę ludzi w windzie „patrzących” na internautę po drugiej stronie ekranu i „mówiących” do niego: „Scrolluj dalej, musimy jechać na górę”. W wytwarzanej przestrzeni amalgamatu, scalającej przestrzeń windy z realną przestrzenią „tu i teraz” internauty, znajduje się nie tylko immersyjnie wciągnięty w nią odbiorca, ale także presuponowana jego aktualna aktywność fizyczna (scrollowanie).

Wystąpienie ma trzy cele badawcze: 1. wskazanie powtarzalnych mechanizmów poznawczych, w tym percepcyjnych i semantycznych, służących konstruowaniu tego typu komunikatów komicznych; 2. wskazanie ich związku z enaktywnością, ekstensywnością oraz ucieleśnieniem struktur poznawczych i afordatywnością nowych mediów; 3. ukazanie na wybranych czterech przykładach cech samej konstrukcji semiotyczno-kompozycyjnych zdolnych wywoływać konceptualne złudzenie immersyjności, analizowanych przede wszystkim z wykorzystaniem narzędzi analizy semantycznej sieci integracji pojęciowych. Wnioski dotyczą wzajemnych uwarunkowań procesów poznawczych, technologii nowomediale i konstrukcji komicznych składających się na specyfikę i atrakcyjność badanego typu komunikatów.

Plan wystąpienia obejmuje cztery części: 1. prezentację wybranych elementów kognitywnej filozofii poznania i języka (ucieleśnienie i 4E); 2. omówienie specyfiki komizmu uwarunkowanego środowiskiem nowych mediów; 3. analizę wybranych przykładów żartów immersyjnych; 4. wnioski.

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On stage and (on?) screen: Do prepositions with multiple objects repeat more often in synthetic languages than analytic languages?

In this study we explore how various factors influence the repetition or lack of repetition of prepositions in phrases with multiple objects in listings using various conjunctions. We compare this phenomenon in Russian as a highly-inflected language where prepositions govern cases – sometimes multiple cases – compared with English where prepositional phrases simply have objects. We couch this study in terms of Construction Grammar as a corpus-based investigation of alternating constructions.

Examining data for Russian from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) and from Russian Web 2017 (ruTenTen17) and for English from the English Web 2021 (enTenTen21) corpus retrieved via SketchEngine, we explore how set phrases, idioms, typical collocations of two or three items compare with more random groupings of items from various categories (e.g., musical instruments, days of the week, sports, etc.).

A similar study of Russian was conducted by Satyukova (2015), but only with regard to prepositions followed by multiple adjectives modifying a single noun.

Although repetition of prepositions in such phrases in English is rare, the repetition of prepositions in Russian occurs fairly often, but examples with repetitions still lag behind those without repetition in most semantic domains or groupings of items. However, some domains do show a marked tendency to repeat the preposition with multiple objects. Such domains include cardinal directions (*на юг и на восток* ‘to the south and (to) the east’), some body parts (*за руки и за ноги* ‘by the hands and (by) feet’), and some set expressions (*на сцене и на экране* ‘on stage and (on) screen’, *на суше и на море* ‘on land and (on) sea’).

As an example, English *on stage and on screen* does occur in enTenTen21 263 times, but occurs without repetition 2,414 times. In the ruTenTen17 we find *на сцене и на экране* 127 times with repetition and only 51 times without repetition.

In the talk, we will reveal additional instances where repetition is more likely than the absence of repetition and what possible factors contribute to the likelihood of repeating prepositions. Factors considered in the study include the specific preposition, the semantics of the noun objects, noun length, bare noun or noun phrase, nouns with personal pronouns, the number of object elements (2, 3, or more), the particular conjunction, phonological variations

with prepositions (*о/об/обо*), collocation frequency, semantic roles, and speech act types.

We also consider the hypothesis that synthetic languages have a tighter connection between the adposition and the accompanying case morphology on the nouns leading to more frequent repetition.

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Exploring the Role of Phonotactic Probability and Morphology in the Perception of Written Czech Pseudowords

Phonotactic probability refers to the frequency with which phonological segments and sequences of phonological segments occur in words in a given language (Vitevitch & Luce, 2004). Prior studies have emphasized its importance in language processing and language acquisition (Jusczyk, Luce & Charles-Luce, 1994; Mattys & Jusczyk, 2001; Pitt & McQueen, 1998). It has also been observed that pseudowords with higher phonotactic probability are more likely to be perceived as genuine words by readers (Vitevitch et al., 1997). The first tool to measure phonotactic probability was introduced for English in 2004 (Vitevitch & Luce, 2004) and for Czech in 2023 (Čechová et al., 2023). This study uses Czech as a case due to its rich morphological structure, which is in contrast with English's sparse morphology.

In experiment 1, 100 native speakers of Czech evaluated 40 written pseudowords with varying phonotactic probabilities. Participants rated these pseudowords for their word-likeness on a seven-point Likert scale. A mixed-effects model indicated that phonotactic probability strongly predicts word-likeness ratings ($\chi^2(1) = 18.92, p = 0.000014$), although results showed considerable variance. No significant influence of neighborhood density was observed. To understand if morphological effects could explain the variance, we conducted experiment 2.

In the subsequent on-going experiment, participants evaluate 40 written pseudowords constructed with either high or low phonotactic probability bases and either with a morphological ending or without it. The phonotactic probability value of the endings is comparable. Participants again rate these on a seven-point Likert scale, and results are analyzed using a mixed-effects model with phonotactic probability and morphology serving as fixed effects.

This research confirms that phonotactic probability affects the perception of written pseudowords in Czech similarly to its effect in English. The ongoing second experiment further investigates how morphology might influence these perceptions, potentially explaining the observed variance.

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Constructionalization of body part constructions in Russian: the case of a ‘gossiping’ construction group

The paper deals with the evolution of Russian constructions that include body part terms. Body part terms are cross-linguistically the most productive lexical source of grammaticalization: 39 out of 201 lexical sources of grammaticalization described by Heine and Kuteva (2002) are body part terms.

The goal of the paper is to track the dynamic interactions and variations in the diachronic development of a group of Russian body part constructions. The research is based on data from the Russian Constructicon (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>), which targets entrenched multi-word expressions with quasi-grammatical meanings.

The paper discusses a new category referred to as “exclusative”. This category is instantiated by five Russian constructions with body parts as anchor words: *za spinoj* ‘behind back’, *za glaza* ‘behind eyes’, *v lob* ‘in forehead’, *v glaza* ‘in eyes’, *v litso* ‘in face’. These constructions denote a specific parameter of a communication situation and form a construction family (Endresen & Janda 2020) that belongs to a larger group of constructions with body parts as anchor words.

A crucial feature of the construction family in question is its semantics of the exclusion of a participant, specifically the object of the conversation. No grammatical category denoting exclusion of an object from a communication situation is documented in the languages of the world (Mel’čuk 1998; Heine & Kuteva 2002; Plungjan 2011). The closest grammatical meaning found in the languages of the world is evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004). However, the meaning of constructions under scrutiny is different from the well-researched grammatical category of evidentiality. Non-compositional structure of constructions provides them with the ability to obtain non-trivial semantics. Binary opposition of mutually exclusive meanings is typical for grammatical markers (Jakobson 1957). The construction group in question represents a more complex opposition not characteristic of grammar: ‘exclusion of the object’ vs. ‘focus on the inclusion of the object’.

The research shows that three constructions in the family have followed the same historical trajectory: *v litso*, *v glaza* and *za glaza* developed from a less specific ‘presence’ meaning to one strictly constrained to communication. In addition, the paper investigates the possible impact of aspect and verb class of the VP slot fillers on the choice between

synonymous constructions of the group based on frequency distributions in corpus data.

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Redundancy in person marking: Investigation of subject pronoun expression in Polish and Russian using a multifactorial design

Redundancy of marking and expression is said to offer two major benefits, i.e. protection against information loss, and promotion of learnability. Because information is coded more than once, redundant marking prevents information from being lost in the noisy language channel (Levshina 2020, 2021; Van de Velde 2014; Winter 2014) while also promoting learnability by ensuring multiple cues are available (Tal & Arnon 2022). However, languages vary widely in whether and how they encode certain properties redundantly. In this study, we look at the potential redundancy of marking person information through pronouns and verb forms in Russian and Polish.

Both grammatical means *can* be used simultaneously. The presence of the subject pronoun depends on various factors, such as subject number (Erker & Guy 2012), switch in referent (Erker & Guy 2012; Nagy 2015; Wagner 2018), semantic class of the verbs (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015; Erker & Guy 2012; Wagner 2018), length of verb phrase (Wagner 2018). Furthermore, in both Polish and Russian, verbs are marked for person and number, but in Polish personal pronouns are more often omitted than in Russian without losing referential information. This raises more general questions about the role of redundancy and efficiency in language (see also Trudgill 2011; Leufkens 2020).

In our presentation, we explore ways of encoding first and second person subject pronouns in spoken language data from a standard Null Subject Language (NSL), Polish, and a partial NSL language, Russian. We model which variables increase or decrease the chances of retaining or omitting redundant marking. We sampled 2000 affirmative indicative verb contexts from the Spontaneous Speech Corpus of Russian and the Subtitles Corpus of Polish. The distribution of extracted forms followed the overall distribution of the forms in the corpora in terms of person and number. The proportions of overt pronoun expression are 6% in Polish and 57% in Russian.

The data were manually coded for a wide range of variables related to semantics (verb

type), morphosyntax (person, number, verb tense, clause complexity, sentence type, clause type), as well as memory and processing (recency of mention, referent switch, structural persistence). Mixed-effects logistic regression was applied to the annotated datasets to detect what governs the choice between overt and covert subject pronouns in each language. Variables related to processing and verb semantics seem to promote pronoun use in all languages unidirectionally, although with different magnitudes, while morphosyntactic variables show considerable cross-linguistic variance.

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The interplay between inflectional morphology and phonetically reduced speech

Growing interest in multimodality leads to deeper questions concerning the integration of the auditory channel into sufficiently realistic representations of speakers' linguistic knowledge (cf. Verhagen, forthcoming). Working with the hypothesis that spoken communication rests on a successful transfer of contextually adequate phonetic information, we explore empirically validated strategies speakers appear to employ in satisfying the demands of smooth interaction: conserving articulatory effort (leading to phonetically reduced forms) without jeopardizing interpretability. Our goal is to identify factors that co-determine the speakers' choices in selecting particular clusters of phonetic features out of the full phonetic potential of a given word while still providing phonetic information sufficient for successful interpretation.

Based on naturalistic Czech data, we focus on the tension between morphology and phonetics, testing the relative salience of certain inflectional categories vis-à-vis phonetic affordances that follow from inherent phonetic properties of a given wordform. The starting point for our analysis is the attested distribution of phonetically reduced forms, using Zíková & Machač's (2014) methodology for measuring the 'word reduction rate' (WRR) based on the realization of phonetic features.

The heart of our probe is the verb *povídat* 'narrate', whose wordforms offer instructive patterns in several respects: they (i) provide clear morphological contrasts for examining the semantic contribution of specific morphemes (e.g. *povídá-m* vs. *povídá*); (ii) contain phonetic segments with inherently different phonetic (in)stability (e.g. *povídá-m* vs. *povída-l*); (iii) display widely disparate degrees of phonetic reductions (WRR 64% vs. 14% as compared to the full pronunciation); and (iv) suggest some candidates for the status of "phonetic chunks" (Bybee 2010, Bybee et al. 2016) – units that speakers might store as such in addition to the phonetically full variants.

The observed contrasts across this verb's paradigm reveal that morphology may inhibit reductions of otherwise highly unstable segments; morphology and phonetics may reinforce each other; phonetic reduction may occur regardless of morphology. Simultaneously, the distribution of the reductions is sensitive to additional conditions provided by the continuous speech, such as double marking of certain categories, anticipatory effect of auxiliaries, prosodic interference (e.g. tempo), and/or semantically/functionally motivated distinction between

compositional and non-compositional meaning.

Two generalizations emerge. (i) Realistic representations of the relationship between linguistic form and its phonetic realization in actual communication must go beyond a simplistic assumption that phonetics is subservient to what a morpheme/word encodes. (ii) The material calls for establishing the nature of ‘minimal phonetic information’ that speakers conventionally know and accept as a contextually sufficient pronunciation variant of specific word(form)s.

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A Cognitive Grammar Analysis of TOŠNIT'-Type Verbs and Their Unaccusativity

Russian *tošnit'*-type verbs and the ‘*Menja tošnit*’ construction have been confused with the ‘adversity construction’ (e.g., *Ee ubilo molnjej*). This paper attempts to show how *tošnit'*-type verbs and their constructions differ from the adversity construction, and how the two are conceptually related. Lastly, it shows how *tošnit'*-type verbs are related to unaccusativity.

Five relatively common *tošnit'*-type verbs (*tošnit'-stošnit'*, *znobit'-oznobit'*, *lixoradit'-zalexoradit'*, *zaklinivat'-zaklinit'*, *korobit'-pokorobit'*) were chosen based on their syntactic properties: a strong preference for the impersonal construction with a single accusative argument (henceforth *tošnit'*-construction), which I suggest is a subtype of the *accusative impersonal* (AI) together with “adversity construction”. The data were gathered from the Russian National Corpus and analyzed with respect to various features. Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008) is applied to the data to construct a descriptive model for *tošnit'*-type verbs and their construction.

The analysis of data shows that the *tošnit'*-construction is distinct from the ‘adversity construction’ in two ways, in their syntax/construction and their meaning. Syntactically, the *tošnit'*-construction contains only one argument, in the accusative, in contrast to the ‘adversity construction’. Semantically, both the “adversity construction” and *tošnit'*-construction have an unclear agentive causal chain, though the degree of clarity differs. The *tošnit'*-construction lacks any agent in the causal chain (due to the external unobservability of the causation), making it less clear. This comports with previously suggested meanings such as “physiological or psychological states” (Creissels 2019) or low agentivity, topicality, and referentiality of verbs of this type (Schlund 2018).

In addition, the analysis shows that the probability of a *tošnit'*-type verb being used in the *tošnit'*-construction is high, but not absolute, as shown by examples of *tošnit'*-type verbs in nominative-accusative constructions, as suggested by Creissels (2019). Moreover, prototypically agentive verbs are also attested in the *tošnit'*-construction (e.g., *Majora trjaslo*). This is because a verb can express various kinds of events with differing degrees of clarity of the causal chain. The result is that a given verb can occur in different constructions, the nominative-accusative construction or *tošnit'* construction, in different contexts.

This paper argues that unclear agentive causal chain can be related to the concept of

unaccusativity through Cognitive Grammar. The *tošnit'* construction cannot have a causer or agent. Whereas the event has a patient-like argument that naturally has the accusative case. This is conceptually similar to an unaccusative verb, a sub-type of intransitive verbs with a patient-like argument.

Tošnit'-type verbs occur in a subtype of AI construction that has an unclear agentive causal chain with other subtypes but differ in its degree of clarity from others, which leads to its similarity to unaccusative verbs.

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Form variation of человек-люди with a numeral

Yanko (2003) observes that despite numerous studies on the diversity of Russian numerals and associated nouns, “there still remain certain questions to be answered”. I would add: There are still certain questions to be asked. This paper proposes some of those questions and answers.

Russian suppletive человек-люди is known to have a peculiar “counting form” (счетная форма, Буланин 1976) also known as “paucal”: три человека^{Gen.sg}, Gen. sg. for 2, 3, 4 (and полтора if need be), but Gen. pl. пять человек^{Kalt.Gen.pl} rather than пять людей^{Gen.pl}. (Compare: три дома^{Gen.sg}, пять домов^{Gen.pl}.)

However, this textbook-like discussion covers only the nominative case of the construction, while ignoring the oblique cases. Yet, those cases exhibit additional variations. Let’s list the possibilities for two of them:

Gen. нет / без / от / у / из || двух человек / людей

Acc. через / на || два человека / двух человек /двух людей

In other words, accusative allows three options, while oblique cases only allow two. On the other hand, some oblique cases represent clear language change, for example RNC has 3 examples of о двух человеках, the last one dated 1936, and 12 examples of о двух людях, including 21st century examples. This represents a clear shift for Prep. Case.

Meanwhile the listed Gen and Acc forms represent **current** variation; none of the forms is moving into obsolescence. The task of this paper is to identify semantic distinctions between these co-existing constructions.

The difference lies in: first, the actual meaning of the word человек, what particular features are at play, and second, their function towards Landmark₁ / Speaker and Landmark₂.

Через два/три/четыре человека_j views each person as occupying a space and as a measure of distance from a designated Landmark₁ to Landmark₂ (often in line) (L₁ or L₂ may be a speaker):

Высокий блондин (Landmark₂), полный такой, **через два человека** справа от вас (Landmark₁) – преподаватель из нашей академии. [Александра Маринина. Стечение обстоятельств (1992)]

Через двух человек typically describes the action as OVER/ABOVE two people:

Неля (Landmark₂) **через двух человек** дотянулась до меня (Landmark₁) и поцеловала. [Н. Б. Саяпова. Дневник (1991)]

Через двух людей, even though absent in RNC, is present on the web. Typically, it

describes people as individuals serving as intermediaries:

С Нинбургом Евгением Александровичем (Landmark₂) я (Landmark₁) никогда знакома не была, однако связь с ним всё же существует, по крайней, мере, **через двух людей**: моего мужа и его друга - Артемия Нинбурга.
(<https://kandalaksha.org/interesno/136-znakomtes-artemij-evgenevich-ninburg.html>)

In other words, three variations of accusative with a numeral + человек/людей represent three different schemas.

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If you must know ... Allostructions with sarcastic use of modal verbs in Slovak

Drawing on data from the Omnia Slovaca IV Maior corpus, the paper presents a case study of the Slovak subordinate clause *Ked’/Ak už/aj SUBJ musiet’/mat’ INF...* ‘if/when already SUBJ must INF’, cf. example (1):

- (1) Ked’ už musíte niečo vypit’, dajte prednosť prírodnému vínu a vyhnite sa kalorickému pivu.

‘If you must drink something, choose natural wine and avoid caloric beer.’

Within this construction, the unexpected validity of the proposition *p* is expressed by the subordinate clause with the conjunctions *ked’/ak*. Pragmatically, *p* encodes the propositional content, evaluated as negative by the speaker, which has to be accepted (in the sense of “nothing can be done”) (cf. Karlík 1998, 234–35). This pragmatically motivated necessity is coded by the modal verb *musiet’* or *mat’*. The type of modality expressed by the modal verb *musiet’* in these cases is usually described as the example of so-called sarcastic use (Leech 1971, 72). Sarcastic use of modal verbs in these cases proves the notorious ambiguity of modal verbs (see, among many others, Ruppenhofer and Rehbein 2012; Marasovic and Frank 2016) which are often used in utterances with specific pragmatic effects (see, for instance, Leech 2014, Ivanová 2017). In such a case, the speaker may attempt to minimize the negative consequences of the event described by the proposition *p* by expressing an alternative proposition *q* that can mitigate his/her negative evaluation.

In Cappelle and Depraetere (2016a, 2016b), it was argued that a modal verb and the immediate context in which it occurs – one or more words to the left and/or to the right of it – may often be considered a construction in the sense, as is customary in Construction Grammar in which the term “construction” is used for a form-function unit that is likely to be stored in a speaker’s mental repository of words, idioms, recurrent sequences and semi-fixed patterns (cf. Goldberg 2006, 5).

Within the investigated patterns, the modal verb often keeps the traces of the modal meaning of internal need (internal compulsion) on the part of the listener (example 2) or objective necessity (in example 3) with the illocutionary function close to advice:

- (2) Ked’ už musíte chodiť po vonku, načasujte si plán dňa tak, aby ste von nemuseli ísť v najväčšom teple.

‘If you must go outside, arrange your timetable so that you wouldn’t have to go outside in such a heat.’

- (3) Ked’ už musíme niečo vyprážať, tak v orechovom oleji.
‘If we must fry something, do it in nut oil.’

Nevertheless, in many cases the former modal meanings of the modal verb have receded and have been lost to peripheral pragmatic meaning with its illocutionary function very close to a complaint or a reproach (examples 4 and 5):

- (4) Aspoň doobeda (nech je ticho), keď už večer musia všetci vstať a vieskať!
‘Let it be quite at least in the morning, if all people must drill and scream in the evening!’
- (5) Ked’ už musíš robiť striptíz v obývačke, mohla by si aspoň zatiahnuť závesy.
‘If you must strip in the living room, you might pull the curtains.’

To identify different collocation preferences of the patterns under scrutiny, Hierarchical Configurational Frequency Analysis (HCFA) (Gries 2004) will be used. Five different variables or slot fillers within the construction identified in the corpus data are to be investigated: connector (*ked’*, *ak*), adverb (*už*, *aj*), discourse marker (obligatory or facultative), subject (singular or plural, 1st, 2nd or 3rd person), and modal verb (*musieť*, *mať*). Similar kind of investigation can be found in Gillmann (2024) who focused in discourse management constructions.

The infinitive has to be excluded from the HCFA because it contains too many different filler items to be handled in the analysis. To reveal which infinitive verbal lexemes are statistically attracted to the investigated patterns, Distinctive Collexeme Analysis (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004) will be used.

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Construal of number in the Ukrainian *bahato* construction

When you say “A lot of people came”, do you conceive of the people as a unitary homogeneous mass or as a group of distinct individuals? Johnson (1987) and Langacker (2008, 130–140) describe the implication of this ambiguity for language. Corbett (2000) describes number as “the most underestimated of grammatical categories” due to the potential for clash between syntactic and semantic number. In Ukrainian, this difference can be signaled by means of Singular vs. Plural number on the verb, as shown in examples 1 (Singular) and 2 (Plural). We investigate the choice of verb number in the “*bahato* construction” where the subject consists of the indefinite quantifier *багато* ‘many’ and a Genitive Plural noun phrase.

1) *В акції брали участь лікарі, студенти, вчителі, багато людей прийшло з дітьми, – розповів Геннадій.* (Світлана Талан «Оголений нерв», 2015)

‘Doctors, students, teachers participated in the demonstration, **many people came** with their children – said Hennadij.’

2) *Акція проходила мирно, на Майдані був концерт, багато людей прийшли з дітьми.* (Газета «Свобода», 2019)

‘The demonstration took place peacefully, there was a concert on the Majdan square, **many people came** with their children.’

We collected and annotated a dataset of over 28,000 examples of the *bahato* construction from the GRAC corpus (<https://uacorporus.org/Kyiv/en/>). We have carried out a mixed-effects logistic regression analysis that reveals an ongoing language change in Ukrainian showing the influence of the factors of year of creation, word order of subject and verb, and animacy of the subject on the choice of verb number. We find that, while all combinations of word order and animacy are robustly attested, VS word order and inanimate subjects tend to prefer Singular, whereas SV word order and animate subjects tend to prefer Plural. Since about the 1950s, the proportion of Plural has been increasing, overtaking Singular in the current decade.

The random effect in our model is the verb lemma, and our results make it possible to identify the preferences of individual verbs. The density of observations is much stronger on

the Singular end of the distribution, where verbs are almost exclusively intransitive. We take a closer look at the groups of verbs associated with five micro-constructions that strongly prefer Singular forms (here illustrated by one verb each) that together account for 43% of our dataset:

- passage of time: *минути* ‘pass’ (2 verbs)
- happen: *відбуватися* ‘happen’ (5 verbs)
- exist: *бути* ‘be’ (5 verbs)
- accumulate: *з’явитися* ‘appear’ (11 verbs)
- die: *загинути* (5 verbs)

The passage of time and happen micro-constructions have almost exclusively inanimate NPs with little individuation. Some verbs in the exist and accumulate groups can admit animate referents but, when combined with *багато*, these verbs emphasize the presence of items in large quantities, reducing individuation. The die group has nearly exclusively animate referents (except for metonymies and personifications, as in *багато банків померли* ‘many banks died’), but the meaning of the verbs necessarily reduces the animacy and individuation of the referents.

Verbs that strongly prefer Plural tend to be transitive and cannot be readily resolved into groups. Examples include things that people do as individuals, such as *розкритикувати* ‘criticize’ and *отримати* ‘get’.

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Corpus analysis of metaphorical adjectives and verbs coherence in contemporary Polish

Research on metaphor in cognitive linguistics tends to focus on its predicative and nominal forms, which are considered to be the most popular forms of metaphorical expressions in English (Cameron 2008). Adjective metaphors, on the other hand, stay on the outskirts of scientific interest. Two of a very few cognitive scientists who have showed interest in adjective metaphors are Sakamoto and Utsumi. Their computational model (Sakamoto, Utsumi 2007a) offered some evidence that adjective metaphors are comprehended via a two-stage categorization process, where an adjective evokes a meaning mapped onto the noun. This process seems very similar to their two-stage computational model of predicative metaphor (Sakamoto, Utsumi 2007b), where the meaning evoked by a verb is the one being mapped. The two-stage model was inspired by Lakoff and Johnson theory (1980) as well as Gentner's (1983) framework. However, we need to consider that adjective metaphors are way less likely to exist in isolation than predicative metaphors, since abstract topics should tend to be followed by a metaphorical verb. This double predication begs the question whether such sequence could be considered a single unit of predicative metaphor directed by an adjective.

In order to address this problem, a corpus-based study of Polish predicative metaphors accompanied by metaphorical adjective will be conducted. A sample of 11070 examples containing the keyword "mind" will be extracted from National Corpus of Polish. The first 100 relevant occurrences will be annotated for source and target domains, as well as basic adjective characteristics, and then analysed with R (R Core Team 2021). The study aims to assess how often an adjective is used in an utterance related to the meanings implied by the metaphorical verb. Furthermore, it is possible that this interaction will be correlated with deverbial or denominal origin of an adjective. It is expected that adjective metaphors will be coherent (or at least non-contradictory) with the conceptualization evoked by the verb. It is also assumed that deverbial adjective metaphors will be less frequent and more strongly lean towards coherence with a verb to avoid overloading reader's mental capacity.

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The conceptualization of situation in Japanese as a noun classifier language and Russian as a verb classifier language

The noun-verb homology is usually discussed from two different, yet closely related perspectives: one is the analogy of the properties of the noun references (matter in space) to those of the verb references (situation in time), and this parallel is exemplified by the grammatical distinctions of count/mass nouns, on the one hand, and of telic/atelic verbs, on the other, in the languages where such distinctions exist, like in European languages (Dahl 1985, Talmy 2000, Langacker 2008). The other type of functional parallelism, the finding of which is motivated by the encounter with typologically distant languages, occurs between noun classifiers and verb classifiers (McGregor 2002, Gerner 2009, Janda et al. 2013, Dickey and Janda 2015).

In languages without grammatical number, but equipped with noun classifiers (such is the case with Japanese), bare nouns as a rule behave as mass nouns, treating the referents like shapeless substances, and the classification system becomes activated for the purpose of enumerating and classifying the referent objects (Lucy 1992). In this regard, Janda (2022, 176) sees the parallel between substances described by the bare nouns in noun classifier languages and situations described by Russian imperfective verbs, calling the latter “the temporal equivalents of fluid substances”, because they both become individualized as units by being added by noun numeral classifiers or verb aspectual classifiers (perfectivizing prefixes).

If the referents denoted by Japanese nouns are perceived as substances in their bare state, how is it consistent with the nature of the referent situations expressed by Japanese verbs? According to Ikegami (1993, 801), “if language is motivated at all, it is motivated in an integral manner”, and traces of consistent motivation can be found in the different parts of the language. If so, the next question arises: how does a situation expressed by a Russian imperfective verb differ from that described by a Japanese verb? In discussing the observations, we try to find traces of the consistent motivations, laying the foundation for different types of classifier languages (in our case, Japanese and Russian), assuming that the conceptual characteristics in the representation of noun referents repeat themselves in that of verb referents.

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Charakterystyka składni zdań dzieci dwujęzycznych w wieku 5 i 6 lat, nabywających polski jako jeden z języków

Rozwój językowy dzieci dwujęzycznych może różnić się od rozwoju dzieci nabywających tylko jeden język, a ich umiejętności w zakresie produkcji mogą być słabsze w porównaniu z normą jednojęzyczną (Hamman, Wodniecka, Marecka i in. 2017). Jednym z narzędzi stosowanych do pomiaru tych różnic jest zadanie powtarzanie zdań (SRep), które nie tylko pozwala na rozpoznanie dzieci z zaburzeniami językowymi w różnych językach, ale także pomaga uzyskać głębszy wgląd w znajomość słownictwa i umiejętności składniowych osób badanych (Polišenská, Chiat i Roy 2014). Wykazano bowiem, że dziecko powtórzy tylko taką konstrukcję składniową, którą wcześniej opanowało (Polišenská, Chiat i Roy 2014; Sturmer, Kunze, Funk i Green 1993).

Celem badania było porównanie kompetencji gramatycznych polskich dzieci jednojęzycznych i dwujęzycznych (mówiących po polsku jako jednym z języków) przy użyciu krótkiej polskiej wersji zadania SRep o sprawdzonej trafności do badania w szczególności dzieci dwujęzycznych. Składa się ona z 20 zdań o trzech stopniach trudności (zdania pojedyncze rozwinięte, zdania współrzędnie złożone, zdania podrzędnie złożone dopełnieniowe, okolicznikowe i względne; z uwzględnieniem negacji i pytań). Planujemy analizę poszczególnych struktur składniowych i porównanie błędów w trzech grupach dzieci w wieku 5 i 6 lat: jednojęzycznych polskich ($n=30$), dwujęzycznych posługujących się polskim i angielskim ($n=30$) i dwujęzycznych posługujących się polskim i niemieckim ($n=30$). W porównywanych grupach kontrolowaliśmy wiek, płeć, poziom słownictwa biernego oraz poziom rozwoju intelektualnego.

Wstępna analiza wyników badania wykazała, że istnieje statystycznie istotna różnica w kilku kategoriach pomiędzy osobami dwujęzycznymi polsko-niemieckimi (ale nie dwujęzycznymi polsko-angielskimi) w porównaniu z polską grupą jednojęzyczną. Dzieci posługujące się językami polskim i niemieckim częściej: miały trudności z odtworzeniem szyku

zdania; zmieniały wyrazy treściowe i funkcyjne; niepoprawnie odmieniały czasowniki; używały niepoprawnej formy zaimków lub zmieniały zaimek). Grupa dwujęzyczna polsko-niemiecka uzyskała istotnie niższe wyniki w zakresie poprawności szyku powtarzanych zdań zarówno w porównaniu z grupą jednojęzyczną ($z=3,465$; $p_{\text{bonf}} < 0,001$), jak i dwujęzyczną polsko-angielską ($z=2,869$; $p_{\text{bonf}} = 0,012$). Dodatkowo zaplanowana została analiza ewentualnych różnic w zakresie użytych przez dzieci kategorii semantycznych wyrazów treściowych.

Pogłębione analizy pozwolą nam lepiej rozumieć ewentualne różnice między dziećmi jednojęzycznymi i dwujęzycznymi w zakresie nie tylko składni zdań, koniugacji i deklinacji, ale także stosowania kategorii leksykalnych. Zakładamy, że może to być istotny wkład w rozumienie specyfiki dwujęzyczności w kontekście polskim oraz głos w debacie na temat jej zalet i wad.

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Exploring tense meanings in Russian: a comparative analysis of present and future in the cognitive linguistics' perspective

In the Russian language, the expression of time meanings can often be nuanced and flexible. The study in Kosheleva and Janda (2023) took a closer look at the Russian future tense as represented in the Russian National Corpus. We found that 20.8% of the instances of the perfective future, and 8.4% of the imperfective future, conveyed a gnomic meaning. These examples align with the Conceived, Projected and Potential realities in Langacker's model of tense and potency (2008).

The Russian present tense, a morphologically similar form to the perfective future, presents an equally interesting picture. As a present tense, it has an inherently greater potential to avoid referencing more concrete points in time and/or specify the reality in general.

Previous research by Janda and Lyashevskaya (2011) on the corpus data, inclusive of nonpast verb forms of both perfective and imperfective aspect, revealed a dominance of the nonpast form in the imperfective paradigm. In contrast, the perfective nonpast was found to be significantly less common (Janda and Lyashevskaya 2011, 209).

In this paper, I analyze a dataset consisting of 1,000 examples of the present tense uses in the RNC according to the terminology used for classification in Kosheleva and Janda (2023). The meanings found in the present imperfective dataset include present and gnomic with various extensions such as habitual, modal, historical/narrative, and even future time reference. I will show how these meanings are related to each other and what place they occupy in different realities of the model of tense and potency (Langacker 2008; Kosheleva and Janda 2023) and draw comparisons between the imperfective present to the perfective future uses.

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Cognitive linguistics and gesture studies – developing a textbook for students

“Now we see an enthusiastic *in-corpor-ation* of gestures research into cognitive linguistic, evidenced by its inclusion as a topic in cognitive linguistic conferences and journals” (Cienki 2015: 196). This reflection confirms our scientific and didactic experiences in the field of gesture research. It was the achievements of cognitive linguistics, in particular the postulated lack of sharp boundaries between semantics and pragmatic as well as research into conceptual metaphor and metonymy, that allowed gestures accompanying speech to be included in the scope of strictly linguistic research. Above all, the concept of the embodied mind, embodiment of human conceptualization and abstract thinking, developed by Mark Johnson (1987), justified the need to develop research on gestures in human communication. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 19) note: “What is important is not just that we have bodies and thought is somehow embodied. What is important is that the peculiar nature of our bodies shapes our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization”.

During the seminars we have conducted, which took into account the study of multimodal communication, including non-verbal communication, there were many interesting student papers dealing with the issues of non-linguistic ways of expression. However, it turned out that for Polish-speaking students there is a lack of coherent and comprehensive, and most importantly, scholarly studies in the field of non-verbal communication (Kraśnicka, Pstrąg 2023). What’s more, our preliminary research revealed that there is no academic textbook discussing this topic from the cognitive linguistic perspective.

Taking this observation into account, we are preparing a project of an academic coursebook, which is a compendium of knowledge in this field, and which is based on the latest research on gestures from the point of view of cognitive linguistics. The purpose of our paper is to present the concept of this coursebook, the methodology for describing the material and technical solutions, as well as the challenges faced by the authors in this type of publication.

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Valency patterns in Russian: Cross-linguistic consistency meets language-specific acceptability

Valency patterns associated with individual verbs are partly semantically motivated and partly idiosyncratic (Klotz 2007, Haspelmath & Hartmann 2015). A verb's valency pattern is considered motivated if it aligns with those of semantically similar verbs. The degree of semantic motivation differs from one verb to another. The challenge with this approach lies in ensuring that the structure of the semantic network is not itself derived from language-specific syntactic observations. As an alternative to this potentially circular approach, we propose assessing the degree of motivatedness of a pattern by measuring its cross-linguistic consistency, that is, whether the language-specific verb shares the valency pattern with other verbs that cross-linguistically tend to belong to the same valency class. To assess cognitive validity of this approach, we measure whether patterns that exhibit greater consistency from a typological perspective are also preferred by speakers of Russian.

The typological consistency of verb-specific valency patterns in Russian was assessed using the procedure outlined in (Say 2018) and drawing on data from BivalTyp (www.bivaltyp.info). We categorizes 12 verbs into high- and low-consistency groups, 6 verbs in each. We manipulated sentence grammaticality (grammatical/ungrammatical): high-consistency verbs in ungrammatical sentences received less consistent valency patterns, while low-consistent verbs in ungrammatical sentences received a more cross-linguistically consistent valency pattern. In a rating experiment, we tested how 54 native Russian speakers would rate short stories containing these verbs on a 1-7 Likert scale. Expectedly, we found a main effect of ungrammaticality, whereby ungrammatical sentences received significantly lower ratings compared to grammatical sentences. Importantly, we also observed a significant interaction between consistency and grammaticality (see Fig. 1), where highly consistent valency patterns received higher ratings in grammatical conditions and lower ratings in ungrammatical conditions. These results support the cognitive validity of cross-linguistic consistency measurement. This lends additional support to the idea that cognitively motivated biases observed within individual languages and largely isomorphic to biases observed in cross-linguistic distributions of linguistic phenomena.

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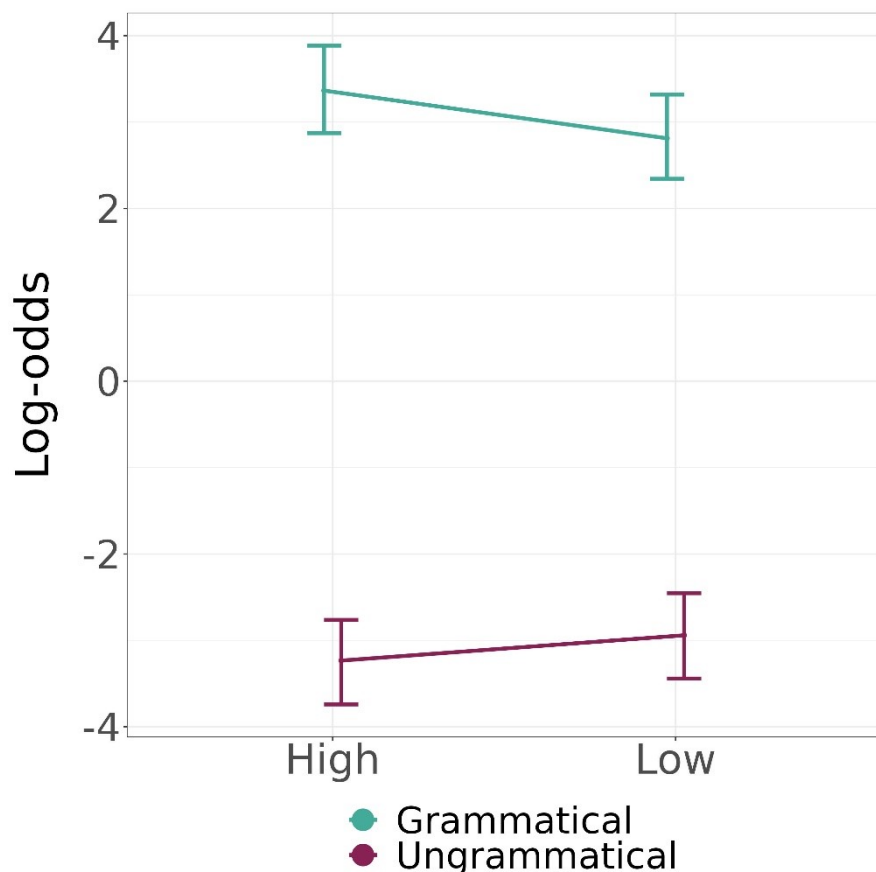


Figure 1. Log-odds of ratings as a function of sentence grammaticality and valency pattern typological consistency (high vs. low)

Personal and reflexive possessive pronouns in Czech: Corpus distributions and speakers' intuitions

Similar to other Slavic languages Czech has an adnominal reflexive possessive construction marked by the pronoun *svůj* (RPos). This construction is restricted to contexts where the possessor is coreferential with the subject of the clause. However, personal possessive pronouns (PPos) also appear in these contexts, e.g. *Mám rád svůj/můj pokoj* 'I like my/REFL room.' Various factors have been proposed to influence the choice of RPos or PPos (reviewed and extended in a series of papers by Čmejrková, e.g. 2003), such as person, presence of non-finite verbal complements, alienability of the possessum, or pragmatics. These proposals have been based on introspection, or small, informal corpus queries. The only systematic quantitative analysis is Perevozchikova (2023)'s comparative study of Bulgarian, Czech, and Russian, in which she analyzed a sample of 1000 possessive phrases containing *svůj* or *můj* 'my.' She found that while RPos is more frequent in Czech overall, PPos is more likely to be used when the possessive phrase is not a direct complement of the predicate, the possessum is animate, the possessive phrase precedes the verb, or in the presence of competing referents.

This paper is a follow up study on Perevozchikova's findings and extends her analysis to 2SG contexts, aims to examine the configurations of feature values tied to the distribution of both variants more closely and to relate the corpus data to speakers' intuitions, based on the assumption that speakers' mental grammars are firmly grounded in usage (e.g. Diessel 2019). A sample of 2400 sentences with 1SG or 2SG subject containing RPos or a corresponding PPos (600 tokens each) was collected from a corpus of online discussions and posts on social networks. The sample is annotated (currently in progress) for a suite of semantic and morphosyntactic variables that include the variables used in Perevozchikova's analysis along with other potentially relevant factors based on the literature, such as frequency of the possessive phrase or distance from predicate. The data will be analyzed using conditional inference trees and random forests in order to identify which configurations of variables favor the use of PPos or RPos, respectively. The results of the corpus study will be confronted with speakers' intuitions about the distributions of PPos and RPos. A group of 50 speakers will be tested using a forced choice task with stimulus sentences based on the corpus data in order to establish to what extent these distributional patterns predict speakers' behavior (cf.

Klavan & Veismann 2017).

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Językowe metafory ucieleśnione w glottodydaktyce polonistycznej. Analiza porównawcza ich reprezentacji i funkcjonowania w języku polskim i języku chińskim

W XX wieku, publikacja *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff i Johnson 1980) uwydatniła znaczenie metaforycznej struktury pojęciowej w ludzkim myśleniu, otwierając nowe perspektywy w badaniach nad przyswajaniem języka, zarówno pierwszego, jak i obcego. Dzięki uniwersalnym biofizycznym podstawom niektóre metafory są intuicyjnie zrozumiałe, lecz nauka oraz zastosowanie ich w języku obcym i w kontekście kulturowym obcej społeczności nastręcza uczącym się znaczących trudności, co przeszkadza w językowych działaniach receptywnych i produktywnych.

Prezentowany projekt badawczy podejmuje analizę porównawczą reprezentacji i funkcjonowania językowych metafor ucieleśnionych we współczesnych językach polskim i chińskim (w tym przypadku chodzi o standardowy język chiński – mandaryński). Projekt zakłada również refleksję nad pojęciem metafory oraz adekwatnością terminów stosowanych w obu językach. Hipotezy badawcze polegają na tym, że pomiędzy polskimi a chińskimi metaforami ucieleśnionymi istnieją zauważalne podobieństwa, różnice, a nawet luki językowe. Wskazanie tych podobieństw może ułatwić chińskojęzycznym studentom proces przyswajania polskich metafor tego typu, a identyfikacja różnic i luk językowych może im pomóc w przezwyciężeniu istotnej bariery w nauce języka polskiego oraz rozumieniu kultury polskiej. Zakresem badań objęty będzie korpus tekstów, w tym wybrane chińskie powieści współczesne oraz ich polskie przekłady, a także polskie powieści wraz z ich chińskimi tłumaczeniami. W trakcie analizy wykorzystana zostanie metoda językoznawstwa korpusowego. Na podstawie wyników badań zostaną opracowane propozycje skutecznych strategii rozwijania umiejętności używania polskich metafor tego typu przez chińskich studentów oraz rozwijania ich kompetencji metaforycznych i zdolności skojarzeniowej.

Celem niniejszej prezentacji jest przedstawienie wstępnych wyników badania, a także zaproszenie do dyskusji po wystąpieniu, co jest niezmiernie cenne dla dalszego rozwoju mojego projektu. Podczas wystąpienia zostaną zaprezentowane:

- 1) ogólne rozumienie metafor ucieleśnionych w kontekście obu języków oraz przyjęte kryteria ich klasyfikacji (Hetmański i Zykubek 2021; Yu 2003);
- 2) reprezentacje metafor ucieleśnionych w języku chińskim w sposobie nazywania

(nazwy bohaterów, miejsc i przedmiotów) i komunikowania (jednostki leksykalne i składniowe);

3) główne podobieństwa i różnice między chińskimi a polskimi metaforami tego typu, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem domen źródłowych oraz aspektów leksykalnych i składniowych;

4) implikacje wyników badań dla nauczania i uczenia się języka polskiego jako obcego (Kraśnicka-Wilk 2017; Zhao 2017), w tym przykłady polskich metafor potencjalnie łatwych i trudnych do zrozumienia i stosowania przez chińskich studentów.

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The nature of Polish aspect: Computational simulations and training study

In linguistics, the two most influential approaches to aspect include the grammatical and the lexical (see Binnick 1991, and Sasse 2002, for overviews). While the lexical approach claims that the meaning of the verb determines which aspect can be used, the grammatical one considers the aspectual opposition to be primary (applicable to all verbs and to have the same semantic effect). The grammatical approach prevails in descriptive and didactic accounts of Slavic aspect and has informed classroom instruction. However, with the advent of corpora and new methods in research on language, evidence supporting the lexical nature of aspect is mounting (Divjak et al. 2022; Divjak et al. 2024).

Large-scale corpus data on aspect usage in Polish (Divjak et al. 2024) is heavily biased towards the imperfective (70.7%), and most of these cases are consumed by the present tense. In the future, the perfective accounts for the lion's share of usage (9.2% versus 1.0% for the imperfective). Only in the past is there potential choice between imperfective and perfective (20.1% versus 12.7% imperfective). Using these frequencies, we simulated computationally how learners would respond to input after presenting aspect as either a grammatical or a lexical phenomenon, assuming an error-correction learning mechanism (Rescorla & Wagner 1972). According to the results, providing students with aspectual usage rules would encourage generalization at the expense of the development of individual usage profiles, which is detrimental unless a rule can be formulated that perfectly captures usage. Instruction without rules would encourage the entrenchment of usage profiles for individual lexical items.

In the second step, we tested these predictions on 80 native speakers of English who were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, either lexical or grammatical. The grammatical group was provided with simple aspectual usage rules (i.e., ongoingness or repetition in the imperfective vs. completion of semelfactivity in perfective), whereas the lexical group were told about the many different verb meanings depending on its prefix. Both groups completed three identical online training sessions over three days, learning 21 Polish verbs embedded in English sentences through exposure to videos that recorded the verb action. Crucially, each verb occurred three times across different tense/aspect combinations, and the frequency with which each tense/aspect type itself occurred reflected naturalistic frequency distribution as

attested in our corpus. The participants were tested each day and, on a post-test, administered on day 4. Half of the items in the post-test were items seen during training, and half were new items; half of each set was grammatical, and half was ungrammatical.

Overall, the hypotheses derived from the simulations were confirmed: the grammatical group was slightly but significantly better at post-test, obtaining their advantage through performance on the clearly biased aspectual instances, e.g., imperfective present. The lexical group was slightly better in tenses such as the past that support both imperfective and perfective aspects, which suggests a capacity to deal with ambiguous aspectual instances. It appears that rules offer little advantage in disambiguating aspectual usage, unless the exemplars are already unambiguous.

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What's in a family bond? Russian constructions with a pronominal anchor

Constructions are generally combined into families based on their semantic (Endresen & Janda 2020) or syntactic (Janda et al. 2023) similarity. Building on the latter approach, we focus on families that not only share structural properties, but also contain the same anchor words. The study addresses the following question: how different and how similar can constructions with a single anchor be and why?

We approach this question by looking at Russian demonstrative and indefinite pronouns, which are known for non-trivial semantics when used in discourse (Švedova 1998). For a systematic description of this semantic variability, we employ a constructional approach to contexts with pronouns. Pronouns can be identified as either slots or anchors depending on the constructions they are used in. The aim of the present study is to identify systematic relationships between such different constructions. Our data is culled from the oral subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus (2000-present).

In contexts where pronouns perform their basic, deictic, functions, they fill in the slot of a DP construction. E.g. in (1), *takoj* 'such' highlights a fixed element of the set:

(1) *Bylo takoe vremja v detstve* 'There was such a time in my childhood'

This basic use has several extensions, where the pronoun serves as an anchor. Examples of such extensions include the emphatic construction NP-Nom Cop *takoj* Adj:

(2) *Vse takie dobrye, takie naivnye* 'Everyone is so kind, so naive'

In examples like (2), rather than selecting an element from a potential set, *takoj*, via metaphor, selects a portion of a property (hence Adj in these constructions is usually represented by a qualitative adjective), which further entails the meaning of 'a high degree' through a metonymic shift (part-whole relationship).

Another systematic extension is NP-Nom *takoj* (VP/Cl) as in (3):

(3) *Ja uže takaja... nastroilas' na mini-otpusk* 'I was already like... anticipating a small vacation'

Here *takoj* signals a special emotional condition of the agent, in this way metonymically selecting an emotion instead of the agents themselves. It is remarkable that in the oral subcorpus extensions like (2) and (3) together are more frequent than the basic uses of *takoj* (46% and 7% vs. 47% respectively).

In this way, a discourse use is attained when the pronoun is placed in an environment that relegates to the background the primary functions associated with reference, while systematic shifts in the pronouns' meaning are attained via an intricate interaction of metaphor and metonymy (Haser 2005).

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The Pragmatics and Semantics of Deictic Words *tu* and *tamo* in Croatian

In the three-way paradigm (proximal-medial-distal) typical of the Croatian language, the adverb *tamo* ‘there’ presents a particularly intriguing case by deviating from its prescribed position. Traditionally associated with expressing medial motion (often paired with motion verbs to answer the question “Where to?”), *tamo* extends into two additional categories: the distal motion (originally represented by the deictic adverb *onamo*) and the distal static (answering the question “Where?” – a role originally held by the deictic adverb *ondje*). Similarly, the proximal form of the latter is filled by two words – besides the original adverb *ovdje*, we also encounter the adverb *tu*, which initially signified medial static location and is now used synonymously with the real proximal. The described shift of *tu* from the medial to the proximal static location meaning went even further to acquire, albeit in non-standard use, a proximal motion meaning (Brala Vukanović and Matešić 2015, 56–59).

Apart from the described processes that have led to the transformation of the original three-way paradigm and seemingly reinforced the positions of *tamo* and *tu* as spatial demonstratives, it is intriguing to note that these adverbs have undergone processes of bleaching their original demonstrative meaning towards more pragmatic usage. Some of these processes have been reported for other Slavic languages (Bocale 2019; 2018). In this study, we aim to examine the extent to which the pragmatic meanings of *tamo* stem from its distal meaning, and the pragmatic meanings of *tu* emerge from its proximal meaning.

Utilizing the CLASSLA-web.hr 1.0 corpus we explore the meanings of *tamo* and *tu* both in isolation and as parts of larger structures. Specifically, we explore instances where: *tamo* conveys depreciative meanings (*tamo neki* meaning ‘some, of low quality’; e.g., *Ne bih se družio s tamo nekim probisvijetima*, *Zaljubio sam se u tamo neku površnu ljepoticu*), approximate meanings of *tamo negdje* and *tu negdje* meaning ‘around there’ (e.g., *Vozio sam tamo negdje devedeset na sat*, *Pogledao sam film tamo negdje do polovice*, *Bilo je devet navečer ili tu negdje*), as well as imperative (potentially impolite) uses (e.g., *Šuti tamo!*, *Ne nagovarajte me tamo!*). Additionally, we examine negation expressed with a question word + *tamo* (*Ma, kakva tamo haljina*, *hlače sam nosila!*, *Ma, koji tamo petak*, *danas mi trebaju!*); temporal meanings of *tamo* and *tu* (‘in that moment; then’: *Počeo se tamo izmotavati*, *Ako pita za vožnju, ja ću se tamo praviti Englez*, *I tu se sav zacrvenio kao paprika*), the phraseological meaning of *tu i tamo* ‘sometimes’: *Tu i tamo zaboravim ključeve*) and others. The analysis of the pragmatic use of Croatian *tamo* allows us to conclude that some of its uses can be considered similar to

those in other Slavic languages (e.g., Bulgarian, Polish, Russian).

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Talking nonsense: How to talk about meaningless speech in Croatian

Humans perceive speech as one of their defining abilities. Speech allows us to express our needs, thoughts, desires, emotions, etc. and share them with other members of the community. In other words, it allows us to share our “inner world” with others and to engage with their inner worlds as well. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Croatian has over 500 verbs that can be used to refer to various forms of speech. What is interesting is that the great majority of these verbs have a negative meaning, i.e. are used to refer to speech that fails to meet some standard (e.g. quality, politeness, truthfulness, etc.).

This paper is a part of a larger project in which our aim is to analyse all the categories and groups of verbs of speaking in Croatian. The corpus of verbs was excerpted from the dictionaries of the contemporary Croatian language and the HrWaC and CLASSLA-web.hr 1.0 corpora and includes those verbs that can be used to refer to speech.

Here we focus on a group of verbs that convey the meaning of talking nonsense, i.e., a group of verbs that refer to speech that is evaluated as failing to reach the standard of quality in terms of content that is being conveyed. From cognitive perspective, this group of verbs is particularly interesting because it is used to refer to those instances in which the speaker produces speech that is in direct opposition to what we expect from speech, i.e., coherence and meaningfulness. This group of verbs includes some 30 verbs. Among these, a small number are non-metaphorical (e.g. *glupariti*, *trabunjati*, *baljezgati*), but the majority are of metaphorical origin (e.g. *lupetati*, *drobiti*, *valjati*, *provaliti* etc., including some that are derived from idioms, such as *mlatiti* (“*mlatiti praznu slamu*”) and *lupati* (“*lupati kao Maksim po diviziji*”).

The research methodology involves a detailed analysis of the semantics of these verbs, starting with definitions provided in various dictionaries of contemporary Croatian. This is followed by an examination of the nuances in their meanings and an exploration of their pragmatics, based on the data from the corpus. By employing a corpus that reflects the public, contemporary use of Croatian as closely as possible, our study aims to determine how frequently these verbs are used, in which types of texts and contexts they appear, and whether they are predominantly used in their primary meanings or in their metaphorical senses which refer to the quality of speech. Additionally, we seek to verify whether the verbs of metaphorical origin are most frequently employed in their primary meanings (i.e., domains not related to

speech), as indicated by some dictionaries (e.g. verbs such as *nadrobiti* and *valjati*), or if they are more frequently used in their metaphorical senses. This aspect of the study is crucial as it helps us to understand whether the traditional meanings listed in the dictionaries are still prevalent, or if metaphorical meanings have become predominant in contemporary usage.

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Exhaustive versus Purposeful Morphology: The Case of Slavonic Declensions

Nominal inflectional paradigms and classes are central to the study of Slavonic languages and descriptive linguistic approaches, which have also inspired extensive experimental research within psycholinguistics. Interestingly, however, these constructs have garnered less attention in usage-based and cognitive linguistics, with some notable early (e.g., Janda and Clancy, 2002, Janda and Clancy, 2006) and more recent (Booij 2010; Booij 2017; Langacker 2018; Nesset 2019) exceptions.

In this talk, we will present a study that employed eye-tracking data from 80 participants who read naturalistic Serbian sentences to investigate whether and how declension classes emerge in usage. Utilizing a powerful statistical technique – Graphical Models, we established that the time to fixate a noun directly depends on that noun's contextual embeddedness as well as its declensional sameness with the preceding noun. The results, thus, suggest that usage-based declension abstractions are not, in fact, complete and rigid search-tables of related word forms, but rather a flexible notion of approximate correspondence between (sets of) forms in context. The context itself proves pivotal: besides a noun's declensional similarity to its predecessor, the duration of fixation on that noun is also directly influenced by learning-based measures of the noun's contextual embeddedness – its similarity and typicality.

Our findings contribute to a more accurate understanding of morphological knowledge in the mind of a naive native language user, proposing a cognitive model where morphological constructs dynamically emerge as purposeful rather than exhaustive information abstractions.

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Бабушка в русском ментальном мире

В предлагаемом докладе ставится задача выявить соотношение лексического концепта и визуальной репрезентации *бабушки* (в категории *старая женщина*). Исходной идеей настоящей работы послужило понимание сложных и необходимых связей между вербальными концептуальными метафорами и дополняющими, а порой и ре-интерпретирующими их соответствующими визуальными репрезентациями. Еще более сложная картина концептуальной интерференции возникает при соединении модусов в мультимодальный ментальный продукт (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009).

С позиции теории концептуальной метафоры (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) *бабушка* представляется как обладающая серьезным ресурсом метафорического представления разнообразного культурного опыта. Содержание лексического концепта *бабушка*, уже отчасти исследованное на материале этимологических и историко-этимологических словарей русского языка (Ибрагимова 2022), в предлагаемом докладе основательно расширено диахроническим анализом словарных статей, а также изучением реальной (usage-based) языковой практики в корпусных материалах (в нашем случае НКРЯ, примененные методы: мануальный анализ сплошной выдачи по лемме *бабушка*, анализ коллокаций, языковой портрет слова). Богатым спектром представленные позитивные коннотации (*родная, добрая, ласковая, вызывающая умиление* и так далее), происходящие прежде всего из прототипного значения родства (*мать родителя*), а также функционал вежливого обращения «бабушка» и «сударыня-бабушка» к пожилой женщине проецируются на категорию *бабушки* как *старой женщины* (эта категория, по результатам настоящего исследования, оказывается новеллой в русском языке и словарно зафиксирована только во второй половине 20 века). В то же время *бабушка* – *старая женщина* представлена и в таких контекстах, которое связывают ее с идеей старости, дряхлости, слабости, косности. Именно эти последние компоненты лексического концепта доминируют в современном визуальном представлении *бабушки*. В качестве визуального модуса *бабушки* рассматриваются рандомные выдачи поисковой системы Google на запрос «картинки» по поисковым словам *русская бабушка, бабушка* (первые 100 выдач со снятием персональных установок и фильтров). Современными визуальными характеристиками *бабушки* выступают выраженные знаки возраста (морщины, седые волосы, согбенность) – и что еще более важно – старушечьи (то есть подчеркнута старообразные) детали гардероба: повязанный под подбородком платок,

поношенная «архаичная» одежда, что концептуализирует ее образ как отжившего, анахроничного. Такой многоплановый потенциал метафорической концептуализации лексического и визуального модуса делает *бабушку* продуктивным инструментом для развлекательных и пропагандистских мемов, объединяющих вербальные и визуальные компоненты. В качестве иллюстрации в докладе рассматриваются примеры успешного (мемы с фото «бурановской бабушки» Пугачевой Натальи) или неуспешного (пропагандистский мем «бабушка с красным флагом») мемов. «Результативность» подобных конструкций зависит от того, насколько точно угаданы векторы метафорической концептуализации и транслируют ли они, таким образом, культурно значимое послание. Другое (но связанное с предыдущим) условие успешности мема – это то, насколько эффективно представленные в них метафоры пересекаются с иными когнитивными моделями, использованными в том же меме.

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“Hope, like a slinky, springs eternal”: A comparative multimodal analysis of metaphorical conceptualisations of hope/nada in Anglophone and Croatian online news discourse about climate change

“Hope” is the subject of much discussion and debate in the context of climate change. Do we need hope? Is it reasonable to have hope? Do we deserve to be hopeful? Previous linguistic and psychological research indicates the elusiveness and complexity of hope as an emotion-concept. In Croatian (Šarić 2020) and Old English (Tissari 2009) hope/nada has been analysed as a metaphorical concept. In psychology, there is discussion over whether hope is better defined as an emotion, a cognitive concept, or both (Ojala 2023).

In this study, we compare conceptualisations of hope/nada in online news discourse about climate change. We searched for articles in two Anglophone and two Croatian newspapers using the keywords, “hope/nada” and “climate change”. We then identified using MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007) and metaphorical pattern analysis (Stefanowitsch 2006) all instances of “hope/nada” for metaphor; we also analysed using multimodal discourse analysis (Forceville 2009; Hart and Marmol Queralto 2021) the content of the images in the articles, examining how they contribute to the conceptualisation of hope/nada.

Our analyses reveal more creative uses of metaphor for hope in the Anglophone context and a prevalence of conventional uses of metaphorical expressions in the Croatian samples. Images of activists or perceived leaders in society (e.g. politicians and scientists) are frequent in both corpora, with more images of perceived leaders in the English context compared to the Croatian. The Croatian corpus uses more images of nature.

Drawing on recent research which suggests the importance of hope for managing the lived experience of climate change, we suggest that different conceptualisations of hope/nada in our corpora uncover specific ways of coping with the climate crisis. The study contributes to understanding the discourse practices of the English and Croatian media in the context of climate change. In time, we aim to determine the relevance of our preliminary findings across a broader spectrum of online sources.

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“False” or “real” pseudo-borrowings? False Anglicisms and false Germanisms in four Slavic languages

Loanwords exist in all described languages of the world, and they make up a substantial group of the lexicon in most languages (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). At times, language contact is so intense that a language, that we for pedagogical purposes can call the “recipient language”, makes up words that look like words from the (for pedagogical purposes called) “donor language”, and are by many *perceived* to be borrowings from the donor language, but do not exist as such in the donor language. An example is the Czech *finišman*, from the English ‘finish’ and ‘man’, called ‘anchorman’ in English. *Finišman* and similar words are called *allogenisms* (Humbley 2015). Many European languages, including the Slavic ones, have created a number of English allogenisms during the 20th and 21st centuries (Bohděchová and Klégr 2021, Humbley 2015, Witalisz 2014). At other times, loanwords end up with a conspicuously different meaning compared to its meaning in the donor language, like the originally German *Anzug* ‘suit’, which has come to mean ‘tracksuit’ in Bulgarian (*ануџ/ancug*). Where exactly the delineation between “pseudo” borrowings and “real” borrowings should be drawn is far from obvious, as loanwords usually undergo a certain semantic adjustment in the borrowing process (Andersen 2014). Therefore, it might be a good idea to analyse false borrowings as a prototype category that has some central, good examples (“allogenisms”) and more borderline cases (“semantic pseudo-borrowings”).

In this talk, I focus on the central, prototypical, cases of false borrowings, the allogenisms, and compare false Anglicisms and false Germanisms in four Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, B/C/M/S, and Czech). A pilot study has found a small number of allogenisms based on German, one example of which is the Polish *szwarccharakter* or *schwarzcharakter* ‘villain’ or ‘bad guy’, which is unknown in German, where this character is called *Schurke*. Allogenisms on an English basis is, on the other hand, easier to find in dictionaries and in the academic literature, for instance the Czech *finišman* ‘anchorman’, the Russian *κλινμεйкер/clipmejker* ‘music video director’, and the Polish *beforing* ‘preparty’.

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Experience vs. activity distinction in Slavic perception verbs

Experiencer-subject perception verbs are typically divided into those denoting uncontrolled, or stative perception, such as ‘see’, ‘hear’, and those denoting controlled, or active perception, such as ‘look’, ‘listen’. The verbs of the two classes have been called experience vs. activity verbs (Viberg 2001) or opportunistic vs. explorative perception (Wälchli 2016).

The present study looks at the distinction between experience and activity in verbs of sight and hearing in Slavic based on the data of the parallel corpus InterCorp (Rosen et al. 2022). Analysing correspondences between verbs of these two classes, I identify the features of contexts which exhibit variation across Slavic in terms of this distinction.

Preliminary results based on the data of Bulgarian, Polish, and Russian suggest that, although there are language-specific preferences in the use experience vs. activity verbs, variation most frequently arises in contexts which are non-committal as to the fulfilment of the perception event. These contexts include constructions with modals and purpose clauses, negative sentences, questions and imperatives. For instance, Russian constructions with the negated modal *moč* ‘can’ and the verb *videt* ‘see’ consistently correspond to syntactically parallel constructions with the Bulgarian verb *gledam* ‘look’. In questions and imperatives, Bulgarian tends to use experience verbs (*vizhdam* — *vidya* ‘see’ and *chuvam* — *chuya* ‘hear’) where the other two languages use activity verbs.

Arguably, in all the above-mentioned types of contexts, the contrast between experience and activity is largely neutralized. For instance, in negative sentences with activity verbs both the semantic component of the intention and the event of perception are negated, therefore the two verbs of different classes can be often used as synonymous in parallel contexts (cf. Bulgarian *Tya syakash ne go chu* and Polish *Ona jednak go nie słuchała* ‘But she didn’t hear/listen to him’). In constructions with modal verbs, the semantic component of intention is already specified by the modal meaning, so that experience and activity verbs are no longer opposed (cf. Polish *Kto chce je widzieć?* and Russian *Tak kto <...> hočet na nih smotret’?* ‘Who wants to see/look at them?’).

In the talk, I will look at this distinction using a wider range of languages and will identify patterns in the distribution of verbs across these construction types.

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The Adj + *kao* + N construction in Croatian: From secondary predication to idiomatic expressions

In Croatian the particle *kao* ‘like, as’ may be realized as *kao*, or as *ko*, a reduced variant recorded since at least the 17th century. In one major use, *kao/ko* appears in the Adj/participle + *kao/ko* + N construction, e.g., *crn kao/ko noć* (lit. black as night) ‘completely black’, *napravljen kao/ko tenk* ‘made like a tank’. The variation between *kao* and *ko* remains largely unexplored, and is usually treated as unsystematic (e.g., in Kovačević and Bašić 2012). In this paper we show that this variation is in fact systematic, with *kao* allowing a wider range of uses, and *ko* being a constructionalized variant used largely in similes. To do that, we conducted a study in the CLASSLA-web.hr corpus, based on a random sample of the Adj/participle + *kao/ko* + N construction (300 each of *kao/ko*) and the most frequent patterns of adjectives vs. participles.

The results show that the construction has two uses: 1) it is part of the predicative complement, 2) it signals comparison. The *kao*-phrase contains the secondary predicate (Šarić 2008) in the majority of cases (92%), e.g. *upisan kao vlasnik* ‘registered as an owner’, *poznata kao mecena* ‘renowned as a benefactress’. Furthermore, 62% of items in the adjectival slot are n-participles designating a resultant state (e.g. *ispitan kao svjedok* ‘questioned as a witness’). On the other hand, 79% of constructions with *ko* are figurative expressions designating comparison, e.g. *nevin ko beba* (lit. innocent as a baby ‘completely innocent’). The majority of those (95%) contain an adjective, and the noun in the *ko*-phrase identifies the entity whose property is attributed to the trajector. Furthermore, of the first 100 most frequent constructions with *ko*, 91 are conventionalized similes, e.g. *čist ko suza* ‘clean as a whistle’, *jasno ko dan* ‘plain as day’. In contrast, there are 21 similes among the most frequent constructions with *kao*.

Overall, the study shows that the meaning of the Adj + *kao* + N construction is dependent on the form of the particle and the item occurring in the first slot. Constructions with *kao* mainly contain n-participles and secondary predicates, and are typically used with a literal meaning. Constructions with *ko* are almost exclusively conventionalized similes in which the *ko*-phrase emphasizes the degree of the property denoted by the adjective. Further evidence of this is the use of the *ko*-phrase as an intensifier, in figurative constructions where the initial adjective is omitted, e.g. *ko kuća* (lit. like a house) ‘very important’ (Parizoska 2022), which suggests

subjectification (Langacker 2006). The discussion explores to what extent this is true of the *kao/ko* variation, and whether other factors, such as imageability or affective variables (Stanojević, Gnjidić and Peti-Stantić 2019) may be related to it.

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Nutrition and nurture: polysemy and diachronic dynamism

While Cognitive Linguistics has generally been synchronically oriented, diachronic studies “have played an increasingly important role” in its recent development (Hartmann 2021). Because diachronic studies shed light on historical processes that have led to the current state of language, they have a major role in understanding the links between language, culture and cognition (cf. Bybee 2010). Thus a sharp divide between the synchronic and diachronic dimensions would be contrary to the cognitive linguistic approach (Sweetser 1990, 9).

In this study, we present an analysis of the semantic field of FEEDING based on verbs used in Croatian-speaking areas from roughly the 15th c. to early 20th c. These verbs are: *hraniti*, *pitati*, *krmiti*, *sititi* and *toviti*, as well as their prefixed variants.

This semantic field exhibits interesting diachronic dynamism. While in the early stages, *pitati* was used to mean ‘sate hunger momentarily’ (e.g. *Tugo moja, znaš kad te kašicom pitah* ‘My sadness, don’t you remember when I had fed you with porridge’, 1551), *hraniti* had the meaning of ‘feeding so as to keep alive’, implying permanence (e.g. *kada se rodi sin od tebe, ne hrani ga, da rci ga ubiti* ‘when you give birth to your son, do not feed him, but have him killed’, 15th c.), so it could easily develop extended meanings such as ‘raise’ or ‘store’. These verbs could take human and animal objects, while *toviti* and *krmiti* were used exclusively for animals.

It seems that *hraniti* exhibited polysemy (‘feeding’ and ‘caring for’) as early on as Proto-Slavic (cf. Snoj 2003; Bičovský 2008). With time, in Croatian-speaking areas, it generalized its meaning to the point of virtually replacing all other feeding verbs. Its extended meanings were motivated through metaphorical links between NUTRITION and domains such as NURTURING (cf. Kövecses 2011, 332), EDUCATION and STORING, which also include a metonymical element. The verb *pitati* underwent the most significant change, almost disappearing from the standard language in early 20th c.

Our study demonstrates interesting diachronic dynamics in the semantic field of Croatian verbs of feeding. The analysis of this semantic field shows important semantic regularities based on metaphorical and metonymical mappings that give us insight into the links between diachronic meaning change and synchronic semantic structure.

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Word formation in L2 Russian: creativity and input distribution

This contribution discusses to what extent L2 learners are able to analyse L2 input in order to identify the morphological structure of lexical items and reproduce it in their own output.

150 L1 Italian learners of L2 Russian (with various proficiency levels) were asked to supply the Russian translation of a set of Italian nouns denoting professions, e.g. *antennista* ‘antenna installer’. All target items were infrequent and somewhat specialised, so as to minimise the chances that the participants may be already familiar with their L2 counterpart. If the target noun was indeed unknown, the participant’s task consisted in creatively constructing a verisimilar and potentially comprehensible L2 word. Based on the claim that L2 learners are “intuitive statisticians” (Ellis 2006), the output is hypothesised to reflect the statistical distribution of competing derivational strategies in the input (MacWhinney and Bates 1989; Booij 2018; Saturno 2020).

The morphological structure of output elements was coded following Fedorova & Naccarato (2019). In order to compare learner output with (an approximation of) the input, the L2 Russian textbooks used by the participants as well as a lexicon of Russian for L2 learners (Andrjušina 2009) were searched for nouns referring to human beings and comprising derivational affixes. These input nouns were then morphologically coded based on the same criteria as learner output, so as to describe the distribution of derivational affixes in the input in terms of frequency and preferential association with specific lexical types.

Alongside a predictable preference for periphrases and compounding (cf. Broeder et al. 1993), e.g., respectively, **rabotnik v lesu* ‘woodcutter’, **vodatechnik* ‘plumber’, the data also contain numerous instances of creative word formation through derivation. Lexical morphemes are typically borrowed from various languages known to the participant (e.g. L2 Russian, L1 Italian: respectively, **vertoletnik* ‘helicopter pilot’, **džardinerka* ‘gardener’), while derivational morphology is predominantly Russian. The distribution of derivational morphemes in the output coincides only partially with its input counterpart.

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New insights on linguistic variation: competition and overabundance in Slavic verbal suffixes

In scholarly literature, morphological variation is usually discussed in terms of competition or overabundance. In the case of competition between functionally similar units, either one of the competing elements wins (Blevins & Blevins 2009) or their rivalry leads to a semantic split or a sociolinguistic differentiation (Lindsay & Aronoff 2013, Nessel and Makarova 2018), thus a subtype of variation. Overabundance, on the other hand, suggests that doublets, i.e. functionally and semantically equivalent units, are possible (Thornton 2012). However, more research is needed on the factors that determine the variation type and on the typology of variation, e.g. whether it is possible to have both a split and overabundance within the same construction in one language.

Morphological variation in Slavic verbal suffixes is greatly understudied. The presence of borrowed verbal stems in Slavic languages provides additional conditions for morphological variation, as potentially more than one suffix can introduce loan verbs. We show that in Slavic languages loan verbs contribute to morphological variation to a different degree. While suffix variation is relatively marginal in Russian, it is more common in South Slavic. We adopt a usage-based approach (Kemmer & Barlow 1999) and analyze the distribution of verbal suffixes among loan verbs in two resources: Russian web corpus RuTenTen11 and Bosnian Web Corpus (bswac 1.2).

In Russian, the suffix *-i-*, which is becoming productive due to newer borrowings with nominal motivating bases like *frend-i-t'* ‘befriend’ (< Eng. *friend*), can affect earlier loan verbs with *-irova-*, creating variation like *modelirovat'* (ipm of 3.14 in RuTenTen) and *modelit'* ‘model’ (ipm of 0.02). The *-i-* alternative, however, is likely to mark the language of IT-designers working with 3D software (‘model/construct’) or show a semantic split (refer to ‘working as a model’). By contrast, the search for lemmas in *-irati/-isati/-ovati/-evati/-uvati* in bswac has revealed 21 cases that show variation among three suffixes with a relatively equal number of attestations: *generalizovati*, *generalizirati*, *generalisati* ‘generalize’. Such “triplets” present a range of variation and competition types from a clear semantic split to subtle cases of overabundance.

We address suffix variation patterns in Russian and Bosnian in detail and discuss the

factors that determine the outcome, as well as the typology of variation.

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Verbal aspect and stative construal in Czech

Let us start with an analogy between noun vs. verb on one hand side and stative vs. dynamic construals of verb (verbal construction) on the other. According to Hopper and Thompson (1984) and Langacker (2008), the verb and noun are the most basic grammatical categories. Whereas a noun profiles a thing, in an abstract sense, as any product of grouping and reification, a verb profiles a process as a relationship sequentially scanned in its evolution through time.

The ‘Verb – Noun’ distinction in its prototypicality is analogous to the opposition dynamic vs. stative construal of an event (the term *event* is superordinate in respect to the dynamic vs. stative distinction, cf. Croft 2012). In the process of construing a communicated event, the speaker’s statement about the event can be either internally heterogeneous and involve some kind of change through time, i.e., “be” dynamic, or it construes / profiles the event as homogeneous, i.e., as a stable, stative situation.

Specifically, we will deal with verbal aspect in Czech and demonstrate that and how the category of verbal aspect together with tense and modality are involved in stative or dynamic event construal. It turns out that there is no direct link between the traditional aspectual morphology of the Czech verb and the aspectual construal of the event. Both dynamic and stative construals can be derived from constructions with morphologically imperfective as well as morphologically perfective verbs. Therefore, a distinction must be drawn between the stative or dynamic construal of an event on the one hand side and morphological perfectivity (MP) vs. imperfectivity (MI) of the verbal construction which refers to the event, on the other.

Results of a corpus-based research of collocations of morphologically perfective verbs with adverbials expressing duration (*stále, pořád*) will be presented. In these collocations, a morphologically perfective verb loses its dynamic potential and opens thus way to a stative event construal:

Za rok mi bude osmdesát, ale stále vyjdu (MP) schody do 5. patra.

[I'll be 80 in a year, but I can still walk up the stairs to the 5th floor.]

These collocations thus contribute to non-actual, stative construals and express ability, possibility, and other semantic qualities usually attributed to states.

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A cognitive approach to passivity in the OVS construction in Russian

This paper examines passivity in the Russian OVS construction in terms of cognitive processes behind its uses and its form-meaning correspondence. In addition to copular passives with a passive participle, as in (1a), in which passivity is marked at the morphosyntactic level, OVS sentences, as in (1b), are sometimes analyzed as passive expressions, where such passivity is realized at the word-order level (cf. Plungjan 2011, 188).

(1) a. *Этот аргумент был отвергнут большинством теоретиков.* (Plungjan 2011, 183)

b. *Этот аргумент отвергло большинство теоретиков.* (Plungjan 2011, 188)

On the basis of the cognitive grammar postulation that grammatical relations reflect the speaker's distribution of attention to participants of the event (cf. Langacker 2008; Tomlin and Myachykov 2019), the morphosyntactic status of each argument, such as nominative subject and accusative object, accords with the relative salience of the entity in the event described by the clausal expression. This view also applies to the copular passive in (1a), where the patient (affected participant), encoded as the nominative subject, is construed as more salient than the agent as the instrumental complement at the time of the utterance. In the case of (1b), however, since the topicalized patient is encoded as the accusative object and the agent as the nominative subject, the patient is less salient than the agent.

This study argues that the cognitive process of distributing attention is independent of the cognitive process of topicalizing and that these processes are reflected in the morphosyntactic and syntactic properties of the formal structure respectively. This argument is also discussed in terms of its compatibility with the constructionist analysis of surface form (Goldberg 2002, 2006). This paper further suggests that the topicalization of the patient is motivated by the prior context where a patient-oriented construal is shared between the interlocutors and that due to the difference in the distribution of attention, the OVS construction and the copular passive have distinct functions and may behave differently in the discourse.

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Synaesthetic features in Slavic onomatopoeia

Linguistic synaesthesia, which represents the blending of different sensory domains in language, is often primarily associated with noun phrases such as "bitter smell." In synaesthetic expressions, the sensory transfer typically occurs from lower hierarchical modalities (touch/temperature, taste, smell) to higher ones (hearing, sight). This phenomenon, also known as synaesthetic metaphor, has been examined for its metonymic properties as well (e.g., Liewers, Huang, and Xiong, 2021).

A less-investigated linguistic category that demonstrates the integration of multisensory information is onomatopoeia. The complexity of defining onomatopoeic words underscores their inherent intricacy. Different linguistic traditions may variably classify onomatopoeia, imitatives, depictives, ideophones, descriptives, and mimetics. Recent studies have explored these words in Slavic languages; however, even book-length contributions such as Fidler (2014) on Czech, Kanerva (2023) on Russian, and Milosavljević (2018) on Serbian lack in-depth analysis of how synaesthesia functions within these words. Moreover, comparative studies across various Slavic languages on onomatopoeia remain scarce.

Our project has compiled a database of onomatopoeic interjections from Belarusian, Polish, Russian, Slovak, and Ukrainian. This database contains between 120 and 400 distinct onomatopoeic interjections for each language with usage examples drawn from linguistic corpora and other resources. The synaesthetic attributes are prominently visible in onomatopoeic interjections that depict a loud, abrupt sound but are also frequently applied to describe unexpected events that might not involve sound. This conceptualization links the sound with an anticipated visual outcome, physiological reactions such as shivering or goosebumps, and associated olfactory and gustatory experiences. An onomatopoeic word may represent any or all of these sensory responses, along with other metaphorical or metonymic associations. One intriguing example is the interjection 'bac,' meaning "bang," commonly used across Slavic languages. Its close synonyms also share many of its characteristics.

This paper will delve into the synaesthetic metaphors prevalent in frequently used Slavic onomatopoeic interjections, drawing on dictionary entries, examples of use, and questionnaire responses from native speakers.

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Exploring the Applicability of Cognitive Semantic Theories in Cognitive Psychology: Case of English-to-Polish Narrative Translation

My previous research (Wiśniewska, 2022) integrated translation studies with cognitive linguistics to formulate a cognitive model of translation. This approach incorporated cognitive semantics to highlight the importance of a multilingual perspective within cognitive linguistics, investigating information mediation in translation across linguistic and cognitive domains. Aligned with Mäkisalo and Lehtinen's (2014) cognitive retention hypothesis, which suggests minimal changes in cognitive structures despite significant structural differences, my research centred around Talmy's (2000) schematic system of force dynamics. By analysing linguistic and cognitive aspects, it confirmed the hypothesis across a wide range of English–Polish translation samples. However, while the theoretical framework for delineating linguistic and cognitive levels in translation is now established, the applicability of Talmy's purely linguistic theory to the cognitive psychology of translation remains unexplored.

The current pilot study employs a qualitative approach to delve into cognitive and linguistic analysis. Short English texts, rich in cognitive (force dynamics) and linguistic structures (verb phrases), are distributed to ten linguistics and/or translation studies students for translation into Polish. Texts, adapted from existing literature, are standardised in terms of difficulty and genre (fiction and non-fiction narratives). Following translation, participants provide written commentaries on their approach, focusing on linguistic manifestations of force dynamics, without prior knowledge of their significance. They openly discuss their considerations during translation. In a final phase, participants engage in oral debriefing sessions to review translations and commentaries, aiming to uncover mental images perceived in the source text and evaluate their conveyance in translations.

The ongoing analysis of data indicates that despite lacking awareness of the underlying theory, students demonstrate an inclination to verbalise aspects aligned with the theoretical framework when describing their mental representations of expressions involving force dynamics in the source texts. Moreover, they display the capability to discern both similarities and disparities in the mental images conveyed by their translations. They attribute alterations in mental pictures to factors such as the naturalness of expression or the absence of translation equivalents. However, whenever feasible, they are also capable of revising their translations to align the two mental pictures without violating linguistic rules. These findings not only provide

evidence for the psychological plausibility of Talmy's theorisation in a Slavic context, but also resonate with the longstanding application of cognitive grammar to translation studies, suggesting that awareness of the cognitive reasons behind meaning variance enables translators to make more conscious decisions instead of relying solely on intuition (Tabakowska, 1993).

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Exploring modal variation: A constructionist approach to the Russian modal *možno* ‘be possible’

Modal words in Russian are typically used in various types of utterances and express more than one modal meaning. This paper examines the variation across construction types with the anchor element *možno* ‘be possible’ in the Russian language. While previous studies have primarily focused on syntactic categorizations (e.g., Švedova et al. 1980), this research adopts a more holistic approach by considering the interaction of *možno* with other elements within constructions, as well as pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic factors.

Prior scholarship showed that the modal word *možno* ‘be possible’ expresses deontic and participant external meanings (Plungian and van der Auwera 1998). In Švedova et al. (1980), sentences with modal words are syntactically categorized into seven types. However, relying solely on syntactic patterns is not sufficient for categorizing modal meanings. For instance, non-past syntactic patterns can convey a variety of meanings such as external possibility, impossibility, request, and permission, depending on the specific speech act in which the construction with *možno* is employed.

In this talk, I will present the network of constructions with the modal word *možno* taking into consideration its interactions with other linguistic elements within the same construction and various factors such as the sentence type (declarative, interrogative, exclamative), construction pattern (with inclusion of elements other than *možno* and tense/mood markers), word order (information structure), verb class, etc. that contribute to the resultant meaning of each construction type.

By analyzing 500 examples retrieved from the Russian National Corpus (RNC, ruscorpora.ru), I have identified nineteen distinct constructional types, further grouped into five semantic clusters, namely, external possibility, requests, permissions, epistemic, and intensity. The analysis underscores the role of additional anchor words in shaping the semantics of *možno* in constructions deviating from external possibility. Particularly in cases involving epistemic and intensity meanings, the inclusion of two anchors adds layers of complexity to the construction.

Furthermore, I address the issue of polysemy by elucidating how contextual elements such as the type of speech act and discourse type serve as crucial disambiguating factors. For

instance, while the declarative construction of *možno* can express both possibility and permission, the interrogative construction primarily conveys requests.

I will also address the methodological limitations of corpus-study study, such as the inability to account for parameters like intonation or non-verbal signals, and disparities in construction frequency across different discourse types, particularly noting a lower percentage of constructions related to requests and permissions in written discourse and propose potential solutions to mitigate these limitations.

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Construction Grammar: Merely a Set or a Connected Structure? Evidence from the Russian Constructicon

Haspelmath (2023) asserts that the constructions of a language comprise “a set of conventional form-meaning pairs” and proposes the term “inventorium” to refer to this set of “inventorial items”. We counter that by characterizing the constructions of a language as a dictionary-like list, Haspelmath disregards a crucial fact, namely that the constructions of a language constitute an intensely interconnected system. The structure of this system becomes clear when one takes into account a sufficiently large number of constructions, and we argue that the connections among constructions are an important parameter in the linguistic competence of speakers.

We present data from the Russian Constructicon (>2200 constructions) demonstrating that all constructions bear relationships to other constructions, and that constructions mutually reinforce each other. The Russian Constructicon is deeply annotated for a wide variety of semantic, syntactic, morphological, and other characteristics that reveal the relationships among constructions. We illustrate the systematic interconnectedness of Russian constructions from the perspective of one semantic subclass, that of “Sets and elements”. An example of a construction in this subclass is **ID1905 за исключением NP-Gen, CI** as in *Я прочитал всё, за исключением последней главы* ‘I read everything except the last chapter.’ Connectedness among constructions is visualized across two dimensions: vertical shown in Figure 1, and lateral shown in Figure 2.

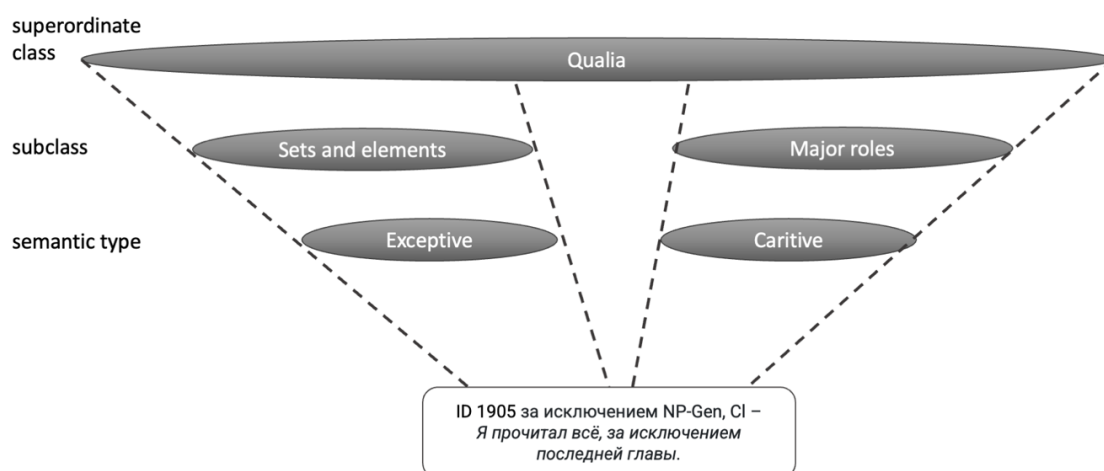


Figure 1: Visualization of the multiple semantic affiliations of a single construction

ID1905 belongs to the Exceptive family, which is part of the Sets and elements subclass,

and the Qualia Superordinate class. This construction also belongs to the Caritive family in the Major roles subclass. The internal structure of the Sets and elements subclass is visualized in Figure 2.

The Sets and elements subclass contains 110 constructions across seven semantic types, and each of these types are related to each other. The constructions of this subclass contain information on the relationship between an element and a set. Within this subclass, there are various kinds of Quantification, as well as operators that define modification of a set of elements, such as Additive, Inclusive, and Exceptive.

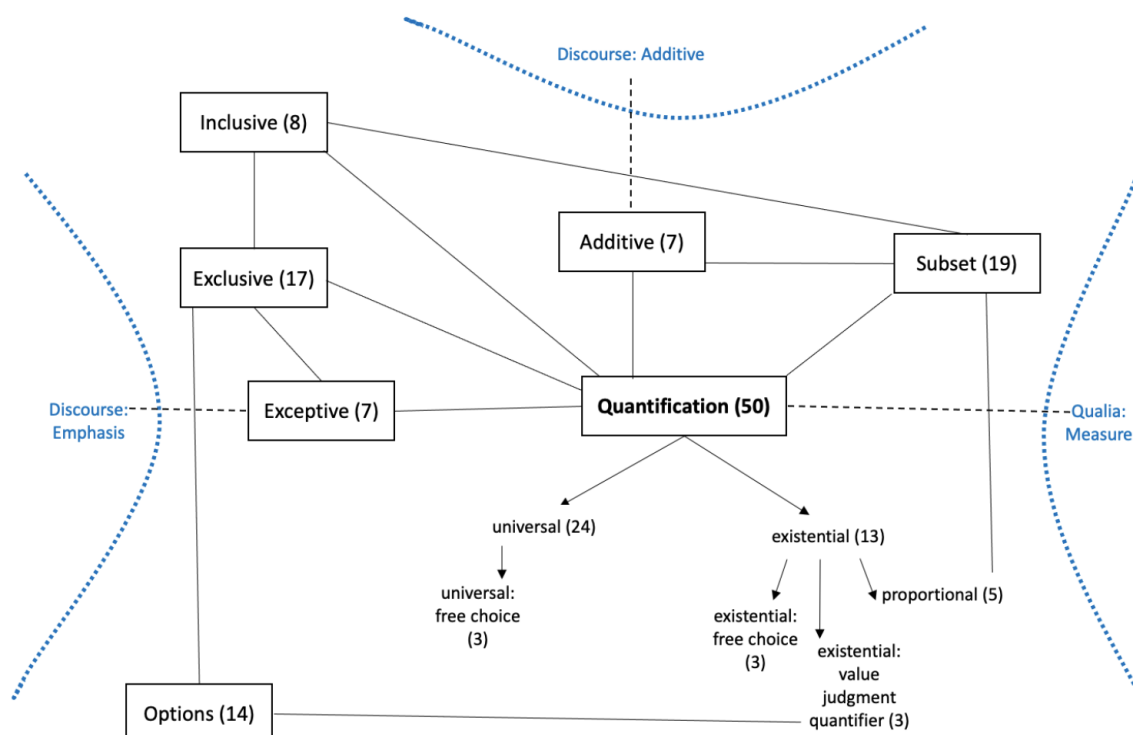


Figure 2: Sets and elements subclass: structure of semantic relationships that hold within this subclass and that join this subclass to other groups

In this presentation, we track the semantic connections manifested by the Sets and elements subclass to demonstrate the remarkable interconnectedness of constructions in Russian. Many constructions belong to multiple semantic types, revealing local connections as well as bridges across more macroscopic levels of semantic organization. This display of relationships is only in the domain of semantics, but further relationships can be shown also according to other parameters such as syntax and morphology.

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In 2019, Jagiellonian University was among the prestigious group of universities selected by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in the competition “Initiative of Excellence – Research University” (IDUB).

The aim of the competition was to select and support universities that would endeavour to achieve the status of a research university and would successfully compete with the best academic centres in Europe and around the world.

Between 2020 and 20206, all the winners of the IDUB programme will be receiving a subsidy from the state budget increased by 10%. The programme, referred to by the acronym **ID.UJ** at Jagiellonian University, will enable the university to strengthen such areas as international partnerships, research grants, conducting innovative research, globalisation of science, as well as knowledge and technology transfer.

<https://id.uj.edu.pl/start>



Kraków is the second largest city in Poland by population, economy, as well as its social, scientific and cultural strengths. Its unique values are the basis for its economic development and high quality of life. It boasts highly skilled human capital. It is a city that its inhabitants choose as a place to live, work, study, and spend free time in a variety of ways. Sustainable development and the ability to meet specific challenges with the skillful use of existing resources are the main priorities.

Kraków is also a significant academic center, with its 650-year-old Jagiellonian University being an unprecedented resource for knowledge. It promotes competitiveness and innovation not only in the city proper, but the entire region. The dynamically developing economy based on knowledge leads to positive changes in the economic life of the city, making it part of the modern economies of the world.

Kraków's overriding goal is not only to be a modern city but also to be proud of its historical heritage. It aspires to be an open, rich, friendly and safe metropolis, vibrant with culture. Smart management and strengthening the sphere of modern services and the research and development sector are the foundations for the development of Kraków – a city where innovation and effective cooperation between science and business are in focus.

We invite you to visit our website and learn more about the possibilities offered by the magical city of Kraków – rooted in tradition, sensitive to everyday life and open to development: www.dlabiznesu.krakow.pl

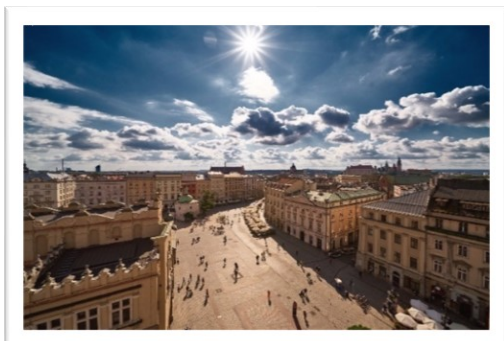


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