

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

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RUSSIAN *U Y-a EST'* / *- X* CONSTRUCTIONS

The paper considers the problem of choice between the construction *U Y-a est' X* lit. 'At Y is X' (with the form *est'* of the verb BYT' 'be') and the construction *U Y-a X* lit. 'At Y X' (with the zero form of the verb BYT'). This choice is determined by the meaning to be expressed, that is, practically it can be reduced to the choice of the corresponding one of several verbs BYT' 'be'. As the first approximation, the starting meaning 'Y is a semantic actant of X' (*U Ivana_Y temperatura_X / èkzamen_X / dvoe detej_X* 'At Ivan [high] temperature / [an] exam / two kids') is expressed by the verb BYT' **II.3** and by the construction *U Y-a X*; the meaning 'Y has X' (*U Ivana_Y est' dača_X / special'nyj pomoščnik_X / vremja_X* 'At Ivan is [a] summer.house / [a] special assistant / time') is expressed by the verb BYT' **III.2** and by the construction *U Y-a est' X*. The paper also presents the vocable BYT', with 13 lexemes; five of these, which participate in the constructions under analysis, are accompanied with full lexicographic descriptions. A series of particular cases is analyzed in which the choice of the appropriate construction is complicated by additional conditions. Formal semantic rules for the production of both constructions are supplied.

Keywords: Russian language, semantics, syntax, semantics-syntax interface, the verb BYT' 'be', zero form of the verb, constructions *U Y-a est' / - X*

To Alěša, with love.

**U menja zavtra est' trudnyj èkzamen*
lit. 'At me tomorrow is difficult exam'. =
'I have a difficult exam tomorrow'.

My grandson Alex Blostein

This paper is written within the Meaning-Text framework; it is impossible to explain here the notations and formalisms used. The reader is kindly referred to [Mel'čuk 2012–2015].

1. The problem stated

The scientific problem discussed in this paper arose, as is often the case, from a very practical, down-to-earth difficulty:

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How to explain to my nice grandchildren, speaking (sometimes halting) Russian, when you have to say in Russian *U Y-a est' X* 'At Y is X' and when *U Y-a X* 'At Y X', i. e., without an overt verb form?

As common wisdom has it, in different contexts, either only the **est'**-construction is correct — (1a), or only the no-overt-verb construction is — (1b), or both constructions are correct with different meanings — (1c), or, finally, both are correct with (roughly) the same meaning — (1d):

- (1) a. *U Ivana est' èta kniga* 'At Ivan is this book' = 'Ivan has this book'. ~
 **U Ivana èta kniga* 'At Ivan this book'.

NB: 1. Here and below, all example sentences are supposed to fit into a **communicatively neutral context** — that is, to be uttered, among other things, with a neutral declarative prosody (interrogative and exclamative sentences are excluded from consideration). Thus:

- (i) **U Ivana èta kniga* 'Ivan has this book'.

But the expression *U Ivana èta kniga* is correct, if 'u Ivana' is a *Focalized Rheme*, as in an answer to the question *Where could this book be?*¹ for instance:

- (ii) *U Ivana_{Sem-RHEME, Focalized} èta kniga* 'At Ivan this book'. ≈ 'It is Ivan who has this book'.

Sentence (ii) expresses a meaning different from that of sentence (1a): (1a) speaks of Ivan and tells us that he has this book, while (ii) indicates that the location of the book is 'at Ivan'.

- (iii) *U Ivana èta_{Rh-Focus} kniga* 'At Ivan this book'. ≈ 'Ivan has exactly this book'.

Sentence (iii) tells us that the book Ivan has is exactly this book — a meaning that again is different from that of sentence (1a).

2. Since the present paper concentrates on the grammatical correctness of the two constructions, our examples are lexically the simplest possible; therefore, some of them do not sound quite natural out of context.

¹ The **Semantic Rheme** of a sentence *S* is the part of the meaning 'S' (of this sentence) that the Speaker presents as stated by means of *S*; the **Rhematic Focus** is the part of **Sem-R** that supplies the value of the unknown element in the underlying question to which *S* can be an appropriate answer; *Focalized* is the part of the meaning 'S' that the Speaker presents as logically prominent. For instance:

- (i) *John_{Sem-T} was seen there last Friday_{Sem-R}*.
 Rh-F
 (ii) *John_{Sem-T} was seen there **last** Friday_{Sem-R}*.
 (iii) *As for John, he_{Sem-T, Focalized} was seen there last Friday_{Sem-R}*.
 (iv) *It was there_{Sem-R, Focalized} that John was seen last Friday_{Sem-T}*.

For more details, see [Mel'čuk 2001].

3. The asterisks in examples (1) are not mine: they correspond to the judgments of grammaticality found in most publications on the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions. It will be shown in this paper that the expressions under consideration are ungrammatical only with respect to a given meaning.

- b. *U Ivana golubye glaza* 'At Ivan blue eyes' = 'Ivan has blue eyes'. ~
 **U Ivana est' golubye glaza*.
- c. (i) *U Ivana est' takoj nož* 'At Ivan is such knife' = 'Ivan has such a knife'. ~
 **U Ivana takoj nož*.
 (ii) *Ostorožno, u Ivana nož* 'Careful, at Ivan knife' = 'Careful, Ivan has a knife' [a warning]. ~
 **Ostorožno, u Ivana est' nož*.
- d. (i) *U Ivana k tebe est' vopros* 'At Ivan to you is question' = 'Ivan has a question for you'. ≡
 (ii) *U Ivana k tebe vopros* 'At Ivan to you question' = 'Ivan has a question for you'.

The literature concerning the two constructions is vast; I will mention only four major titles: the pioneering studies [Селивёрстова 1973; 1990: 66 — 88; Янко 2001: 309 — 326], and [Апресян В. 2017]. The works by Yanko and V. Apresjan, which propose detailed and well illustrated analyses of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions, together with a good presentation of the relevant knowledge and a complete bibliography, have been especially useful for me. In particular, Yanko [Янко 2001] establishes the main semantic contrast between the two constructions: roughly, "*U Y-a X*" means 'Y is a participant of situation X', while "*U Y-a est' X*" means 'Y has at his disposal a useful X'; V. Apresjan [Апресян В. 2017] supplies an exhaustive inventory of semantic classes of possible Xs. I used many of Yanko's and V. Apresjan's examples and some of their proposals and conclusions, while trying to make another step forward.

In a nutshell, the problem that this paper is intended to solve can be formulated as follows:

┌ To state the formal rules necessary and sufficient to produce all and only correct occurrences of both *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions.

Formally, both constructions I am interested in have the following surface-syntactic structure:

└ oblique-objectival ┘
 U-prepositional → Y BYT'-subjectival → X

— The preposition U 'at', which is essential for these constructions, is semantically empty (= does not correspond to a semanteme): it is governed by the corresponding verb BYT' and does not appear in the deep-syntactic structure.

— Both constructions have to be examined in the present tense of the indicative mood, since in the past and future tenses, as well as in the subjunctive-

conditional, all BYT' verbs (see Subsection 2.2) have the same inflectional forms: *byl, byla, bylo, budu, budeš'*, ... Only in the present indicative is it possible to tease them apart: some BYT' verbs in some particular contexts feature the zero lex $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$, some use the lex *est'*, and still some other allow both lexes depending on the context. This difference is described by means of distinguishing several BYT' verbs: the *U Y-a est' X* construction contains BYT'II.3, BYT'II.4 or BYT'III.1, and the *U Y-a X* construction BYT'II.3, BYT'II.5 or BYT'III.2; the lexicographic definitions of these verbs will be given below, Subsection 2.2.

— X and Y can have various dependents, actants as well as modifiers, and these dependents can be relevant for the grammaticality and pragmatic acceptability of a given construction. Thus, **U Ivana sosed* 'At Ivan neighbor' is incorrect for the meaning 'Ivan has a neighbor' (the correct expression: *U Ivana est' sosed* 'At Ivan is neighbor'), while *U Ivana novyj sosed* 'At Ivan new neighbor' = 'Ivan has a new neighbor' is impeccable.

— The *U Y-a X* construction should not be confused with a case of syntactically induced ellipsis of the *est'* form. Thus, in sentence (2), the clauses 2 and 3 feature the *U Y-a est' X* construction that has undergone ellipsis:

- (2) [*U menja est' serdce*]₁, a [*u serdca — pesnja*]₂, a [*u pesni — tajna*]₃
 'At me is heart, and at heart song, and at song secret' [a popular Soviet tango of 1930s].

Before we plunge into the heart of the matter, two warnings:

— The English glosses to Russian examples (throughout the paper) are mostly literal. Several English words that correspond to one Russian word are united by periods: *budet* 'will.be'.

— My approach is strictly synthetic — from meaning to text. Therefore, if a text *T* is supplied with the gloss 'g', this means that 'g' can be expressed by *T*, not that 'g' is the only meaning of *T*.

2. Preparing the solution

2.1. Terms to avoid

In a study like the present one, the use of precise notions and, consequently, precise terminology is vital. Therefore, first of all, the following three terms frequently used in the discussions of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions must be banned, because of their misleading connotations:

- The term **copula* as applied to the verbs BYT' 'be' found in the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions. The fact is that these BYT' are by no means copulas! (Several BYT' verbs are, of course, copulas, but these do not appear in our constructions; for an inventory of BYT' lexemes, see Subsection 3.2)
- The term **zero verb* as applied to the absence of an overt verb form in the *U Y-a X* construction. This construction contains not a **zero verb*, but the

zero form of one of the verbs BYT' — namely, $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'II.3}}$, $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'II.5}}$ or $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'III.2}}$, which are the present tense wordforms of the verbs BYT'II.3, BYT'II.5 and BYT'III.2 (they are by no means zero verbs; on zero lexemes, see [Mel'čuk 2006: 447 — 495]).

- The term **possessive construction* as applied to both our constructions. The notion of “possession” is semantically too vague to be used in this case. Even the sentence *U Ivana est' èta kniga* ‘At Ivan is this book’, which is the closest example of “possession,” can be continued ..., *no ona emu ne prinadležit* ‘..., but it does not belong to him’. The semantic relation between Y and X manifested in the constructions under analysis is not “possession,” but a very general and vague “involvement.” This meaning is considered indecomposable — a semantic primitive; in our description it is expressed by the semanteme ‘have’ (in Russian, it is ‘imet'sja’ ≈ ‘be.had’).

2.2. The verb BYT' in Russian

A *U Y-a est'/- X* construction is controlled, as will be shown, by one of the five lexemes of the verbal vocable BYT' ‘be’: respectively, BYT'II.3, BYT'II.4, BYT'II.5, BYT'III.1, and BYT'III.2. Therefore, it is necessary to present here a short description of the vocable BYT'. This description has been elaborated on the basis of Ju. Apresjan's paper [Апресян 2014] (where a detailed characterization of syntactic, lexical-combinatorial, prosodic and morphological properties of the different BYT' is offered) — with some changes².

² Modifications made in this paper with respect to Ju. Apresjan's [Апресян 2014] list:

- From Apresjan's 16 BYT' lexemes the following 9 are left out:

Byt' 2.2 (*On uže byl v dva časa* ‘He already was [here] at two o'clock’) is considered to be a particular case of **byt' 2.1** ‘be.located (= our BYT'IV ‘be.located’).

Byt' 4.2 and 4.4 (*Bylo pjat' časov* ‘[It] was five o'clock’ and *S nim beda* ‘With him accident’) are considered to be particular cases of **byt' 4.3** ‘take place, happen’ (= our BYT'II.2 ‘take place’).

Byt' 5.1 (the inevitability of an event: *Byt' groze* ‘To.be to.thunderstorm’ = ‘A thunderstorm will happen’) is considered to be a particular manifestation of the syntactic construction $V_{\text{INF}} \rightarrow N_{\text{DAT}}$, which is available with many different verbs (*Vojne eščë gremet' i pylat'* ‘The war will still be rumbling and flaming’ or *Žit' im i žit'* ‘They will still live and live’). BYT' in this construction is **byt' 4.3** ‘take place, happen’.

Byt' 5.2 (the inevitability of a bad event: *Nam kryška* lit. ‘To.us kaput’ = ‘We are done in’) is considered to be a particular case of **byt' 1.1** (the copula; our BYT'I.1), used as a light verb with such nouns as KRYŠKA ‘≈ kaput’, KAPUT ‘kaput’, KONEC ‘end’ or XANA ‘≈ kaput’.

Byt' 5.3 and 5.4 — the lexical items BUDET (‘enough’, as in *Enough crying!*) — are considered to be lexemes of a separate vocable BUDET (*Budet s tebjä* ‘You've had enough’; *Budet tebe plakat'* ‘Enough to.you to.cry’).

Byt' 6.1 and 6.2 (BYT' as an auxiliary) are also considered to be particular uses of **byt' 1.1** (the copula; our BYT'I.1).

In the examples below, all BYT' verbs are cited in the present tense of the indicative mood, since the problematic phenomena in the two constructions manifest themselves only in the present. For each lexeme of BYT' its possible inflectional forms of the present tense are indicated — both in the default (= general) case and in some special cases, that is, under special conditions, which are specified in the corresponding lexical entry. The present tense BYT' forms are:

- 1) a zero form $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$ ³
- 2) **est'** for both a singular and a plural subject
- 3) **est'/sut'** for a singular/plural subject, respectively
- 4) **budet**, actually the future tense form of BYT'; it is used in a few specific cases in the sense of the present, such as *Dvaždy tri budet šest'* 'Two.times three is [lit. 'will.be'] six'. | *A vy kto budete?* 'And you who are [lit. 'will.be']?' | *V něm 20 kilo budet* 'In it 20 kg is [lit. 'will.be']' = 'It weighs about 20 kilos'. This use is stylistically marked (colloquial).

These forms, except **budet**, are not conjugated by person: they are the same for any person. Not all of them are possible for all verbs of BYT': BYT'1.1 has $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$ and **est'**, BYT'1.2 and BYT'1.3 — $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$ and **est'/sut'**, BYT'1.4 — $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$ and **budet**, etc.

The four wordforms above are **suppletive lexes** of the corresponding verbal lexemes; the selection of the appropriate one is performed by deep-morphological rules, based on the information stored in the lexicographic entries for the verbs BYT'.

Since an in-depth characterization of the BYT' lexemes is far beyond the goal of this paper, several important details are ignored. Thus, the use of the pronoun *ěto* 'it' with some of the copulas, but not with the others — as, e. g., in *Romb — ěto čtyřxugol'nik* 'Diamond it [is] quadrangle' vs. **Ivan — ěto vrač* 'Ivan it [is] doctor' — is left out; see [Mel'čuk 2012].

BYT' 'be'

I. Copula	
1. BYT'1.1 'X←1–Y' ["X is Y"] BYT'1.1 is semantically empty—that is, its signified contains no semantemes; it has no source in the starting semantic	<i>Ěta kniga_X interesnaja_Y</i> 'This book interesting'. <i>Kuren_X vredno_Y</i> 'Smoking harmful'. <i>Kur_X vredno_Y</i> 'To.smoke harmful'. <i>I_X pjatero_Y</i>

- Six BYT' lexemes are added: two copular lexemes (BYT'1.3 — BYT'1.4, based on [Mel'čuk 2012]), three "existential" lexemes BYT'II.3 — BYT'II.5 and the "availability" lexeme BYT'III.2 are introduced as a result of the present research.
- Apresjan's lexicographic numbering of the lexemes inside the BYT' vocable has been changed in order to make the semantic bridges better visible.

³ Useful remarks about cooccurrence properties of BYT' zero forms (different from analogous properties of overt forms) are found in [Летучий 2013].

structure and is used to “verbalize” non-verbal semantically predicative lexemes L(‘Y’). The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}1.1}$; est’ under special conditions $\langle * \text{sut} \rangle$.	‘Of.them five’ = ‘They are five’. <i>Ivan_X, kak vseгда, bez_Y deneg</i> ‘Ivan, as always, without money’. <i>Ves_X granitnoj plity — 40 tonn_Y</i> ‘Weight of granit slab 40 tons’. <i>Ivanu_Y kaput_X</i> ‘To.Ivan kaput’ = ‘Ivan is kaput’. <i>Ivanu len’_Y idti_X tuda</i> ‘To.Ivan laziness to go there’ = ‘Ivan is too lazy to go there’.
2. BYT’1.2 ‘X is.identical.to Y’ The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}1.2}$; est’/sut’ under special conditions.	<i>Čelovek_X u okna — Ivan_Y</i> ‘Man at window Ivan’. <i>Ėtot čelovek_X (i est’)</i> <i>Ivan_Y</i> ‘This man (surely) is Ivan’. <i>Edinstvennaja svjataja bor’ba_X — bor’ba_Y s dremotoj</i> ‘Only holy fight fight against sleepiness’. <i>Naša edinstvennaja nadežda_Y — Ivan_X</i> ‘Our only hope Ivan’.
3. BYT’1.3 ‘X is.an.element.of class Y’ Syn: JAVLJAT’SJA ‘be’ The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}1.3}$; est’/sut’ under special conditions.	<i>Ivan_X — filosof_Y</i> ‘Ivan philosopher’. <i>Kniga_X sprava — učebnik_Y ispanskogo</i> ‘Book on.the.right textbook of.Spanish’. <i>Tak kak romb_X —/est’</i> <i>parallelogram_Y, to...</i> ‘Since diamond \emptyset /is parallelogram, ...’ <i>Kity_X —/sut’</i> <i>mlekopitajuščie životnye_Y</i> ‘Whales \emptyset /are mammals’. <i>Boks_X — diskusija_Y s očen’ veskimi argumentami</i> ‘Box discussion with very weighty arguments’.
4. BYT’1.4 ‘X is.equivalent.to Y’ The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}1.4}$; the future tense form budet is used under special conditions.	<i>“Window”_X po-russki \emptyset/budet</i> <i>“okno”_Y</i> ‘Window in.Russian \emptyset /will.be okno’. <i>Dva_X plus dva \emptyset/budet četyre_Y</i> ‘Two plus two \emptyset /will.be four’.
5. BYT’1.5 ‘Y’s age.is X’ The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}1.5}$; est’ under special conditions $\langle * \text{sut} \rangle$.	<i>Ivanu_Y sorok let_X</i> ‘To.Ivan 40 years’ = ‘Ivan is 40 years old’.
II. Existence	
6. BYT’II.1 ‘entity X exists [in the world]’ [“there is/are X(s)”] Syn: SUŠČESTVOVAT’ ‘exist’; IMET’SJA ≈ ‘be.present’, ‘be.had’	<i>(Est’) svežee pivo_X</i> ‘(Is) fresh beer’. <i>V džungljax (est’) opasnye xiščniki_X</i> ‘In jungle (is) dangerous predators’. <i>V Afrike_Y (est’) akuly_X, v Afrike_Y (est’) gorilly_X!</i> ‘In Africa (is) sharks, in Af-

<p>The present tense form: est' < *sut' >; Ø^{II.1} under special conditions.</p>	<p>rica (is) gorillas!' <i>Est' eščě na svete poezda_X!</i> 'Is still in world trains!' <i>Ved'my_X vsě-taki est'!</i> 'Witches by.all.means is!' = '... exist!' <i>Est' eščě porox_X v poroxovnicax!</i> 'Is still powder in powder.bboxes!'</p>
<p>7. BYT'II.2 'situation X exists' [“X takes place”] Syn: IMET' MESTO' 'take.place' The present tense form: Ø^{BYT'II.2}; est' under special conditions < *sut' >.</p>	<p><i>Pjat' časov_X</i> '5 o'clock' < Bylo/Budet <i>pjat' časov</i> 'It was/will.be 5 o'clock'. <i>Zima_X</i> 'Winter' [<i>Ivan skazal, čto sej-čas zima</i> 'Ivan said that now winter'.]</p>
<p>8. BYT'II.3 'X-p_i→Y' [“X has Y as an actant”] BYT'II.3 is semantically empty: it expresses no semantemes. The present tense form: Ø^{BYT'II.3}; est' under special conditions < *sut' >.</p>	<p><i>U Ivana_Y gripp_X</i> 'At Ivan flu'. <i>U Ivana_Y zavtra èkzamen_X</i> 'At Ivan tomorrow exam' [either Ivan is an examiner or an examinee]. <i>U Ivana_Y molodaja mat'_X</i> 'At Ivan young mother'. <i>U doma_Y dve dveri_X</i> 'At house two doors'. <i>U Ivana_Y slabye myšcy_X</i> 'At Ivan weak muscles' [Ivan's muscles are weak].</p>
<p>9. BYT'II.4 'entities X-p_i→Y, some of Xs being Z' BYT'II.4 is semantically almost empty (like BYT'II.3), adding to 'X' the semanteme 'some.of [Xs]' and a constraint on actant X ('entities'). Syn: IMET'SJA 'be.had' The present tense form: est' < *sut' >.</p>	<p><i>U Ivana_Y est' slabye_Z myšcy_X</i> 'At Ivan is [some] weak muscles' [some of Ivan's muscles are weak]. <i>U ètoj knigi_Y est' mjatye_Z stranicy_X</i> 'At this book is [some] crumpled pages'.</p>
<p>10. BYT'II.5 'situation X or a situation that involves X affects Y' The present tense form: Ø^{BYT'II.5}</p>	<p><i>U Ivana_Y zavtra èkzamen_X syna</i> 'At Ivan tomorrow [his] son's exam'. <i>U Ivana_Y zavtra Maša_X</i> 'At Ivan tomorrow Masha' [an event involving Masha that affects Ivan will take place tomorrow].</p>
<p>III. Availability</p>	
<p>11. BYT'III.1 'X useful.to Y is.had.by Y' Syn: IMET'SJA 'be.had' The present tense form: est' < *sut' >.</p>	<p><i>U Ivana_Y est' dom_X za gorodom</i> 'At Ivan is house in country'. <i>Est' u nas_Y eščě doma dela_X!</i> 'Is at us still at.home business!' <i>U doma_Y est' dve dveri_X</i> 'At house is two doors'. <i>U ètoj rakety_Y est' kryl'ja_X</i> 'At this missile is</p>

	wings'. <i>U Ivana_Y est' krasivyy galstuk_X</i> 'At Ivan is beautiful tie' [somewhere in a closet]. <i>U Ivana_Y est' gde žit'_X</i> 'At Ivan is where to live'. <i>A u Ivana est' Maša</i> 'And at Ivan is Masha'.
12. BYT'III.2 'X useful.to or usable.by Y is.had.by Y, Y handling X at the moment of speech or the moment specified in speech' The present tense form: $\emptyset^{BYT'III.2}$.	<i>Smotri, u Ivana_Y kamen'_X</i> 'Watch.out, at Ivan rock'. <i>U Ivana_Y krasivyy galstuk_X</i> 'At Ivan beautiful tie' [he is wearing it]. — <i>Da u reběnka nožnicy v rukax!</i> 'But at child scissors in hands!'
IV. Location	
13. BYT'IV 'X is.located.in Y' Syn: NAXODIT'SJA 'be.located.in' The present tense form: $\emptyset^{BYT'IV}$.	<i>Deti_X s utra na ozere_Y</i> 'Kids from morning at lake'. <i>Reka_X Xingu</i> — <i>v Brazili_Y</i> 'Xingu River in Brazil'. <i>U Ivana_Y sejčas Maša_X</i> 'At Ivan now Masha'.

Comments

1. The vocable BYT' features four lexeme groupings: **I.** copula, **II.** existence, **III.** availability, and **IV.** location; this is a fairly traditional set. The lexeme BYT'I.1 is semantically empty, and the lexemes BYT'II.1, BYT'III.1 and BYT'IV express semantic primitives (which agrees with Anna Wierzbicka's views — see, for instance, [Goddard, Wierzbicka 2014: 12]:

BYT'I.1: 'X ← I – Y' | BYT'II.1: 'X exists' | BYT'III.1: 'X is.had.by Y' ⁴ |
BYT'IV: 'X is.located.in Y'

This fact allows me to include these lexemes in one vocable (together with all other BYT' verbs): even if there are no explicit semantic bridges between them, formally — syntactically and morphologically — they are closely related.

2. The lexeme BYT'I.1 — the pure copula — verbalizes non-verbal semantically predicative lexemes; DSynt-actant **II** [\Leftrightarrow 'Y'] of the verb BYT'I.1 must be a genuine semantic predicate. BYT'I.1 also describes the grammatical (as an auxiliary verb) and semi-grammatical (as a support verb) uses of BYT':

— BYT' as an auxiliary in the passive. For instance, *Dom $\emptyset^{BYT'I.1}$ /byl/budet postroen* 'The house is/was/will.be built' and in the imperfective future tense *My budem^{BYT'I.1} stroit' dom* 'We will.be building the house'.

— BYT' as a support (= light) verb with predicative adverbs of the type MOŽNO \approx 'is.possible' or XOLODNO \approx 'is.cold'. For instance, *Možno vojti?* '[Is it] possible to.go.in?', with the surface-syntactic structure including an empty zero dummy subject $\emptyset_{(neu,sg)}^{empty} \approx$ 'it':

$\emptyset_{(neu,sg)}^{empty} \leftarrow$ **subjectival**–BYT'I.1–**copular**–**attributive**–**objectival**→MOŽNO

⁴ BYT'III.1 also expresses the semanteme 'useful [to X]'.

(i) a. *Eë glaza sijali* 'Her eyes were shining'. ~
Glaza u neë sijali 'Eyes at her were shining'.

In other words, the semantically equivalent phrases *u Ivana mama* \equiv *mama u Ivana* both mean 'Ivan's mom'; such phrases are not considered in this paper.

Sentence (4), semantically fairly close to (3), is communicatively and syntactically quite different:

- (4) $[U \text{ Ivana}_Y]_{\text{Sem-T}} \emptyset^{BYT'II.3} \text{ sovsem molodaja mama}_X$ 'At Ivan quite young mom' \approx
'Ivan has a quite young mom'.

Sentence (4) represents the *U Y-a X* construction. It does not state that Ivan's mom has the property of being very young, but states something about Ivan — namely, that he is in the situation of having a quite young mother⁶. In (4), the semantic Theme of the sentence is 'Ivan', while the meaning 'Ivan's mom' is part of the semantic Rheme.

• Existential construction

(PREP_(loc) Y) BYT'II.1 X '(PREP_(loc)) Y there.is X':

V'etoj kvartire est' gaz/ljudi 'In this apartment [there.]is gas [gas cooking]/people'.

The $U \rightarrow N_{\text{GEN}}$ phrase can be readily added also to this construction:

- (5) $U \text{ Ivana } v \rightarrow kvartire \text{ est' } \rightarrow \text{gaz} \langle \text{ljudi} \rangle$
'At Ivan in apartment is gas <people>' = 'In Ivan's apartment there is gas <there are people>'.

- b. *Ež golubye glaza sijali* 'Her blue eyes were shining'. ~
**Golubye glaza u než sijali* 'Blue eyes at her were shining'.

The presence of a restrictive modifier does not preclude the $U \rightarrow N_{\text{GEN}}$ as Possessive Attribute:

- (ii) *Ež levaja ruka drožala* 'Her left hand was trembling'. ~
Levaja ruka u než drožala 'Left hand at her was trembling'.

⁶ The situation with this construction is in fact more complex. If sentence (4) is negated, the result is the negation of the property 'being that young':

- (i) *Nepravda, mat' u Ivana sovsem ne takaja molodaja*
'Not true, Ivan's mother is not that young'.

At the same time, the negation of (ii) produces (iii) or (iv):

- (ii) *U Ivana šikarnaja dača* 'At Ivan luxurious summer.house'.

- (iii) *Nepravda, u Ivana net nikakoj šikarnoj dači*
'Not true, at Ivan no any luxurious summer.house'.

- (iv) *Nepravda, dača u Ivana sovsem ne takaja šikarnaja*
'Not true, Ivan's summer.house is not that luxurious'.

However, it is impossible to discuss here the problem of the scope of negation in the constructions under analysis.

But in (5), just as in (3), the phrase *u Ivana* is a Possessive Attribute of *kvar-tira* — not our cup of tea.

• **Locative construction**

X BYT'IV PREP_(loc) Y 'X is.located PREP_(loc) Y':
Naša mebel' na čerdake 'Our furniture in attic'.

Consider sentences (6) with $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ phrases:

- (6) a. *Naša mebel' u Ivana na čerdake* 'Our furniture is at Ivan in attic' =
 '...in Ivan's attic'.
 b. *Naša mebel' u Ivana* 'Our furniture is at Ivan's place'.
 c. *Naša mebel' u Ivana, na čerdake* 'Our furniture is at Ivan's place, in the attic'.

(6a) contains the free phrase $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ 'at N', playing the role of a Possessor Attribute ('at Ivan in attic' = 'in Ivan's attic') — as in (5). (6b) contains the syntactic idiom ' $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ ' 'at N's place'; this is not the free $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ phrase discussed in this paper, but a locative actant of the verb BYT'IV. Finally, (6c) features two pseudo-coordinate locative phrases, the first being the syntactic idiom ' $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ ', and the second a semantic elaboration of the first. The idiom ' $U \rightarrow N_{GEN}$ ' is of course ignored in what follows. Thus, such sentences as *U Ivana est' gaz* 'At Ivan's [there.]is gas', *Maša sejčas u Ivana* 'Masha now at Ivan's', etc. will not be considered.

NB: The borderline between the existential and the locative constructions is rather murky, so that fairly often it is difficult to tell one from the other. However, for the present paper, this fact is irrelevant.

2.4. The importance of the communicative structure

Both the *U Y-a est' / - X* constructions are linked in an essential way with the semantic-communicative structure [Sem-CommS] of the corresponding utterance.

On the one hand, the central fact here is as follows: Communicatively, the meaning 'Y' is always (a part of) the Sem- (and the Synt-)Theme of the sentence produced, but syntactically it is realized **not** as DSynt-actant I of the BYT' verb that controls the *U Y-a est' / - X* construction. For Russian, the preferred way of expressing the Sem-Theme is by DSyntA I (and the SSynt-Subject). However, in the *U Y-a est' / - X* constructions the Sem-Theme 'Y' is syntactically implemented not as DSyntA I and the surface subject, but as DSyntA II, turned on the surface into an oblique object. For this reason, the lexicographic definitions of the BYT' lexemes that participate in the *U Y-a est' / - X* constructions are formulated "against the communicative current," which is normally not done: these definitions start not with the Sem-Theme 'Y', but with 'X', which corresponds to DSyntA I, but does not express the Sem-Theme.

On the other hand, the choice of the surface present tense form **est'** of the verb BYT'II.3 over its zero form in several cases is conditioned by the *Focalized* character of the meaning involved.

3. The solution

3.1. Preliminary remarks

A solution to the problem stated above (the end of Section 1) is based on the following two postulates:

- The question to be answered is exclusively “**How to say this?**”, rather than “How is this understood?”. Everything linked to the understanding or interpretation of the constructions under analysis is avoided.
- The description proceeds from a **given** meaning to the corresponding text(s). The problem of constructing an appropriate meaning for a given situation is not discussed.

In addition, two fundamental observations have to be insisted upon.

Observation 1

All sentences implementing both the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions that are marked as ungrammatical in numerous publications are in fact syntactically and morphologically absolutely correct. What is wrong with them is that they express an inappropriate meaning — a meaning that does not correspond to the situation being described.

But the production, for a given situation, of a correct linguistic meaning to be expressed is not part of a linguist's preoccupations (we are supposed to only deal with a correct expression of a given meaning).

Here are three hackneyed examples of “ungrammatical” variants of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions, accompanied by parallel examples which demonstrate that in an appropriate context — that is, corresponding to an appropriate meaning — the problematic expressions are fully grammatical.

- (7) a. **U Ivana est' xorošaja doč'* ‘At Ivan is good daughter’ = ‘Ivan has a good daughter’.
 b. *Dlja ètogo u Ivana est' xorošaja doč', kotoruju možno pozvat' na pomošč'*
 ‘For this at Ivan is good daughter, whom is possible to call for help’.
- (8) a. **U Ivana est' gripp* ‘At Ivan is flu’ = ‘Ivan has flu’.
 b. *Razrešenija uiti u Ivana net, zato u nego est' gripp, na kotoryj on možet soslatsja*
 ‘Permission to leave at Ivan is not, yet at him is flu, which he can pretext’.
- (9) a. (i) *?U Ivana est' familija* ‘At Ivan is family.name’.
 (ii) **U Ivana familija* ‘At Ivan family.name’.
 (iii) **U Ivana est' russkaja familija* ‘At him is Russian family.name’.
 b. (i) *Dlja ètogo u Ivana est' familija i svjazi*
 ‘For this at Ivan is family.name and connections’.
 (ii) *U vsej svoi problemy, u Ivana — familija*
 ‘At everybody own problems, at Ivan family.name’.

- (iii) *Dlja ètogo u Ivana est' russkaja familija i pravil'nye znakomstva*
 'For this at Ivan is Russian family.name and right acquaintances'.

Before proceeding, let me insist on the following universally known, but often forgotten fact:

Generally speaking, the asterisk “*,” this symbol of ungrammaticality, indicates not only morphological and/or syntactic incorrectness, but marks as well linguistic expressions **incorrect — i. e. ungrammatical — only with respect to a given meaning**.

An expression $*\tilde{L}(\sigma')$ either may be incorrect morphologically and/or syntactically, or else it may be morphologically and syntactically perfect, but inappropriate for the meaning ‘ σ ’. It is the latter case that is typical of the ungrammaticality of the Russian expressions having the *U Y-a est'/- X* form. In point of fact, it proved impossible to find an example where one of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions is absolutely ungrammatical: it is only **semantically** ungrammatical, because it does not correspond to the intended meaning. Create an appropriate context, and this construction turns out fully acceptable.

Next, consider the second fundamental fact.

Observation 2

The grammaticality of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions is not fully determined by their lexical “filling”: the meaning and other properties of the expression X are not crucial, even if they are quite relevant on many occasions (all semantically essential properties of possible Xs are considered in [Анпеев 2017]). In order to ensure a grammatical use of these two constructions it is necessary that the meaning to express and the corresponding verb BYT' be selected in an appropriate way.

The *U Y-a BYT' X* constructions differ only by the lexemes of the verb BYT'; therefore, our problem can be reduced to the lexicographic descriptions of these lexemes BYT' and the choice of the BYT' verb corresponding to the given meaning.

3.2. Lexicographic description of the relevant verbs BYT'

3.2.1. Semantic contrasts between the relevant verbs BYT'

Considering pairs of semantically contrasting sentences with one of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions, we can isolate semantic components present in the definitions of the five BYT'.

“Utilitarian” character of BYT' III.1 [Янко 2001]

Let me begin with sentences (10), where both X and Y are instantiated by human proper names; these have no meaning of their own and thus contribute nothing to the meaning of the construction:

- (10) a. *U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT' III.1} Maša_X* ‘At Ivan is Masha’.

- b. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.5} Maša_X* 'At Ivan Masha'.
 [My ljudi svobodnye, a u Ivana — Maša 'We are free people while Ivan has Masha'.]

Sentence (10a) can be continued ... *i poèтому on **možet** mnogo rabotat'* <sovsem ne rabotat'> '... and therefore he **can** work a lot <not work at all>', but the continuation [?]... *i poèтому on **vynužden** mnogo rabotat'* <sovsem ne rabotat'> '... and therefore he **has.to** work a lot <not work at all>' does not sound right: in the *U Y-a est' X* construction, X is presented as an entity that somehow is "usable" by Y, since X enables Y to do what Y is supposed/intends to do. At the same time, sentence (10b) readily admits both continuations: it is less specific; here, X denotes any situation concerning Y one way or another. The comparison of the two sentences allows us to conclude that BYT'III.1 denotes the availability of **an entity** X that is somehow positive for Y, while BYT'II.5 is about **a fact** X, or a situation, that affects Y. ('Masha' in (10b) refers to an unspecified situation of which Masha is a participant.) This conclusion is corroborated by (11), where both X and Y denote inanimates:

- (11) a. *U ètoj bajdarki_Y **est'**^{BYT'III.1} mačta_X* 'At this kayak is mast'.
 b. *U ètoj bajdarki_Y Ø^{BYT'II.3} mačta_X* 'At this kayak mast'.

Sentence (11a) can be continued by ... *tak čto **možno** ispol'zovat' parus* '... so that a sail **can** be used', but not by ... *tak čto ona **ne projdët** pod nizkim mostom* '... so that it **won't pass** under a low bridge'; (11b) allows for both continuations. These observations correspond to Yanko's statement [ЯНКО 2001: 310] that the constructions under analysis differ as follows: the *U Y-a est' X* construction denotes the existence of an entity that is somehow available to Y. (Yanko calls this BYT' "utilitarian.") In contrast, the *U Y-a X* construction describes, in Yanko's words, "a current phenomenon X of the world," to which Y is related (in our terms, the situation of which Y is a participant).

The pairs of sentences in (12)–(13), where the **est'** form is used, confirm what we already know:

- (12) a. *U Ivana_Y **est'**^{BYT'III.1} Maša_X* 'At Ivan is Masha'. [= (10a)]
 b. *U Ivana_Y **est'**^{BYT'II.3} vragi_X* 'At Ivan is enemies'.
 (13) a. *U ètoj bajdarki_Y **est'**^{BYT'III.1} mačta_X* 'At this kayak is mast'. [= (11a)]
 b. *U ètoj bajdarki_Y **est'**^{BYT'II.3} proboiny_X* 'At this kayak is holes'.

Both (12a) and (13a) state that there is X available to Y — that is, X "useful" for Y; these sentences include BYT'III.1. However, X in (12b) and (13b) X is not at all "useful" for Y — this BYT' is not utilitarian in Yanko's sense; these sentences contain BYT'II.3, implemented by the **est'** variant of its present tense form (*est' vragi* is obtained by special case 3.2) or 3.3), and *est' proboiny* by special case 5.2) in the lexicographic entry for BYT'II.3, p. 23).

The result: the semantic component 'useful' has to be introduced into the definition of the verb BYT'III.1; the verbs BYT'II.3 and BYT'II.5 do not need this

type of component. The contrast of verbs BYT'II.3 vs. BYT'III.1 is well illustrated by E. Savvina's example:

- (14) a. *U Ivana vyxodnoj* 'At Ivan day.off' = 'It's Ivan's day off'.
 b. *U Ivana est' vyxodnoj(, čtoby s"ezdit' k materi)*
 'At Ivan is day.off to go.see mom' = 'Ivan has a day off to go and see his mom'.

"Partial" character of BYT'II.4 [Селивёрстова 1973]

Sentences in (15) indicate the necessity of the semantic component 'some of [Xs are Z-y]' in the definition of BYT'II.4:

- (15) a. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.3} sedye volosy_X* 'At Ivan white hairs' =
 'Ivan has white hair' or 'Ivan has white hairs'.
 The form *volosy* is ambiguous between VOLOS_{Y(pl. tantum)} '[the] hair'
 and VOLOS_{PL} ['hairs'].
 b. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT'II.4} sedye volosy_X* 'At Ivan is white hairs' = 'Ivan has
 some white hairs'.

"Actual" character of BYT'III.2 [Анпресян 1995: 523]

And, finally, the contrast seen in (16) allows us to introduce another semantic component — 'Y is handling X at the moment of speech or the moment specified in speech'; it is covered by the verb BYT'III.2:

- (16) a. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT'III.1} nož_X*
 'At Ivan is knife' [somewhere — maybe in his pack or at home].
 b. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'III.2} nož_X*
 'At Ivan knife' [in his hand; this sentence is a typical warning].

Now I am in a position to propose the lexical entries for our five verbs BYT'.

3.2.2. Lexical entries for the five verbs BYT':
 BYT'II.3-5 and BYT'III.1-2

BYT'II.3

Definition

U Y-a X: 'situacija $X-\rho_i \rightarrow Y_{\text{Sem-T}}$ ["X imeet Y aktantom ρ_i "]' =
 'situation $X-\rho_i \rightarrow Y_{\text{Sem-T}}$ ["X has Y as actant ρ_i "]

$\text{BYT'II.3} \in \text{Func}_i(\text{L}('X'))$

Comments

1. 'X' denotes a situation — that is, either a fact or an entity inherently involved in a fact. To put it differently, 'X' is a predicate or a quasi-predicate, while 'Y' can be anything: either a (quasi-)predicate or a semantic name: *U ètogo želaniya_Y — otčëtlivye kontury_X* 'At this desire clear-cut contours' ('Y' is a predicate), *U ètoj stat'i_Y mnogo nedostatkov_X* 'At this paper many

drawbacks' ('Y' is a quasi-predicate), or *U Ivana_Y — golubye glaza_X* 'At Ivan blue eyes' ('Y' is a semantic name).

2. 'Y' is the communicatively dominant node of the Semantic Theme of the meaning to be expressed, the rest of this meaning being the Semantic Rheme (and maybe the Semantic Specifiers). 'Y' plays the same role in all definitions of the lexemes BYT' below.

3. $\mathbf{p_i = 1, 2, 3}$: *U Ivana èkzamen* 'At Ivan exam' ('Ivan←1-exam' or 'Ivan←2-exam': *kto₁ èkzamenuet kogo₂*); *U Ivana prikaz* 'At Ivan order' ('Ivan←3-order': *kto₁ prikazyvaet čto₂ komu₃*).

4. The verb BYT'II.3 appears as an element of the value of the lexical function Func_1 applied to L('X').

Government Pattern

$X^{TM} \text{ I}$	$Y^{TM} \text{ II}$
–subj→N _{NOM} oblig	–obl-obj→U N _{GEN} oblig

U Ivana_Y gore_X 'At Ivan misfortune'. | *U Ivana_Y grip_X* 'At Ivan flu'. | *U Ivana_Y žažda_X* 'At Ivan thirst'. | *U Ivana_Y est' drug_X* 'At Ivan is friend'. | *U Ivana_Y est' terpenie_X* 'At Ivan is patience'.

Morphology

The present tense form is:

In the general (= default) case — $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'II.3}}$: *U Ivana_Y durnoe nastroyenie_X* 'At Ivan \emptyset bad mood' = 'Ivan is in a bad mood'. | *U ètogo veščestva_Y sladkij vkus_X* 'At this substance sweet taste'. | *U Ivana_Y vesnuški_X* 'At Ivan freckles'. | *U Ivana_Y problemy_X na rabote* 'At Ivan problems at work'.

In a special case — $\text{est}^{\text{BYT'II.3}}$ (for both numbers of the subject $\langle * \text{sut} \rangle$): *U Ivana_Y est' problemy_X na rabote* 'At Ivan is problems at work'. | *U ètogo gaza_Y est' cvet_X* 'At this gas is color'.

Special cases

■ **Est'** is obligatory

Independently of X's meaning (= for all Xs)

1. BYT'II.3 expresses the Rhematic Focus (see Footnote 1):

Uvy, u Ivana_Y est' rak_X 'Sorry, Ivan does have cancer'.

2. BYT'II.3_{PRES} is conjoined with BYT'II.3_{PAST/FUT}:

U Ivana_Y byli i do six por est' furunkuly_X 'Ivan had and still has boils'.

Depending on X's meaning (= only for some Xs)

3. 'X': **either** 3.1) X is an inherent characteristic of Y,
or 3.2) X is something external with respect to Y — that is, neither a property/state nor a regular part of Y,
or 3.3) 'Y' is SemA 2 of 'X';

and L('X') has no modifier ("modifier" must be understood here quite liberally — anything that depends on L('X') in the deep-syntactic structure by the DSyntRel **ATTR**):

- 1) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/*Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} xarakter_X* 'At Ivan is/*Ø character' = 'Ivan has a strong character'.
- vs.
- U Ivana_Y *est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} sil'nyj xarakter_X* 'At Ivan *is/Ø strong character'⁷.
- 2) a. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/*Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} vozmožnost'_X pomoč' nam* 'At Ivan is/*Ø possibility to help us'.
- b. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/*Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} koronki_X* 'At Ivan is/*Ø crowns [on teeth]'.
- 3) *U ètix sobytij_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/*Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} svideteli_X* 'At these events is/*Ø witnesses' ['events←2—witnesses'].

■ **Est'** is possible

4. 'X': **either** 4.1) X is a mental phenomenon [of Y],
or 4.2) X is neither a property/state nor a regular part of Y,
or 4.3) 'Y' is SemA 2 of 'X';

and L('X') has a modifier:

- 1) *U Ivana_Y na ètu temu est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} drugoe mnenie_X*
 'At Ivan on this topic is/Ø different opinion'.
- 2) a. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} prekrasnaja vozmožnost'_X pomoč' nam*
 'At Ivan is/Ø excellent possibility to help us'.
- b. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} neskol'ko zolotyx koronok*
 'At Ivan is/Ø several gold crowns'.
- 3) *U ètix sobytij_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} mnogočislennye svideteli_X*
 'At these events is numerous witnesses'.
5. 'X': **either** 5.1) X is the desire of Y to perform the corresponding action
or 5.2) X is a non-inherent particularity of Y⁸:
- 1) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{IL.3}/Ø^{BYT_{IL.3}}} (drugoj) vopros_X*
 'At Ivan is/Ø (different) question' [here *vopros* means 'the desire to ask a question'].

⁷ This contrast cannot be described by a purely semantic condition because of the following equivalence:

(i) *U Ivana_Y est' xarakter_X*. ≡ (ii) *U Ivana_Y sil'nyj xarakter_X* 'At Ivan strong character';

in (i), *xarakter* is XAKTER1b 'strong character', while (ii) contains XAKTER1a 'character'. Several nouns can appear in such pairs: AVTORITET 'authority', MOZGI 'brains', SERDCE 'heart', TALANT 'talent', VOZMOŽNOST' 'possibility', VYBOR 'choice', etc.

⁸ The expression "non-inherent particularity" is an abbreviation for a set of several semantemes that must be included in the corresponding definitions to indicate the non-inherent character of the property/state/entity in question. For instance: 'X's Y-y accent (in Z)' = 'Y-y mode of pronunciation (of language Z) that X **can** have' [*John's British accent in French*], where the semanteme 'can' shows that having an accent is not an inherent particularity of X.

- 2) a. *U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3}/Ø^{BYT'II.3} akcent_X* 'At Ivan is/Ø [foreign] accent'.
 b. *U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3}/Ø^{BYT'II.3} mnogo krasnyx rodinok_X* 'At Ivan is/Ø many red birthmarks'.

Three important caveats

1. A possibility to use the present form **est'** instead of a zero present form in a special case does not automatically accrue to all BYT' lexemes. Thus, BYT'IV 'be.located [somewhere]' does not allow **est'** under any circumstances. Therefore, this possibility should be lexicographically indicated.

2. The proposed description of the distribution of the two present tense forms of BYT'II.3 (**Ø^{BYT'II.3}** vs. **est'^{BYT'II.3}**) is approximate; it is an attempt at useful generalizations, which I think are possible only partially.

3. In order to avoid confusion, let me remind the reader that the above conditions for the choice between the forms **Ø^{BYT'II.3}** vs. **est'^{BYT'II.3}** of the lexeme BYT'II.3 should not and do not describe the cases of impossibility to combine the lexeme BYT'II.3 itself with L('X') — that is, they do not preclude such expressions as **U Ivana_Y est'/- dobrot_X* 'At Ivan is/Ø goodness' = 'Ivan is good'. This is the task for semantic rules that control lexical cooccurrence by means of lexical functions (see Subsection 3.3).

Examples

U Ivana_Y — (nebol'saja/vysokaja) temperatura_X 'Ivan has a (slight/high) fever'. | *U Ivana_Y est'^{Rhem-F} (nebol'saja/*vysokaja) temperatura_X* 'Ivan has a (slight/*high) fever' (cf. example (29), p. 37) [e.g., as an objection to the statement 'Ivan has no fever']. | *U Ivana_Y byla i (do six por) est' temperatura_X* 'Ivan had and (still) has a fever'. | *U ètoj židkosti_Y est'/*Ø vkus_X* 'This liquid has taste'. | *U ètoj židkosti_Y Ø/*est' vkus_X mēda* 'This liquid has a taste of honey'. | *U ètogo stola_Y Ø/*est' tri jaščika_X* 'This table has three drawers'.

BYT'II.4

Definition

<i>U Y-a est' X-y:</i> 'suščnosti X-1 → <u>Y</u> _{Sem-T} '	'nekotorye iz X-ov — Z-ovye'	['X-y imejut Y aktantom 1, pričēn nekotorye iz X-ov — Z-ovye']
'entities Xs-1 → <u>Y</u> _{Sem-T} '	'some of Xs are Z-y'	['Xs have Y as actant 1, some of Xs being Z-y']

Government Pattern

X ⇔ I	Y ⇔ II
—subj → N _{PL, NOM} oblig	—obl-obj → U N _{GEN} oblig

U Ivana_Y est' gnilye_Z zuby_X 'Ivan has **some** rotten teeth' [other teeth are OK; the sentence *U Ivana gnilye zuby* — with BYT'II.3 — means that all of Ivan's teeth are rotten].

Morphology

The present tense form: *est'* for both numbers of the subject ⟨**sut*⟩.

Examples

U Ivana_Y est' ploxie_Z studenty_X 'Ivan has **some** bad students'. | *U ètoj strojki_Y est' i blagorodnye_Z celi_X* 'This construction has also **some** noble goals'. | *U ètogo zdanija_Y est' zamečatel'nye/čudoviščnye_Z svojstva_X* 'This building has **some** extraordinary/awful properties'.

BYT'II.5**Definition**

U Y-a X: 'Situacija X ili situacija, svjazannaja s X-om, zatragivaet $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$ ' =
'Situation X or a situation involving X affects $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$ '

Government Pattern

$X \Leftrightarrow \text{I}$	$Y \Leftrightarrow \text{II}$
$-\text{subj} \rightarrow \text{N}_{\text{NOM}}$ oblig	$-\text{obl-obj} \rightarrow \text{U N}_{\text{GEN}}$ oblig

U Ivana_Y Ø nogi_X 'At Ivan legs' [Ivan is somehow affected by a situation involving his legs: for instance, they hurt him or, on the contrary, they are very good and give him some advantage].

Morphology

The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'II.4}}$.

Examples

*U Ivana_Y Ø/*est' razvod_X ego dočeri* 'Ivan has to deal with the divorce of his daughter'. | *U nas_Y uže Ø/*est' osen'_X* 'We already have fall here'.

BYT'III.1**Definition**

U Y-a est' X: 'Suščnost' X, poleznaja dlja Y-a, imeetsja u suščnosti $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$ ' =
'Entity X useful to Y is.had.by entity $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$ '

Comment

'Useful' must be taken in the broadest sense possible: \approx 'enabling Y to do what he intends or is supposed to do'.

Government Pattern

$X \Leftrightarrow \text{I}$	$Y \Leftrightarrow \text{II}$
$-\text{subj} \rightarrow \text{N}_{\text{NOM}}$ oblig	$-\text{obl-obj} \rightarrow \text{U N}_{\text{GEN}}$ oblig

U Ivana_Y est' neobxodimye znanija_{PL-X} 'At Ivan is necessary knowledge'.

Morphology

The present tense form: **est'** for both numbers of the subject ⟨***sut'**⟩.

Examples

U Ivana_Y est' vremja_X 'At Ivan is time' = 'Ivan has time'. | *U Ivana_Y est' èta kniga_X* 'Ivan has this book'. | *Čtoby dobivat'sja svoego, u Maši_Y est' ogromnye sinie glaza_X* 'In.order to.get her.way, Masha has enormous dark blue eyes'. | *U človeka_Y est' лёгkie_X* 'Humans have lungs'.

BYT'III.2**Definition**

U Y-a X: 'Suščnost' X, kotoraja polezna dlja Y-a ili kotoruju Y možet ispol'zovat', imeetsja u suščnosti $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$, pričëm Y manipuliruet X-om v moment t_0 ' | ' t_0 is the moment of speech or the moment specified by speech' =
'Entity X useful to Y or usable by Y is.had by entity $\underline{Y}_{\text{Sem-T}}$, Y handling X at the moment t_0 '

Government Pattern

$X \Leftrightarrow \text{I}$	$Y \Leftrightarrow \text{II}$
– subj → N_{NOM} oblig	– obl-obj → $U N_{\text{GEN}}$ oblig

Morphology

The present tense form: $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'III.2}}$.

Examples

U Ivana_Y pistol'et_X 'Ivan has a pistol' [a warning]. | *Esli u napadajuščego_Y nož_X, nel'zja pytat'sja vyxvatit' ego* 'If the attacker has a knife, you shouldn't try to take it away'.

Our lexicographic description of the relevant BYT' verbs can be summarized in the following table:

BYT'II.3 :

"X has Y as its Sem-actant" *U Ivana gripp* 'At Ivan flu'. $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$ in the general case, **est'** in a special case
U Ivana est' vkus 'At Ivan is taste'.

BYT'II.4 :

"Xs have Y as their Sem-actant, some of Xs being Z-y" *U Ivana est' gnilye zuby* **est'**
'At Ivan is some rotten teeth'.

BYT'II.5 :

"Situation (involving) X affects Y" *U Ivana razvod dočeri* $\emptyset^{\text{BYT'}}$
'At Ivan divorce of daughter'.

BYT'III.1:

“X useful for Y is had by Y” *U Ivana est' novyj galstuk* **est'**
 ‘At Ivan is new tie’.

BYT'III.2:

“X useful for Y or usable by Y is had by Y, X being handled by Y at moment t_0 ” *U Ivana novyj galstuk* **Ø^{BYT'}**
 ‘At Ivan new tie’.

Among these verbs, it is BYT'II.3 that creates all the difficulties; the remaining four BYT' verbs are quite well-behaved. This is linked to the fact that BYT'II.3 does not express a semanteme, as other BYT' do, but a semantic relation. This fact buttresses our decision to describe BYT'II.3 “in isolation.” Interestingly, the existence of sentences such as (17) does not force the reunion of BYT'II.3 and BYT'II.5 under one lexeme with a disjunctive definition (on disjunctive definitions, see [Mel'čuk 2012–2015, II: 324ff]):

- (17) *U Ivana_Y operacija_X i razvod_X. Maši* ‘At Ivan surgery and Masha’s divorce’,

where Ivan is a participant of surgery (as a patient or as the surgeon) and is affected by Masha’s divorce, in which he is not a participant. BYT'II.3 and BYT'II.5 seem to satisfy the Green-Apresjan Criterion [Mel'čuk 2012–2015, II: 330–333]. Namely, they appear to be “superposed” and allow the conjoined dependents of both (OPERACIJA ‘surgery’ is coming from BYT'II.3, and RAZVOD ‘divorce’ from BYT'II.5), without creating a humorous effect (= a pun), as, e.g., in *She took a lover and two aspirins*. However, the lexicographic information for BYT'II.3 and BYT'II.5 is very different, and this allows us to keep both lexemes apart. Moreover, (17) can be easily interpreted in the sense that the surgery also affects Ivan — that is, in the sense of BYT'II.5, which facilitates its acceptance.

3.3. Semantic rules for the verbs BYT' in the *U Y-a est'/-X* constructions

The next step is the formulation of semantic rules for the verbs BYT'II.3-5 and BYT'III.1-2, used in the *U Y-a est'/-X* constructions. These rules establish correspondences between

- the starting Sem-structure, which includes one of the following two semanteme configurations:
 either ‘ $X-\mathbf{p}_i \rightarrow Y$ ’ or ‘ $X \leftarrow \mathbf{1}-\sigma-\mathbf{2} \rightarrow Y$ ’ | ‘ σ ’ = ‘affect’/‘be.had’;
- and
- a corresponding DSynt-tree of the form $L('X') \leftarrow \mathbf{I} - L_{BYT'}^{BYT'} - \mathbf{II} \rightarrow L('Y')$, where both lexemes $L('X')$ and $L('Y')$ are nouns, and $L_{BYT'}^{BYT'}$ is one of the five verbs BYT', described in Subsection 3.2.

Accordingly, there are two major types of semantic rules:

- I. For the case where the element in the starting Sem-structure to be expressed is a semantic relation \mathbf{p}_i between ‘X’ and ‘Y’: ‘ $X-\mathbf{p}_i \rightarrow Y$ ’.

- II. For the case where the element in the starting Sem-structure to be expressed is a semanteme 'σ' linking 'X' and 'Y': 'X←1-σ-2→Y'; this 'σ' either is 'affect' or 'be.had' (= Rus. 'imet'sja').

Notations

- ρ_i : the semantic relation subordinating 'Y' to 'X' ($i = 1, 2, 3, \dots$)
- **Shading** indicates the context of the rule: elements that are not processed by the rule, but whose presence is necessary for the rule to apply.

- I. 'X' and 'Y' are linked by a semantic relation ρ_i
(= 'Y' is a Sem-actant of 'X')

Sem-rules 1 and 2 both express a semantic relation ρ_i between 'X' and 'Y'.

Sem-rule 1 covers a common case — the lion's share of the uses of the *U Y-a est' / - X* construction, such as *U Ivana_Y zapor_X* 'At Ivan constipation', *U Ivana_Y kanikuly_X* 'At Ivan holidays', *U Ivana_Y kurčavye volosy_X* 'At Ivan curly hair', *U Ivana_Y zamečatel'naja žena_X* 'At Ivan excellent wife', *U Ivana_Y est' xarakter_X* 'At Ivan is character', etc.

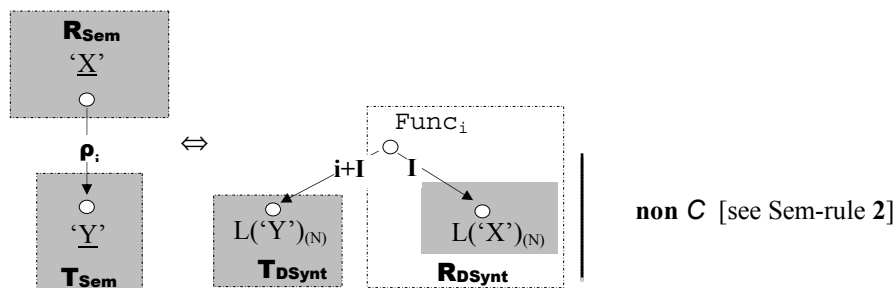
Sem-rule 2 is foreseen for a particular case, where the noun L('X') is in the plural and has a modifier L('Z'); then the following contrast is possible (this contrast was first brought to the attention of linguists in [Селивѣрстова 1973] and [Апутьюнова 1976: 279–280]):

- (18) a. *U Ivana_Y nepravil'nye_Z ubeždenija_X* 'At Ivan wrong convictions':
rather **all** of Ivan's convictions are wrong.
b. *U Ivana_Y est' nepravil'nye_Z ubeždenija_X* 'At Ivan is wrong convictions':
some of Ivan's convictions are wrong.

To ensure the proper application of Sem-rule 2, it is supplied with a special condition — "C"; Sem-rule 1 requires, quite naturally, the condition "non C."

Sem-Rule 1: The common case

Sem-rule 1 expresses the semantic relation ρ_i between 'X' and 'Y', which are both communicatively dominant nodes in their respective semantic-communicative areas, by the empty lexical-functional (= support) verb Func_i .

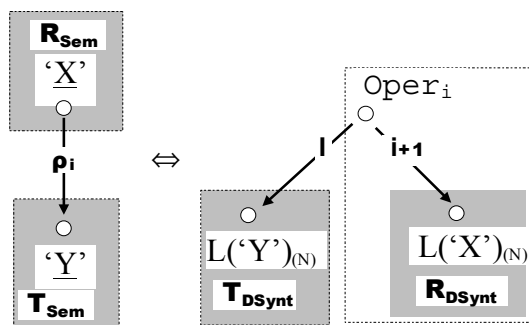


- 1) a. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}} syp'_X* 'At Ivan rash'.
- b. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT_{II.3}} syp'_X* 'At Ivan is rash' [BYT_{II.3} expresses the Rematic Focus].
- 2) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/*est^{BYT_{II.3}} otpusk_X* 'At Ivan leave' = 'Ivan is on leave'.
- 3) a. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/*est^{BYT_{II.3}} sil'nyj xarakter_X* 'At Ivan strong character'.
- b. *U Ivana_Y *Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} xarakter_X* 'At Ivan is character' [strong character; special case 3.1)].
- 4) *U arbuza_Y vsjudu Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/*est^{BYT_{II.3}} puzo_X* [V. Orlov] 'At watermelon everywhere belly'.
- 5) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} gorb_X* 'At Ivan hump' [special case 5.2)].
- 6) *U ètogo doma_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} dyra_X v kryše* 'At this house hole in roof' [special case 5.2)].
- 7) a. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} mnenie_X, čto...* 'At Ivan Ø/is opinion that ...'
- b. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} drugoe mnenie_X* 'At Ivan Ø/is different opinion'.
- 8) *U ètogo sobytija_Y *Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} svideteli_X* 'At this event is witnesses'.
- 9) *U ètogo teksta_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/*est^{BYT_{II.3}} dva avtora_X* 'At this text two authors'.
- 10) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT_{II.3}}/est^{BYT_{II.3}} prikaz_X* 'At Ivan Ø/is order'.

Most often, $\mathbf{p}_i = 1$, and Func_1 is needed; however, the examples 8) and 9) demonstrate the case of $\mathbf{p}_i = 2$ (and Func_2 : 'svidetel'–2→sobytie', 'avtor–2→tekst'), while the example 10) shows $\mathbf{p}_i = 3$ (and Func_3 : 'prikaz–3→Ivan').

Only the rule with Func_1 is given here, since the verbs that are values of two other lexical-functional empty verbs (= support verbs) — Oper_i and Labor_{ij} — cannot participate in the *U Y-a est'–X* constructions for a purely syntactic reason: $L('Y')$ must be their syntactic subject, while in the said constructions the noun $L('Y')$ is an oblique object of the verb.

For those expert readers who would like to see the Oper_i rule as well, here it is:



- 1) *Ivan_Y imeet mnenie_X, čto...*
'Ivan has opinion that...'
- 2) a. *Ivan_Y Ø^{BYT_{IV}} v otpuske_X* 'Ivan on leave'.
- b. *Ivan naxoditsja v otpuske.*
- 3) *Èto mnenie_Y xarakterizujetsja četyr'mja osobennostjami_X*
'This opinion is characterized by four particularities'.

A semantic relation ρ_i between a (quasi-)predicative semanteme 'X' and its Sem-actant 'Y' is expressed lexically (that is, by a semantically empty support verb $L(\rho_i)$) if 'X' and 'Y' are in different Sem-communicative areas — namely, 'X' is in the Sem-Theme and 'Y', in the Sem-Rheme. In this case, the needed verb is $\text{Func}_i(L('X'))$, whose syntactic pattern fits the *U Y-a est'/- X* construction. As any lexical function, the Func_i verb has all elements of its value explicitly specified in the lexical entry for its keyword, $L('X')$. Note that:

— On the one hand, the value of Func_i quite often includes verbs different from BYT'II.3 , BYT'II.4 , BYT'III.1 and BYT'III.2 : *U Ivana imeetsja mnenie* 'At Ivan there.is opinion', *U Ivana najdetsja vremena dlja Maši* 'At Ivan will.find.itself time for Masha', *Na Ivane ležit vina za požar* 'On Ivan is.lying guilt for fire', *Ivanu prinadležit vsja vlast'* 'To.Ivan belongs all authority', *Ivana b'et oznob* 'Ivan_{ACC} is.beating [a] chill_{NOM}' = 'A chill is.shaking Ivan', *V duše Ivana živēt nadežda* 'In soul of.Ivan is.alive hope', *Pobeda dostaešja Ivanu* 'Victory comes to.Ivan', etc.

— On the other hand, even if BYT'II.3 is possible in the *U Y-a X* construction in most cases where Y is an actant of X, this is by no means true in all cases. Thus, several names of human qualities and psychological/physiological states — such as ŽESTOKOST' 'cruelty', DOBROTA 'goodness', NEŽNOST' 'tenderness', ČISTOPLOTNOST' 'cleanliness', GNEV 'anger', GOLOD 'hunger', BOL' 'pain', etc. — do not combine with BYT'II.3 in the role of X. In other words, $\text{Func}_1(\text{ŽESTOKOST'}/\text{DOBROTA}/\dots) = \text{— [no value] (19a)}$; to express the intended meaning a different support verb — XVATAT' — is needed (19b):

- (19) a. *U Ivana_Y *est^{BYT'II.3}/Ø^{BYT'II.3} žestokost'_X pozvat' Mašu*
 'At Ivan *is/Ø cruelty to.invite Masha'.
 b. *U Ivana_Y xvataet žestokost'_X pozvat' Mašu*
 'At Ivan is.enough cruelty to.invite Masha'.

However, this constraint is not purely semantic: thus, such human quality noun as SKLONNOST' 'propensity' and illness nouns (which designate physiological states) cooccur with BYT'II.3 :

- (20) a. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT'II.3}/Ø^{BYT'II.3} sklonnost'_X k trjukam* 'At Ivan is/Ø propensity to tricks'.
 b. *U Ivana_Y *est^{BYT'II.3}/Ø^{BYT'II.3} kor'_X* 'At Ivan *is/Ø measles'.

There are as well pairs of semantically close nouns such that one accepts BYT'II.3 as an element of the value of Func_i and the other does not:

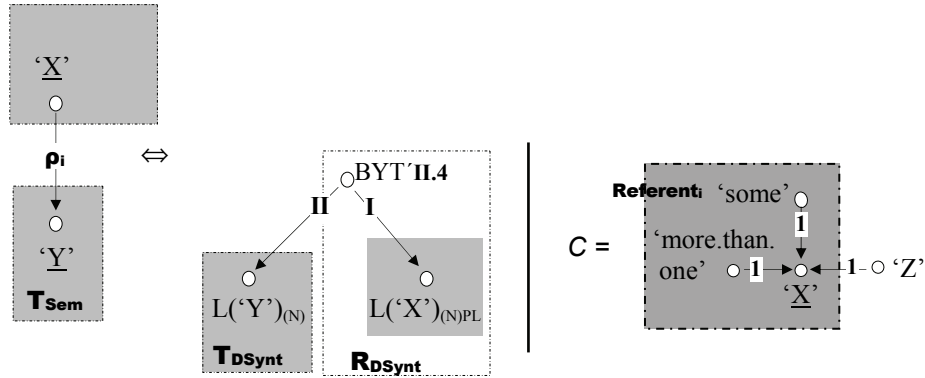
- (21) a. *U Ivana Ø^{BYT'II.3} prekrasnaja reputacija* 'At Ivan excellent reputation'.
 vs.
 **U Ivana Ø^{BYT'II.3} vseobščaja izvestnost'* 'At Ivan universal renown'.
 b. *U Ivana Ø^{BYT'II.3} neprerekaemyj avtoritet sredi studentov*
 'At Ivan undisputed authority among students'.
 vs.
 **U Ivana Ø^{BYT'II.3} rešajuščee vlijanie na studentov*
 'At Ivan decisive influence on students'.

The corresponding constraints seem to be lexical; therefore, Sem-rule 1 is necessary. The recourse to Func_1 and, consequently, to the lexical entries for $L('X')$ s effectively solves the problem of choosing the appropriate verb — in particular, $\text{BYT}'_{II.3}$ in the *U Y-a est' /- X* constructions — to express the semantic relation ρ_i for all cases of 'Y' being an actant of 'X'.

NB: Sem-rule 1 ensures only the choice of the verbal **lexeme**, in the case that is of interest to us — of $\text{BYT}'_{II.3}$. The choice of the appropriate **lex** — that is, $\emptyset^{\text{BYT}'_{II.3}}$ vs. $\text{est}^{\text{BYT}'_{II.3}}$ — is done according to the morphological information in the lexical entry for $\text{BYT}'_{II.3}$, see Subsection 3.2.2, pp. 23–25.

Sem-Rule 2: The particular case ('some of Xs [are Z-y]')

Sem-rule 2 expresses the semantic relation ρ_i between 'X' and 'Y' (as in the previous rule, both are communicatively dominant nodes in their respective Sem-Comm-areas) plus the semanteme of "partiality" — 'some of Xs [are Z-y]' — by the verb $\text{BYT}'_{II.4}$.



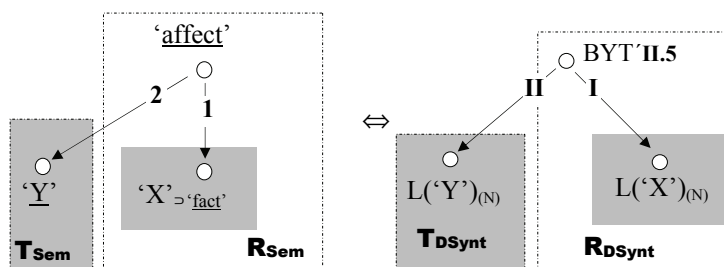
- 1) a. *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT'II.4} sedye_Z volosy_X* 'At Ivan is some white hairs'. ≠
 b. *U Ivana_Y ∅^{BYT'II.3} sedye volosy_X* 'At Ivan white hair'.
- 2) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT'II.4} nepravil'nye_Z vzgljady_X* 'At Ivan is wrong opinions' [but Ivan also has right opinions].
- 3) *U ètogo xrama_Y est^{BYT'II.4} bronzovye_Z dveri_X* 'At this temple is bronze doors' [but there also are some other, non-bronze doors].

II. 'X' and 'Y' are linked by a semanteme ('X affects Y' or 'X is.had by Y')

For the Sem-rules 3 and 4 it is irrelevant whether 'Y' is or is not a semantic actant of 'X'; they express the semantemes linking 'X' and 'Y': Sem-rule 3 expresses the semanteme 'X affects Y', Sem-rules 4.1-4.2, the semanteme 'X is.had by Y', and Sem-rule 4.3, the semanteme configurations 'X is.had by Y, Y handling Y at moment t_0 '.

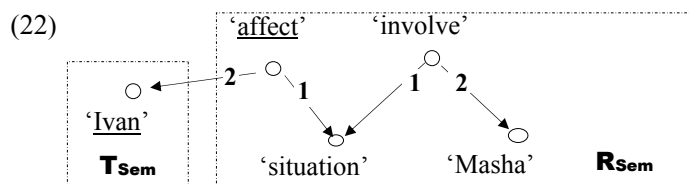
Sem-Rule 3

Sem-rule 3 expresses the meaning ‘situation (involving) X affects Y’ by the verb BYT'II.5. Note that ‘X’ is not the dominant node in the Sem-Rheme.



- 1) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.5} razvod_X Maši* ‘At Ivan Masha’s divorce’.
- 2) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.5} Mašino postuplenie_X v universitet* ‘At Ivan Masha’s entering university’.
- 3) *U nas_Y Ø^{BYT'II.5} odni doždi_X* ‘At us only rains’.
- 4) *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.5} Maša_X* ‘At Ivan Masha’ [Ivan is affected by a situation that involves Masha].

The sentence *U Ivana_Y Maša_X* has the semantic representation in (22):



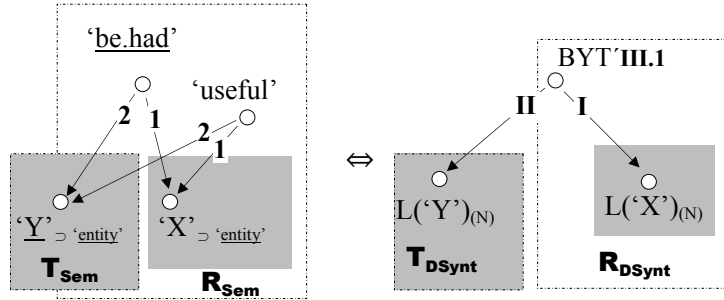
To correctly implement the SemR (22) the following semantic rule of regular metonymy is needed: ‘situation←1-involve-2→Y’ ⇔ L(‘Y’).

Sem-Rules 4.1–4.2

Sem-rules 4.1–4.2 deal with the semanteme Rus. ‘X imeetsja u Y-a’ ≈ ‘X is.had.by Y’. If ‘X’ is or can be characterized as useful for ‘Y’, then Sem-rule 4.1 is applied; otherwise, Sem-rule 4.2. As in Sem-rule 3, the meaning ‘X’ is not the dominant node in the Sem-Rheme.

Sem-Rule 4.1

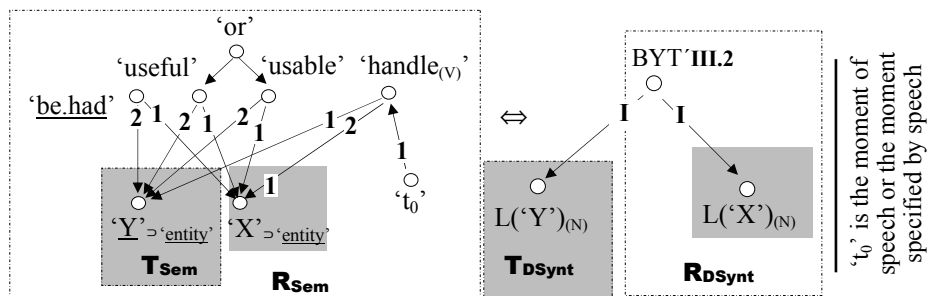
The semanteme configuration ‘entity X useful.to Y is.had.by entity Y_{SemT}’ is expressed by the verb BYT'III.1.



- 1) *Est^{BYT^{III.1}} u nas_Y madam Kaplun_X* [I. Babel] 'Is at us Madam Kaplun'.
- 2) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} plastikovye lyži_X* 'At Ivan is plastic skis'.
- 3) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} celaja komanda_X programmistov* 'At Ivan is whole team of programmers'.
- 4) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} styd_X* 'At Ivan is shame'.
- 5) a. *U Ivana_Y eščë est^{BYT^{III.1}}/*Ø^{BYT^{III.3}} benzín_X* 'At Ivan still is gas'.
- b. *U Ivana_Y eščë est^{BYT^{III.1}}/Ø^{BYT^{III.3}} mnogo benzina_X* 'At Ivan still is/Ø much gas' (cf. (30), p. 38).
- 6) *U Ivana_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} vyvit_X* 'At Ivan is to.drink' = 'Ivan has some booze'.
- 7) [— *U vas_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} oružie_X?* 'At you is weapon?'] — *Da, u menja_X est^{BYT^{III.1}} pistol_X* 'Yes, at me is pistol' [not necessarily with me at this moment].
Cf. [— *U vas_Y est^{BYT^{III.1}} oružie_X?* 'At you is weapon?'⁹] — *Da, u menja_Y Ø^{BYT^{III.2}} pistol_X* 'Yes, at me pistol' [it is with me at this moment].

Sem-Rule 4.2

The semanteme configuration 'entity X useful.to or usable.by Y is.had.by entity Y, Y handling X at moment t_0 ' is expressed by the verb **BYT^{III.2}**.



U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT^{III.2}} nož_X 'At Ivan knife'.

⁹ A question with **BYT^{III.2}** in the given situation is inappropriate: **BYT^{III.2}** implies that the Speaker sees the Addressee handling a weapon, so that the question becomes rhetorical and expresses the Speaker's amazement.

Now I am in a position to formulate the solution to the problem stated at the end of Section 1:

The semantic rules necessary and sufficient to produce all and only correct occurrences of both *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions are in fact lexicographic descriptions of the five lexemes of the verb BYT' — BYT'II.3-5 and BYT'III.1-2.

Note, however, that 100 % accuracy cannot be attained, mainly because of the approximate character of our semantic and pragmatic conditions in the morphological zone of the lexicographic entry for the verb BYT'II.3.

4. Several case studies of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions

Let me consider several difficult cases involving the two constructions under consideration, where various factors intervene and blur the picture.

• Polysemy in Action

Polysemy of L('X')

- (23) a. *U Ivana_y Ø^{BYT'II.3}/*est^{BYT'III.1} styd_xpered Mašej*
 'At Ivan shame before Masha' = 'Ivan is ashamed of Masha'.
 b. *U Ivana_y *Ø^{BYT'II.3}/est^{BYT'III.1} styd_xpered Bogom* 'At Ivan is shame before God' = 'Ivan has the ability to be ashamed of God'.

This contrast is explained by the polysemy of the noun STYD 'shame'. Sentence (23a) features STYD1 'feeling of embarrassment...' — that is, it speaks of an actual psychological state of the person; (23b) contains STYD2 'ability to feel shame1'. In (23a) the Speaker communicates about Ivan that he is, at this particular moment, a participant of the concrete situation 'being.ashamed of Masha', which requires BYT'II.3 (by Sem-rule 1). (23b) tells us about Ivan that he has "at his disposal" this particular ability (to be ashamed of God) — that is, BYT'III.1 has to be used (Sem-rule 4.2).

Polysemy of the phrase "U + N_{GEN}"

- (24) a. *U Ivana sejčas Ø^{BYT'IV} Maša* 'At Ivan's now Masha': Masha is now at Ivan's place.
 b. (i) *U Ivana sejčas est^{BYT'III.1} Maša* 'At Ivan now is Masha':
 Ivan now has Masha "at his disposal" — she enables him to do something.
 (ii) *U Ivana sejčas Ø^{BYT'II.3} Maša* 'At Ivan now Masha':
 Ivan is now affected — positively or negatively — by a situation involving Masha.

(24a) contains the syntactic idiom 'U Ivana'¹⁰ 'at Ivan's place' and the verb BYT'IV; in the sentences in (24b) one sees the same constructions as in (24a) with BYT'III.1 and (10b) with BYT'II.5, respectively. (Sentences (24a) and (24b-ii) are homophonous and cannot be distinguished outside of context.)

• **Conversational Implicatures in Action** [Grice 1975]

- (25) a. *U Ivana est^{BYT'III.1} plastikovye lyži* (the example is from [Апресян 1995: 523])
 'Ivan has plastic skis — habitually, that is, not here and not now': this is so-called "virtual, or permanent, belonging".
 b. *U Ivana Ø^{BYT'III.2} plastikovye lyži*
 'Ivan has plastic skis — here and now': this is so-called "actual belonging"¹¹.

This well known contrast makes one think of the semantic component 'not here and not now' in the definition of BYT'III.1. This, however, would be a wrong decision. Sentence (25a) is understood in the sense of "virtual, or permanent, belonging" because of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity: the Speaker is supposed to be as informative as possible; therefore, if he says (25a), with BYT'III.1, this entails that he does not mean that Ivan is using his skis here and now — otherwise, he would have expressed the actantial link between 'Ivan' and 'skis' (Ivan is actually using the skis), as he does in (25b) by selecting BYT'III.2.

• **A Problematic Meaning in Action**

Silly Meaning

Is sentence (26a) grammatical?

- (26) a. *U ètogo doma_Y est^{BYT'III.1} dver'_X* 'At this house is door'.

Of course, it is, even if it seems funny, while both sentences in (26b) are absolutely normal:

- b. (i) *U ètogo doma est^{BYT'III.1} dve dveri* 'At this house is two doors'.
 (ii) *U ètogo doma est^{BYT'III.1} gigantskaja bronzovaja dver'*
 'At this house is giant bronze door'.

¹⁰ Interestingly, the locative idiom 'U IVANA' 'at Ivan's' has directional and ablative versions: 'K IVANU' 'to Ivan's' [_{LOC_{ad}}('U IVANA')] and 'OT IVANA' 'from Ivan's' [_{LOC_{ab}}('U IVANA')].

¹¹ Possible continuations for sentences (25a-b):

- (i) *U Ivana est' plastikovye lyži, tak čto on sumeet (<*ne sumeet> katat'sja na ètix sklonax*
 'At Ivan is plastic skis, so that he will.be.able (<*will.not be.able>) ski on these slopes'.
 (ii) *U Ivana plastikovye lyži, tak čto on sumeet (ne sumeet) katat'sja na ètix sklonax*
 'At Ivan plastic skis, so that he will.be.able (<will.not be.able>) ski on these slopes'.

The catch in (26a) is its poor meaning, just like that of its English gloss: what indeed is the Speaker communicating when he utters *This house has a door*? Every house has a door, and everyone knows it. But put sentence (26a) in an appropriate context, and it becomes impeccable:

- c. *U ètogo doma est'^{BYT'III.1} dver', kryša, četyre steny — dom kak dom*
'This house has a door, a roof, four walls — quite an ordinary house'.

Inappropriate Meaning

1) Two friends A and B are together; they need to immediately go to a place far away, and A proposes to take B there. In this situation, B can utter any of the sentences in (27a). However, if A and B are planning to go somewhere in a week from the moment of speech, the first variant in (27b) is more natural:

- (27) a. *Ponimaju, u tebja est'^{BYT'III.1}/Ø^{BYT'III.2} mašina* 'I.see, at you_{SG} is/Ø car'.
b. *Ponimaju, u tebja est'^{BYT'III.1}? Ø^{BYT'III.2} mašina* 'I.see, at you_{SG} is/?Ø car'.

The verb *BYT'III.2* should not be used in the second situation, since the semanteme '*byt'III.2*' includes the component 'Y is handling X at this moment', which makes this meaning inappropriate in the given circumstances.

2) [The example is from [Мелиг 2004: 438–439]; I adapted it for the purpose of this paper.] The Speaker, seeing a fruit in Ivan's hand (but not quite clearly), says (28a); however, if Ivan is not here, he must say (28b):

- (28) a. *U Ivana Ø^{BYT'III.2}/*est'^{BYT'III.1} jabloko ili gruša* 'At Ivan apple or pear'.
b. *U Ivana est'^{BYT'III.1}/*Ø^{BYT'III.2} jabloko ili gruša* 'At Ivan is apple or pear'.

The explanation is straightforward: sentence (28a) expresses the meaning "At this moment, Ivan is handling an apple or a pear" and accordingly contains the verb *BYT'III.2*; sentence (28b) expresses the meaning "Ivan has at his disposal an apple or a pear" and contains the verb *BYT'III.1*.

Different Meanings of the Phrase *L('X')→ADJ/ADV*

(29) *BYT'II.3*

- a. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.3}/est'^{BYT'II.3}_{Rhem-F} akcent_X* 'At Ivan Ø/is [foreign] accent'.
b. *U Ivana_Y Ø^{BYT'II.3} lëgkij <sil'nyj> akcent_X* 'At Ivan slight (heavy) [foreign] accent'.
c. *U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3} lëgkij <*sil'nyj> akcent_X* 'At Ivan is slight (<heavy> [foreign] accent'.

Sentence (29a) tells us that Ivan is a non-native speaker, or, formally, that 'Ivan' is a Sem-actant of the situation 'having an accent'; this warrants the verb *BYT'II.3*, more precisely the form *Ø^{BYT'II.3}*. At the same time, the Speaker may insist on this fact — by means of *BYT'II.3*, which in this case expresses the Rhematic Focus; this gives us *est'^{BYT'II.3}*. However, the equivalence *Ø^{BYT'II.3} ≡ est'^{BYT'II.3}* does not work in (29b–c): **U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3} sil'nyj akcent_X* 'At Ivan is

heavy [foreign] accent' is jarring. The reason is pragmatic: it is less natural to insist on the fact that somebody has a heavy accent — this is too audible! (Or you could say *Akcent u Ivana sil'nyj* 'At Ivan accent [is] heavy'.) Therefore, in this case using the verb **BYT'II.3** to express a Rhematic Focus is inappropriate. The same factors are at work in *U Ivana est' temperatura* 'At Ivan is fever'. ~ *U Ivana est' nebol'saja temperatura* 'At Ivan is slight fever'. ~ **U Ivana est' vysokaja temperatura* 'At Ivan is high fever'. (But again with the Rhematic Focus on *est'*^{BYT'II.3} the sentences *U Ivana_Y est'*^{BYT'II.3} *sil'nyj akcent_X/vysokaja temperatura_X* are fully grammatical.)

Another example:

- (30) a. *U Ivana_Y est'*^{BYT'III.1}/**Ø*^{BYT'II.2} *vremja_X* 'At Ivan is/**Ø* time' = 'Ivan has time'. ≡
 b. *U Ivana_Y est'*^{BYT'III.1}/*Ø*^{BYT'II.3} *dostatočno vremeni_X* 'At Ivan is/*Ø* enough time'.

Sentence (30a) communicates about Ivan that there is the resource 'time' available to him: the verb must be **BYT'III.1**. However, if the Speaker starts with 'enough ⟨much, little ...⟩ time', he can keep considering time as an available resource and still use **BYT'III.1**, but he also has the option to present 'Ivan' as a Sem-actant of the situation 'having enough ⟨much, little ...⟩ time' and use **BYT'II.3**: the added quantitative adverb/adjective "drags" Ivan into this situation ('enough ⟨much, little ...⟩ time **for Ivan**'). As a result, in (30b), both verbs **BYT'II.3** and **BYT'III.1** are licensed.

• Syntax in Action

- (31) a. *U ètoj židkosti Ø*^{BYT'II.3}/**est'*^{BYT'II.3} *rezkij zapax* 'At this liquid *Ø*/**is* strong smell'.
 b. *U ètoj židkosti *Ø*^{BYT'II.3}/*est'*^{BYT'II.3} *zapax* 'At this liquid **Ø*/*is* smell'.

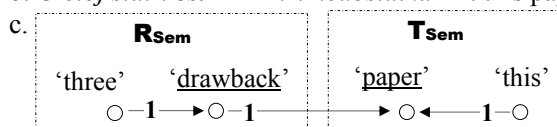
This contrast is taken care of by Sem-rule 1, using Special case 3.1) in **Morphology** for the verb **BYT'II.3**.

5. Equivalence of the *U Y-a est' X* and *U Y-a X* constructions

There is an additional hurdle in the study of the *U Y-a est' X* constructions: the equivalence of both constructions on many occasions. Two cases are to be distinguished: either the two constructions are semantically equivalent, or synonymous (have a common Sem-representation), or they are not synonymous, but pragmatically equivalent (have different Sem-representations, which correspond to the same reality).

• The two constructions **are synonymous**, that is, the corresponding sentences — for instance, (32a) and (32b) — have the same Sem-representation, shown in (32c):

- (32) a. *U ètoj stat'i Ø^{BYT'II.3} tri nedostatka* 'At this paper three drawbacks'. \equiv
 b. *U ètoj stat'i est'^{BYT'II.3} tri nedostatka* 'At this paper is three drawbacks'.



One sees here the optional variants of the present tense form of *BYT'II.3*, foreseen by Special case 5.2) in the lexicographic entry for this verb (p. 25).

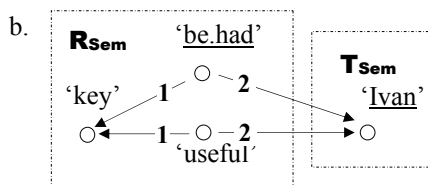
Another similar case:

- (33) a. *U Ivana Ø^{BYT'II.3} durnaja privyčka kovyrjat' v nosu*
 'At Ivan bad habit to.pick in nose'.
 b. *U Ivana est'^{BYT'II.3} durnaja privyčka kovyrjat' v nosu*
 'At Ivan is bad habit to.pick in nose'.

• The two constructions **are not synonymous**, that is, the corresponding sentences have different Sem-representations.

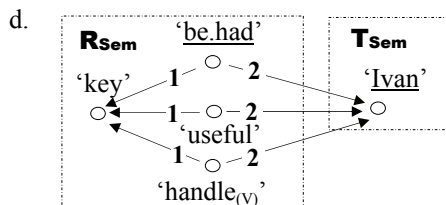
Thus, sentences (34a) and (34c) can both be felicitously used in the same situation, even if their SemRs, shown in (34b) and (34d), are different.

- (34) a. [— *Tut zaperto. — Ničego,*] *u Ivana est'^{BYT'III.1} ključ*
 '[— Here locked. — Never mind,] at Ivan is key':
 (34a) communicates that Ivan has a key at his disposal, no matter whether the Addressee sees or does not see it at the moment.



This SemR is implemented by the verb *BYT'III.1*.

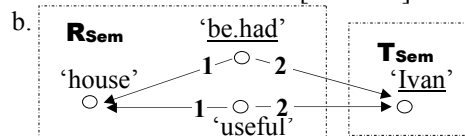
- c. [— *Tut zaperto. — Ničego,*] *u Ivana Ø^{BYT'III.2} ključ*.
 '[— Here locked. — Never mind,] at Ivan key':
 (34c) states that Ivan has a key in his hand (or at least has it immediately accessible — “here and now”), which he is handling at this moment.



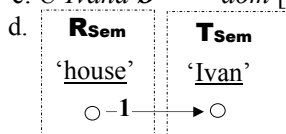
Here the verb *BYT'III.2* is used.

Sentences (35a) and (35c) behave in the same way; in (35c), the noun DOM ‘house’ is taken to be a quasi-predicate denoting Ivan’s property.

(35) a. *U Ivana est^{‘BYT’III.1} dom [na more]* ‘At Ivan is house [at sea]’.



c. *U Ivana Ø^{‘BYT’II.3} dom [na more]* ‘At Ivan house [at sea]’.



And now to round up my presentation:

(36) *U každoj strany_Y Ø^{‘BYT’II.3}/est^{‘BYT’III.1} svoja mafija_X, a u ètoj mafii_Y Ø^{‘BYT’III.2}/est^{‘BYT’III.1} svoja strana* ‘At each country Ø/is own mafia, but at this mafia Ø/is own country’.

6. Conclusions

6.1. A practical conclusion

Dear Alěša, for you the conclusion is fairly simple. Roughly speaking:

- Either you want to communicate that **Y is a participant of the situation X** (in technical terms, ‘Y’ is an actant of ‘X’); then you choose the verb **BYT’II.3**, with its regular zero form **Ø^{‘BYT’II.3}** in the present.
- Or you want to communicate that **Y has an X at his disposal**; then you choose the verb **BYT’III.1**, with its regular **est^{‘BYT’III.1}** form in the present.

Barring some less important details, this is an acceptable recipe for dealing with the *U Y-a est’/– X* constructions in Russian.

6.2. Theoretical conclusions

1. The choice between the *U Y-a est’/– X* constructions (i.e., with one of the **BYT’** verbs) is determined by the meaning to be expressed: roughly, “Y has X at Y’s disposal” vs. “Y is a Sem-actant of X”.

2. The *U Y-a est’/– X* constructions are described by means of five verbs **BYT’**:

— For general cases:

BYT’II.3, with the default (= unmarked) present tense form **Ø^{‘BYT’II.3}** and the marked present tense form **est^{‘BYT’II.3}**

BYT’II.5, with the present tense form **Ø^{‘BYT’II.5}**,

and

BYT’III.1, with the present tense form **est^{‘BYT’III.1}**.

— For particular cases:

BYT'II.4, with the present tense form **est'**^{BYT'II.4} ('some of Xs are Z-y')

and

BYT'III.2, with the present tense form **Ø**^{BYT'III.2} ('Y is handling X at moment t_0 ')³

3. Both constructions are sensitive to fine semantic distinctions between Xs.

Thus, we have:

U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3}/**Ø*^{BYT'II.3} *xarakter_X* 'At Ivan is/**Ø* character' = 'Ivan has a strong character'. ~

*U Ivana_Y *est'*^{BYT'II.3}/*Ø*^{BYT'II.3} *sil'nyj karakter_X* 'At Ivan **is/Ø* strong character' = 'Ivan has a strong character'.

but

U Ivana_Y est'^{BYT'II.3}/*Ø*^{BYT'II.3} (*novoe*) *vozraženie_X* 'At Ivan is/*Ø* new objection'.

This difference in behavior is due to the fact that 'character' is Y's permanent property, while 'objection' in this sentence denotes Y's desire to perform the action of objecting.

The semantic distinctions laid bare by the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions force the semanticians to sharpen the whole families of lexicographic definitions; see Footnote 8.

4. The general picture of the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions is complicated by many-to-many correspondences between the meanings to be expressed and the physical forms in the realm of the verbs BYT'. Thus, the same form appears as a lex of different BYT' lexemes:

Ø in BYT'II.3, BYT'II.5 and BYT'III.2;

est' in BYT'II.3, BYT'II.4, BYT'III.1 and BYT'III.2.

On the other hand, different BYT' forms can express the same meaning, as **Ø**^{BYT'II.3} and **est'**^{BYT'II.3}: *U Ivana (est') vopros* 'Ivan has a question'; or, at the least, they correspond to the same extralinguistic situation, as **est'**^{BYT'III.1} and **Ø**^{BYT'III.2}, cf. examples (34) and (35).

5. The choice of the verb BYT'II.3 in the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions is lexically determined by L('X') and has to be described by the lexical function $\text{Func}_1(\text{L}('X'))$.

6. As the next step of this research, other constructions including one of the five verbs BYT' have to be considered — in particular, constructions with locative phrases, such as *V ètoj stat'e est'*^{BYT'II.3}/**Ø*^{BYT'II.3} *nedostatki* 'In this paper is/**Ø* drawbacks' vs. *V ètoj stat'e est'*^{BYT'II.3}/*Ø*^{BYT'II.3} *rjad nedostatkov* 'In this paper is/*Ø* number of drawbacks', where the use of BYT'II.3 is the same as in the *U Y-a est'/- X* constructions.

7. The distribution of the present tense forms of BYT'II.3 raises the following morphological problem:

The wordforms **est'**^{BYT'II.3} and **Ø**^{BYT'II.3} are suppletive lexes of the verbal lexeme BYT'II.3; however, the conditions for their use include semantic and syntactic characteristics of DSynt-actant I (\approx the surface subject) of the verb. Is this a typologically normal situation?

It is not, even if similar cases — that is, the cases where the choice of an allolex of a given lexeme is determined by another lexeme — are known; for instance:

— In French, the verb *POUVOIR* ‘can, be able’: the choice of the allolex **puis** [IND.PRES.1.SG] instead of **peux** in an inversion (*Puis-je vous aider?* ‘Can I help you?’ vs. **Peux-je vous aider?*).

— In German, the singular genitive with some proper nouns: the allomorph **-s** is used if the noun has no determiner, and the allomorph **-Ø** if it has (*alle Mächte Europa+s* ‘all powers of Europe’ vs. *alle Mächte des alten Europa+Ø* ‘all powers of the old Europe’; see the discussion in [Meľčuk 2006: 402–403]).

The question remains open about theoretical implications of the existence of such allolexes as **est**^{BYT^{11.3}} and **Ø**^{BYT^{11.3}}.

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RUSSIAN *U Y-A EST' / - X* CONSTRUCTIONS

В статье рассматривается проблема выбора между конструкцией *U Y-a est' X* (с формой *est'* глагола БЫТЬ) и конструкцией *U Y-a — X* (с нулевой формой глагола БЫТЬ). Этот выбор обуславливается исходным выражаемым смыслом, т. е. практически выбором соответствующего глагола из нескольких глаголов БЫТЬ. В первом приближении, смысл 'Y является семантическим актантом X-а' (*У Ивана_Y температура_X / экзамен_X / двое детей_X*) выражается глаголом БЫТЬ_{II.3} и конструкцией *U Y-a — X*; смысл 'у Y-a имеется X' (*У Ивана_Y есть дача_X / специальный помощник_X / время_X*) выражается глаголом БЫТЬ_{III.2} и конструкцией *U Y-a est' X*. Предлагается вокабула глагола БЫТЬ, с 13-ю лексемами; для пяти из них, участвующих в рассматриваемых

конструкциях, даются полные лексикографические описания. Анализируется ряд специальных случаев, когда выбор нужной конструкции осложнен дополнительными условиями; приводятся формальные семантические правила построения обеих конструкций.

Ключевые слова: русский язык, семантика, синтаксис, интерфейс «семантика-синтаксис», глагол БЫТЬ, нулевая форма глагола, конструкции *У У-а есть/– X*.

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