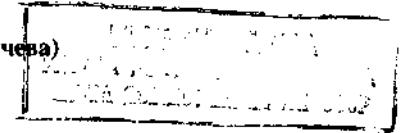


Locative and existential meaning of Russian *быть* Локативное и экзистенциальное значения глагола *быть*

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Аннотация Принято считать, что замена номинатива на генитив при отрицании свойственна бытийным предложениям, то есть предложениям с нереферентным субъектом. И в этом случае генитивный субъект локативного предложения, такого как *Пети нет дома*, представляется семантически не мотивированным. В работе показано, что генитив субъекта порождается не только семантикой существования, но и восприятия. В локативном предложении генитив выражает присутствие наблюдателя: язык приравнивает отсутствие в поле зрения наблюдателя к несуществованию. Тем самым выявляется существенная общность в семантике генитива субъекта и генитива объекта.

1 Locative and existential sentences

The problem of locative vs. existential BE was discussed in Lyons (1968). Sentences (1a) and (1b) have different structures, but differ only slightly from one another semantically:

- (1) a. Coffee will be here in a moment.
'Кофе будет здесь через минуту.'
- b. There will be coffee here in a moment.
'Через минуту здесь будет кофе.'

However, this semantic opposition is crucial for Russian (as well as for some other Slavic languages), for it is connected with the use of genitive vs. nominative subject in negative sentences. The genitive of negation is claimed to be correlated with existential sentences:

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- (2) a. *Здесь есть волки.*
'There are *wolves* [Nom] here.'
- b. *Волков здесь нет.*
'There are *no wolves* [Gen] here.'
- (3) a. *У них возникли затруднения.*
(≈ Before them stood *difficulties*.)
'*Difficulties* [Nom] confronted them.'
- b. *Затруднений у них не возникло.*
(≈ *Difficulties* didn't stand before them.)
'*Difficulties* [Gen] didn't confront them.'

However, sentence (4a), expressing location, has (4b) (presumably also expressing location) as its negative counterpart, with the genitive of negation:

- (4) a. *Петя дома.*
'*Petja* [Nom] is at home.'
- b. *Петю нет дома.*
'*Petja* [Gen] is not at home.'

N. D. Arutjunova (1976) and L. Babby (1980, 101) associate the genitive of negation with existentiality: "it is only the subject NP of existential sentences that is regularly marked genitive when negation is introduced". Referring to N. D. Arutjunova, Babby (1980, 124) says that for existential *быть* genitive marking is semantically motivated, while "genitive marking in sentences with the verb *быть*' is an automatic syntactic rule [...] if the sentence contains a locative adverbial".

I shall demonstrate that the genitive of negation is not limited to existential sentences, and the genitive construction in a locative sentence, such as (4b) *Петю нет дома*, is semantically motivated as well.

Sections 2 and 3 below deal with formal differences between (non-negative) locative and existential sentences. Section 4 is devoted to the general semantics of existentiality. In Sect. 5 contextual semantic differences between locative and existential sentences are explored. After that (in Sect. 6) I return to semantic sources of the genitive (vs. nominative) of negation, existentiality being one of them, but not the only one. Section 7 deals with borderline cases.

2 Formal markers of an existential sentence

Following V. Borschev and B. Partee (Borščev and Parti 1998), I call the two semantic arguments of *быть*—both in its existential and locative meaning—Thing and Location.

A) Morphology

Existential sentences have *есть* as the present tense form (5a), which is opposed to the zero form in locative sentences (5b):

- (5) a. *Телефон есть на кухне.*
'There is a telephone in the kitchen.'
- b. *Твой мобильник (*есть) на кухне.*
'Your cellphone is in the kitchen.'

B) Referential status of the NP Thing

In locative sentences the argument Thing can be, and usually is, definite; in particular, it can be a proper name (6a). However, in existential sentences the Thing is indefinite or even non-referential (Arutjunova 1976; Babby 1980, 67, 144; Chvany 1975, 48) (6b):

- (6) a. *Коля был в Лондоне.*
'*Kolja* was in London.'
- b. *В магазине, несмотря на ранний час, были покупатели.*
'There were *clients* in the shop despite the early hour.'

In the context of the present tense form *есть* the NP Thing is interpreted as indefinite—even if according to its structure it could refer to a unique object (referential prerequisites of the verb are stronger than word order):

- (7) a. *В Переделкино есть музей Пастернака.*
'In Peredelkino there is a *museum devoted to Pasternak*.'
- b. *Музей Пастернака есть в Переделкино.*
'There is a *museum devoted to Pasternak* in Peredelkino.'

Examples that allegedly violate this restriction on the NP Thing will be discussed in Sect. 4.

Existential sentences are to be distinguished from 'introductory existentials' (Arutjunova 1976, 221–223); for the latter a referential and definite NP Thing is not prohibited:

- (8) *Есть за границей контора Кука.* (Маршак)
'There is a Cook's office abroad.'

C) Taxonomy of the NP Location

For prototypical existential sentences, namely those that function as presuppositions of existence, Location is the world as a whole:

- (9) *Есть реки, которые летом пересыхают.*
'There are rivers that dry out in summer.'
[there are such rivers in the world]

On the other hand, for a locative sentence the world cannot be a Location. In fact, the modifier *в мире* does not co-occur with the verb *находиться*, which unambiguously denotes location; the National corpus of Russian (www.ruscorpora.ru) gives only impossible co-occurrences:

- (10) a. *Известно, что по неиспытанным для нас судьбам Божиим, разные в мире находятся веры, и всякой народ к вере естественную имеет привязанность.* (Платон (Левшин), архиепископ Московский и Калужский. Слово при действии святого миропомзания, 1773)
- b. *Сверх запасов, зафиксированных ЛБМ и МИА (Лондон), в мире находится более 4 млн тонн алюминия, которые в основном нигде не зафиксированы.* (Металлы Евразии, 2004)

However, an NP denoting a definite part of space can be a Location in an existential sentence:

- (11) а. *В моем номере есть телевизор.*
'In my room there is a TV set.'
б. *В зале есть иностранцы.*
'There are foreigners in the hall.'

The Topic-Comment structure does not belong to the diagnostic features of existential sentences—in fact, it can vary; the communicative paradigm of the existential sentence is presented in Padučeva (1985, 130–131). For instance, the Location can be both Topic and Comment, see (7) above and (12):¹

- (12) а. На веранде / есть кресло \.
'On the porch there is a chair.'
б. Кресло / на веранде есть \.
'There is a chair in the porch.'

A transition from a sentence to its negative counterpart almost automatically changes the word order (what happens to the Topic-Comment structure remains to be explored):

- (13) а. В музее были посетители.
'In the museum there were visitors.'
б. Посетителей в музее не было.
'There were no visitors in the museum.'

Thus, we have three formal criteria differentiating locative and existential sentences. All of them have a limited differentiating power: morphology is limited to the present tense; the differentiating power of the referential status of the Thing in an existential sentence is cancelled in the context of introduction; taxonomy of the NP Location is restricted only in case of prototypical existential sentences. Thus, an area of ambiguity remains.

There is an additional formal feature differentiating locative sentences from existential ones: In a locative sentence the participant Location is obligatory (Babby 1980, 108), in existential sentences it is not.

The following axioms of localization are necessary for what follows:

- Axiom 1. Every material object must be localized in some physical space.
Axiom 2. There are material objects (houses, cities etc.) that cannot change their place.
Axiom 3. There are entities that have no localization in space (doubts, ideas, qualities).

3 Possessive sentences with *быть* are a subclass of existential sentences

Possession has no localization in space, so possessive sentences have no Location—only a Possessor:

- (14) а. *У царя Мидаса ослиные уши.*
'King Midas has the ears of a donkey.'
б. *У Маши есть брат.*
'Masha has a brother.'
в. *В нем есть какое-то обаяние.*
'There is something charming about him.'

¹ / indicates the raising, thematic stress, \ stands for the falling, rhematic stress.

A sentence with an adverbial of place is locative and not possessive:

- (15) *Где у тебя документы?* (Aruijunova 1976, 285)
'Where do you have your documents?'
(16) *Ваш пропуск у вахтера.*
'Your permit is with the janitor.'

Possessive sentences constitute a subclass of existential sentences. In possessive sentences the *есть* vs. zero opposition is possible, but the zero form does not express localization: it has some other meaning, e.g., (m)alienable possession (Aruijunova 1976, 274–283).

4 Existential meaning, what is it like?

Locative and existential sentences differ in that in a locative sentence the existence of the Thing constitutes a presupposition, while an existential sentence asserts the existence of the Thing (in a given place). So the NP Thing should be non-referential or indefinite, see examples (11)–(13) in Sect. 2.

This is so if we speak about existence in the world. If Location is a definite NP (as in (11a, b)), then the difference between existence in this place and localization in the same place can be blurred; see also examples (41) and (42) in Sect. 7.

There are sentences with an existential verb and a referential subject NP that normally function in ordinary communication and do not lose their existential presupposition:

- (17) *В XIV веке Перемышль уже существовал.*
'In the XIV century Peremyśl already existed.'
(18) *Его больше нет на свете.*
'He is not in this world any more.'
(19) *Дома, в котором я родился, больше нет.*
'The house where I was born doesn't exist any more.'

In these sentences two worlds are confronted—more precisely, two temporal stages of the world; the presupposition of existence of the Thing in one world doesn't contradict its (possible) absence in the other (Padučeva 1997, 111).

In (20) *Everest* is to be interpreted as 'such a beautiful mountain as Everest', i.e. the proper name is understood not only as an indefinite but moreover non-referential NP:

- (20) *Жизнь имеет смысл, пока существует Эверест.*
(Ju. D. Апресян, p.c.)
'Life makes sense as long as the Everest exists.'

5 Contextually determined oppositions between existentiality and localization

As we can see, the general meaning of existentiality evades explication. But in particular contexts the semantic difference between an existential construction, with *есть* in the present tense, and a locative construction, with the zero form, becomes more evident, as will be shown in this section (many examples are taken from Aruijunova and Širjaev 1983, but the interpretation is my own).

In example (21), the locative sentence (21a) with its specific Topic–Comment structure gives rise to the EXHAUSTIVE LIST interpretation (Sgall and Hajičová 1977; for the Russian examples cf. Padučeva 1985, 118)—which is absent from the existential sentence (21b):

- (21) a. В номере письменный стол и кровать.
‘There are a table and a bed in the room.’
[nothing else; no chair, for example; locative meaning]
- b. В номере *есть* письменный стол и кровать.
‘There are a table and a bed in the room.’
[existential meaning; a hope remains that the chair, for example, is just not mentioned]

In the context of sentence (22), where the NP is bounded by a universal quantifier, locative and existential constructions are opposed in the same way as in (21). Sentence (22a) is understood as an exaggeration, natural for universal quantifiers in ordinary language: ‘only swindlers everywhere’, while (22b) has an existential and less pessimistic meaning—‘there are swindlers among other kinds of people’:

- (22) a. Всюду жулики.
‘There are [only] swindlers all over.’
- b. Всюду *есть* жулики.
‘Swindlers may be anywhere.’

Sentence (23a) is locative, but semantically almost indistinguishable from existential (23b):

- (23) a. В этом дворе сторожевая собака. [locative]
‘A watchdog is in this yard.’
- b. В этом дворе *есть* сторожевая собака. [existential]
‘There is a watchdog in this yard.’

Sentence (23b) has the meaning of AVAILABILITY (more explicitly expressed by the verb *иметься*, Padučeva 2004, 433–436; see Benveniste 1960 on the semantic proximity between ‘be’ and ‘have’; Clancy (forthcoming) on ‘be’ and ‘have’ in Slavic). The meaning of availability in (23b) is engendered by the fact that the NP Thing has the semantics of FUNCTION: it presupposes some definite utilization (cf. Partee and Borschev 2007).

Sentence (24) employs a locative construction. It does not acquire the EXHAUSTIVE LIST interpretation, because it has the INTRODUCTORY meaning:

- (24) В огороде свинья.
‘A pig is in the garden.’
[possible implication: some measures should be taken]

An existential construction, as in (24’), does not yield deviance strictly speaking, but it is correct only in a context in which the pig in the garden is useful for something; in fact, an unambiguously existential construction produces the AVAILABILITY meaning:

- (24’) В огороде *есть* свинья.
‘There is a pig in the garden.’

Sentence (25a) is existential as to its meaning. However, the verb *быть* can only have the zero form. In fact, (25b) is ungrammatical or at least non-preferred. The fact is that the NP Thing contains a quantity marker:

- (25) a. В этой реке масса / много / множество рыбы.
‘In this river there are a lot of fish.’
- b. *В этой реке *есть* масса / много / множество рыбы.
c. В этой реке *есть* рыба.
‘There are fish in this river.’

The ungrammaticality of (25b) can be explained by the fact that in the context of a quantitative subject NP the substitution of the zero form for existential *есть* is syntactically obligatory. With this reservation, *есть* becomes a reliable marker of the existential meaning.

Sentences where the Thing is a predicative noun will not be considered:

- (26) a. В квартире (*есть) беспорядок.
‘The flat is untidy.’
- b. В зале (*есть) собрание.
‘There is a meeting in the hall.’
- c. В клубе (*есть) танцы.
‘There are dances in the club.’

6 Existentiality and the genitive of negation

How, then, does existentiality influence the choice between genitive and nominative in a negative sentence? The use of the genitive in the context of the locative *быть* cannot be reduced to a syntactic rule (as was suggested in Babby 1980, 124): the genitive construction has a direct semantic basis. The fact is that existentiality is not a unique semantic source of the genitive subject. The genitive construction can express not only negation of existence, as in (27a), but also negation of perception, as in (27b):

- (27) a. Нарушений не было.
‘There were no violations [of the rule].’
- b. Нарушений не зафиксировано.
‘No violations [of the rule] were testified.’

There is no less than a dozen of classes of genitive verbs (i.e. verbs that can have a genitive subject), including verbs of EXISTENCE, COMING INTO EXISTENCE, AVAILABILITY, APPEARANCE, MANIFESTATION, DISAPPEARANCE, DISCOVERY and some others. Lists presented in various papers, e.g., in Babby (1980, 128–129), usually end with an enumeration of semantically heterogeneous verbs not belonging to any definite class.

However, only verbs of EXISTENCE and AVAILABILITY (as well as passives of creation verbs; *публиковаться* [for a text] for example, entails ‘coming into existence’) are really existential; all the rest contain the semantic component ‘perception’. Purely perceptual verbs, such as *доноситься*, *слышаться*, *наблюдаться*, *отмечаться*, *регистрироваться*, *фиксироваться*, *оказаться*, *обнаружиться*, *сниться*, *найтись* license the genitive construction, see Ickovič (1982, 54).

Thus, not only negated existence licenses the genitive but also negated perception. In other words, absence in the field of perception, along with non-existence, belongs to the set of semantic components providing the semantic basis for the genitive of negation (Padučeva 1997). These two components may enter different configurations in the semantic representations of genitive verbs:

- (28) a. X-а не возникло.
'X didn't start to be.'
b. X-а не требуется.
'It is not necessary for X to be.'
c. X-а не попало / не встретилось.
'X didn't enter the field of perception [of the observer].'

Thus, the alleged biunique connection of the genitive of negation with existentiality is the result of pure misconception. Existence and perception both allow for the genitive of negation.

Insisting upon the difference between these two components I do not want to ignore the fact that language treats them as cognates: there is a semantic derivation rule which accounts for a shift from one to another. These two components merge, for instance, in the semantics of such verbs as *появиться*, *исчезнуть*, *оказаться*, *остаться*. Appearance and coming into existence alternate in the semantics of *затянуть*, *заполнить* and many other verbs of the 'spray/load' class, see Padučeva and Rozina (1993).

Take, e.g., the verb *появиться* which may mean both 'come into existence' (29a) and 'appear' (29b):

- (29) a. Не появилось нужного препарата.
'The necessary medicine didn't come into existence.'
b. Не появилось домов на горизонте.
'Houses didn't appear in the field of perception [of the observer].'

In general, what counts, is not the semantic class of the verb but the component 'perception' or 'existence' in its meaning in the given context. As noted in Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2005, 16), there are increasing arguments supporting the thesis that "it is the elements of meaning that define verb classes that are most important, and that verb classes themselves are epiphenomenal [...]—even if they might be useful in the statement of certain generalizations". A verb of motion, for instance, becomes a genitive verb if it means 'appearance in the field of perception of the observer' (examples (30), (31) are from Babby 1980, but his analysis is different from mine):

- (30) Ни одной подлодки не всплыло.
'Not a single submarine [Gen] appeared on the surface.'
(31) У меня отказали голосовые связки. Пробовал кликнуть жену—ни один звук не вырвался из гортани.
'[...]—not a single sound [Nom] went out of my throat.'
(32) Ни одного звука не вырывалось из его гортани.
'Not a single sound [Gen] went out of his throat.'

In (31) the observer, in fact, the speaker, perceives the situation from the inside of his throat; sentence (32), with the 3rd person subject, corresponds to a more natural situation, with an external observer—and this observer legitimately manifests him/herself in the genitive of the subject.

Other genitive engendering semantic components are not excluded. For example, in case of *ожидаться* (*Маши в Москве не ожидается*) the genitive may be substantiated by the semantics of expectation—in fact, *ожидать* is an intensional verb that governs the genitive case in Russian independently of negation.

Let us now return to the verb *быть*. In Padučeva (1992) the semantic difference between the genitive in (33a) and the nominative in (33b) was explained by means of the figure of the observer. Utterance (33a) is naturally made by a speaker who is at school (or has his/her representative there). However, (33b) conveys no information about the place of the speaker:

- (33) a. Вани нет в школе.
'Vanja [Gen] is not \ at school.'
b. Ваня не в школе.
'Vanja [Nom] is not at school \.'

In Apresjan (1986) the observer is thought of as the subject of (secondary) deixis, i.e. as a kind of substitute for the speaker. The observer in this sense reveals him/herself in restrictions concerning the interchangeability of the 1st and the 3rd person and depending on the register of interpretation (i.e. the opposition of speech, narrative and hypotactic registers as they are defined in Padučeva 1996). One of Apresjan's examples gives the following triad:

- (34) a. На дороге показался всадник.
'The rider appeared on the road.'
b. *На дороге показался я.
(≈ I appeared on the road.)
c. Он говорит, что именно в этот момент на дороге показался я.
'He says that exactly at that moment I appeared on the road.'

Sentence (34a), with the 3rd person subject, is normal; but if we substitute the 1st person pronoun for the NP *всадник*, we get a deviant sentence. In fact, the verb *показался* semantically presupposes the subject of perception. In the speech register (34b) the subject and the object of perception coincide in one person, hence the anomaly; in a hypotactic context as in (34c) the 1st person ceases to be the object of perception, and the anomaly disappears.

The same triad can be constructed for a sentence with the genitive of negation:

- (35) a. Вани нет дома.
'Vanja [Gen] is not at home.'
b. *Меня нет дома.
(≈ I [Gen] am not at home.)
c. Ему сказали, что меня нет дома.
'He was told that I [Gen] was not at home.'

Consequently, there is secondary deixis in (35a), as well as in (34a). If the observer is not present in the context of the 'situation of absence' and the speaker does not think of himself as being present, then the nominative construction will be used, which has no deictic meaning:

- (36) Я, к счастью, не был в Махачкале, когда там началась эпидемия холеры.
'Fortunately, I [Nom] was not in Махачкала when the cholera epidemic began there.'²

² I owe examples of this kind to Vladimir Borschev and the seminar on the genitive of negation run by Barbara Partee and Vladimir Borschev (project "The Russian Genitive of Negation: Integration of Lexical and Compositional Semantics", 2004–2007). I am grateful to other participants of this seminar—Katja Rakhilina, Jakov Testelec, Igor Yanovich—for helpful comments and suggestions.

Here instead of я it is possible to say ты, он, Иван Иванович—and whoever else.

The genitive is out of place in the context of sentence (37), which is assessed as ungrammatical by native speakers of Russian.

- (37) [Context: A woman is standing in the queue in the bank. Her mobile telephone rings. She answers the call—apparently she works at some office and this is her client calling. She explains to the client why she cannot give him the information he needs.]

**Меня нет в офисе.*

(≈ I [Gen] am not at office.)

On the other hand, the genitive of negation is correct in the context of example (38), where it expresses the presence of the observer in the situation of absence:

- (38) a. *Вани нет в школе.*
'Vanja [Gen] is not at school.'
[it is not true that Vanja is at school, and I see it—being at school or having my representative there]
- b. *Ваня не в школе.*
'Vanja [Nom] is not at school.'
[it is not true that Vanja is at school]

One more example in favor of the presence of the observer in a locative sentence with the genitive subject, now in a sentence with the quantified Location (*быть* in quantified sentences has been studied by Partee and Borschev 2002 within the framework of perspectival structure):

- (39) a. *Вани нигде нет.*
'Vanja [Gen] is nowhere to be found.'
- b. *Ваня нигде.*
'Vanja [Nom] is nowhere.'

Sentence (39a) is interpreted along the same lines as (38a):

- (39') a. *Вани нигде нет.*
[I couldn't see Vanja in any of those places where I attempted to see him']

As for (39b), according to its form, it should have meant (39'b); but (39'b) violates Axiom 1, so (39b) is deviant:

- (39') b. *Ваня нигде.*
[there is no place such that Vanja is in that place']

Example (40) (from Padučeva 1985, 107) appeals to Axiom 2, which explains why (40b) strictly satisfies the norm, while (40a) is deviant:

- (40) a. *Тегусигальны нет в Никарагуа.*
'Tegucigalpa [Gen] is absent from Nicaragua.'
- b. *Тегусигальна не в Никарагуа.*
'Tegucigalpa [Nom] is not in Nicaragua.'

Sentence (40a) cannot be interpreted literally (in fact, in its literal sense it presupposes that Tegucigalpa cannot—at the moment—be observed in Nicaragua, in the same sense as Vanja cannot be observed at school). But (40a) may make sense, e.g., in the context of

looking for Tegucigalpa on a map. The explication for (40a) will then be the same as for (38a): 'I couldn't see Tegucigalpa on the map of Nicaragua'.

Thus, I see no chance for a syntactic rule that would predict a genitive subject of *быть* in one syntactic context and the nominative subject in another. In fact, there are contexts where the genitive is not obligatory and the choice between genitive and nominative is conditioned semantically, see (36); moreover, there are contexts where the genitive is out of place in a locative sentence, see example (37). Thus, we come to an important conclusion: language treats non-observed location in the same way as non-existence—not only on the level of words but also on the level of constructions.

7 Location and existence as semantic components of verb meaning

Existence and location tend not to be distinguished. Alan Timberlake, discussing the problem of the genitive subject, speaks about existence in the field of perception of the observer—although, at least from the Russian point of view, the object is located in the field of perception, and does not exist there: "With perceptuals, existence is determined relative to the field of perception of an observer" (Timberlake 2004, 303–304; emphasis E. V. P.).

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, 244) claim in connection with sentences like (41): "[...] the verbs are used statively to describe the existence of a physical object at a particular location" (emphasis E. V. P.):

- (41) The railway tracks run along the stream.

In fact, there are cases where the difference between non-existence and absence almost disappears:

- (42) a. Я пошел в киоск за газетами. Газеты не поступили.
(cf. Borščev and Parti 2002, 60)
- b. Я пошел в киоск за газетами. Газет не поступило.

The opposition of genitive vs. nominative in example (42) can be given the following two interpretations. For the nominative in (42a) only a locative interpretation is possible: *газеты не поступили* ≈ 'newspapers didn't move to the shop'. The nominative case preserves the movement component in the semantics of *поступить*. However, the genitive in (42b) can be treated in two ways. Either it expresses only partitivity (with the movement component of the verb preserved) or it expresses negation of availability, i.e. of the existential component: *газет не поступило* = 'newspapers didn't become available'.

Thus, there are such combinations of communicative structure, referential type and taxonomy of arguments when a sentence cannot be unambiguously identified as existential or locative. But in the majority of cases existence and location can be distinguished—in spite of the fact that both predicates license the genitive of negation in a suitable context.

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EGO as a cognitive reference point: the case of *невысокий* and *низкий*

ЭГО как когнитивная точка референции: на материале прилагательных *невысокий* и *низкий*

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Аннотация Принято считать, что прилагательные размера ориентированы на точку референции в центре градиционной шкалы. В настоящей статье исследуется роль ЭГО (размеров человеческого тела) как дополнительной точки референции для интерпретации прилагательных размера. Критическому анализу подвергается гипотеза Е. В. Рахилиной (2000) о том, что ЭГО определяет дистрибуцию прилагательных *невысокий* и *низкий* в русском языке. Хотя результаты корпусного исследования и анкетирования не подтверждают гипотезу в абсолютном смысле, они явно указывают на тенденцию использовать *невысокий* для описания референтов выше человеческого роста, а *низкий*—для характеристики объектов ниже человеческого роста. Результаты также говорят об отсутствии комплементарных семантических отношений между данными прилагательными. Наблюдается значительное совпадение их семантических сфер при сохранении различных фокусных точек. *Невысокий* заимствует у прилагательного *высокий* ориентацию на антропоморфную вертикаль, в то время как его квазисиноним *низкий* ориентирован на вертикаль в самом широком смысле этого слова. Результаты настоящего исследования свидетельствуют о неадекватности общепринятого подхода, согласно которому прилагательные размера имеют только одну точку референции, поскольку этот подход не может объяснить особенности дистрибуции квазисинонимов и семантические различия между ними.

1 Introduction

It is widely assumed that the interpretation of relative adjectives, such as *large*, *loud*, or *bad*, consists in identifying the subject's position on a relevant dimension vis-à-vis a reference

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