UiT The Arctic University of Norway

CLEAR
Cognitive Linguistics: Empirical Approaches to Russian

HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

RUSSIAN CONSTRUCTICON

Prohibitive constructions in Russian: Families and clusters

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International Conference on Construction Grammar (ICCG11), University of Antwerp, August 18-20, 2021

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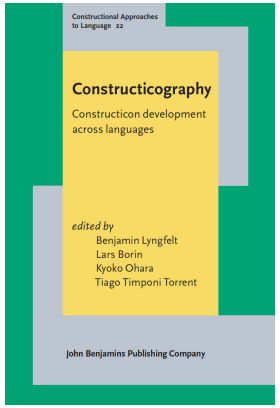
Intro

- Language is a structured inventory of cxns, a constructicon, also named
  - a "repertory" of cxns (Fillmore 1988: 37),
  - a global "network" of cxns (Goldberg 2013, Goldberg & Herbst 2021: 286),
  - a set of networks (Langacker 2008: 237)

- Lyngfelt (Lyngfelt et al. 2018: 6):



"Most work in CxG consists of case studies of individual cxns or small groups of cxns, and the overall structure of the constructicon as such is largely left unexplored".

- We work towards filling this gap in the project "The Russian Constructicon"
  - 224 Assessment and 222 Attitude cxns (Endresen & Janda 2020)
  - 164 comparative cxns (Mordashova 2021)

- This talk – a study of a relatively large network of 57 Russian cxns that express prohibition of an action

- We explore the internal organization of this network in terms of related and interconnected families and clusters

Plan for this talk

1. Part of a larger project "The Russian Constructicon"

2. Theoretical background

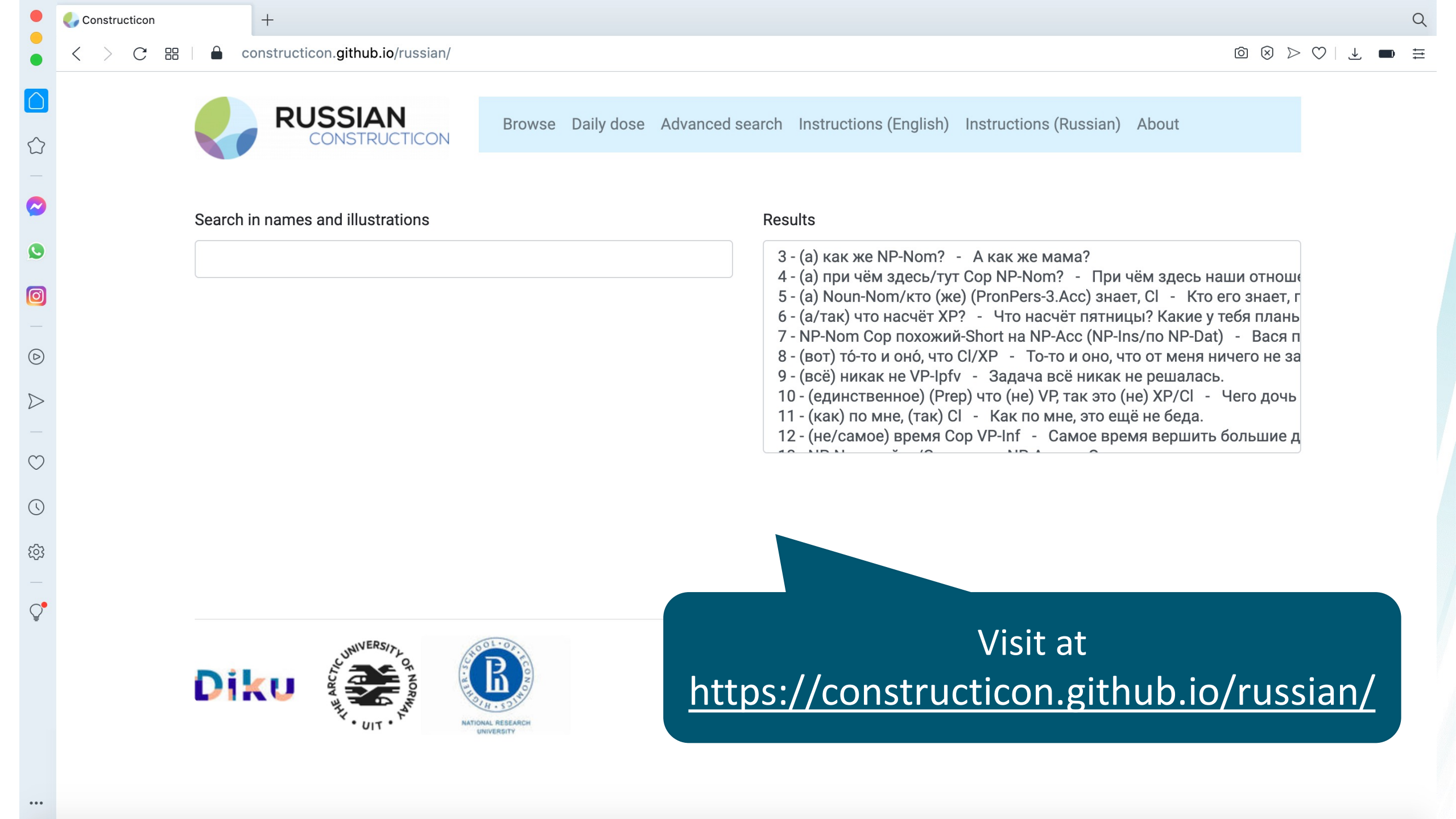
3. A radial category model of a network of Russian prohibitive constructions

4. Proposed hierarchichal groupings: family – cluster – network of cxns

1. This study is part of a larger project: The Russian Constructicon

- **The Russian Constructicon** is a free open access electronic resource that offers a searchable database of Russian constructions
- **Content:** 2265 multi-word grammatical constructions & descriptions of their properties & corpus-based illustrations
- **Target audience:** students and teachers of Russian as a foreign language, researchers, specialists in natural language processing
- **Time spent on creating it:** 5 years, 2016 – 2020 (2021)
- **User-friendly interface:** https://constructicon.github.io/russian/

More details in our talk on Friday, Aug 20 at 14.45-15.15
Janda, Endresen, Zhukova, Mordashova, Rakhilina
"How to build a constructicon in 5 years: The Russian recipe"


Constructicon
constructicon.github.io/russian/
RUSSIAN CONSTRUCTICON
Browse
Daily dose
Advanced search
Instructions (English)
Instructions (Russian)
About
Search in names and illustrations
Results
3 - (a) как же NP-Nom? - А как же мама?
4 - (a) при чём здесь/тут Cop NP-Nom? - При чём здесь наши отноше
5 - (a) Noun-Nom/кто (же) (PronPers-3.Acc) знает, Cl - Кто его знает, г
6 - (a/так) что насчёт XP? - Что насчёт пятницы? Какие у тебя планы
7 - NP-Nom Cop похожий-Short на NP-Acc (NP-Ins/по NP-Dat) - Вася п
8 - (вот) то́-то и оно́, что Cl/XP - То-то и оно, что от меня ничего не за
9 - (всё) никак не VP-Ipfv - Задача всё никак не решалась.
10 - (единственное) (Prep) что (не) VP, так это (не) XP/Cl - Чего дочь
11 - (как) по мне, (так) Cl - Как по мне, это ещё не беда.
12 - (не/самое) время Cop VP-Inf - Самое время вершить большие д
Diku
THE ARCTIC UNIVERSITY OF NORWAY
UIT
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
Visit at
https://constructicon.github.io/russian/

Example of a prohibitive construction

1247

NAME хорош VP-Ipfv.Inf! - *Эй, наверху! Хорош прыгать!*

DEFINITION (Russian) Конструкция используется, когда говорящий побуждает собеседника прекратить выполнять [некоторое действие]$_{Action}$. Говорящий оценивает это действие отрицательно, так как оно причиняет ему дискомфорт или кажется слишком длительным. Конструкция подразумевает отсутствие между говорящим и собеседником социальной иерархии и произносится в дружеском тоне.

DEFINITION (English) The construction is used when the speaker prompts the interlocutor to stop performing [some action]$_{Action}$. The speaker evaluates this action negatively, as it causes them discomfort or seems too long. The construction implies the absence of social hierarchy between the speaker and the interlocutor and is pronounced in a friendly tone.

DEFINITION (Norwegian) Konstruksjonen anvendes når taleren anmoder samtalepartneren om å slutte å utføre [en handling]$_{Action}$. Taleren har et negativt syn på handlingen fordi den volder ubehag eller synes å vare for lenge. Konstruksjonen forutsetter fravær av rangsforskjeller mellom taleren og samtalepartneren og fremføres i en vennskapelig tone.

EXAMPLES

1. Я им говорю — вы что, мужики. Хорош [слушать]$_{Action}$ этот концерт по радио!
2. — Хорош [ссориться]$_{Action}$! — прервал девушек Илья. — Неконструктивно.
3. — Эй, Артем! Хорош [спать]$_{Action}$! Ну-ка вставай давай! Ты уже семь часов кряду дрыхнешь… Вставай же, соня!
4. — Хорош там [скакать]$_{Action}$! — крикнул Степан девочкам. Он сидел на корточках перед новой газовой плитой, читая руководство по эксплуатации.
5. — Васька, хорош [тормозить]$_{Action}$! — крикнул Андрей. — Открывай скорее двери!

CEFR LEVEL C1

anchor

open slot

Example of a prohibitive construction

1247

NAME хорош VP-Ipfv.Inf! - *Эй, наверху! Хорош прыгать!*

xoroš-Ø	VP-Ipfv.Inf !
good-SG.MASC.SHORT	X-IPFV.INF
'Stop X-ing!'	

Èj,	naverxu!	Xoroš-Ø	pryg-a-t'!
hey	upstairs	good-SG.MASC.SHORT	jump-IPFV-INF
'Hey, up there! Stop jumping!'			

DEFINITION (English) The construction is used when the speaker prompts the interlocutor to stop performing [some action]$_{Action}$. The speaker evaluates this action negatively, as it causes them discomfort or seems too long. The construction implies the absence of social hierarchy between the speaker and the interlocutor and is pronounced in a friendly tone.

DEFINITION (Norwegian) Konstruksjonen anvendes når taleren anmoder samtalepartneren om å slutte å utføre [en handling]$_{Action}$. Taleren har et negativt syn på handlingen fordi den volder ubehag eller synes å vare for lenge. Konstruksjonen forutsetter fravær av rangsforskjeller mellom taleren og samtalepartneren og fremføres i en vennskapelig tone.

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CEFR LEVEL C1

COMMON FILLERS

- разговаривать
- болтать
- базарить
- гнать
- трепаться
- орать
- ругаться
- ссориться
- спать
- дрыхнуть
- прыгать
- скакать

SEMANTIC TYPE

- { "type": "Prohibition", "subtypes": [{ "type": "Continuative prohibitive" }] }

SYNTACTIC TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION

- Clause

SYNTACTIC FUNCTION OF ANCHOR

- Praedicative Expression

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF ANCHOR

- Not Applicable

PART OF SPEECH OF ANCHOR

- Predicative

DEPENDENCY STRUCTURE

1. [root хорош [csubj VP-Ipfv.Inf]!]

DEPENDENCY STRUCTURE OF ILLUSTRATION

1. [root [parataxis Эй], наверху!] [root Хорош [csubj прыгать]!]

COMMUNICATIVE TYPE

- Exclamatory

USAGE LABEL Colloquial

COMMENT 'см. синонимичные конструкции хватит VP-Inf! (Хватит ругаться!), довольно VP-Inf! (довольно жаловаться). Не путать с конструкциями хороший-Short NP-Nom! (Хорош учёный!), NP-Nom хорош собой (Миша был удивительно хорош собой), NP хороший-Short/плохой-Short тем, что Adj/Cl (Чай хорош тем, что крепок), NP хороший-Short/плохой-Short NP-Ins (Эти места хороши своими лесами)'

REFERENCES

- См. также статью Рахилина Е. В. Кондуктор, нажми на тормоза... // Компьютерная лингвистика и интеллектуальные технологии: По материалам ежегодной Международной конференции «Диалог» (2013). Т. 1. М.: Изд-во Российского государственного гуманитарного университета. 2013. С. 665–673.

1. Qualia

1.1. Situation structure

- Timeline +
- Taxis +
- Actionality +
- Pluractionality +
- Phase of action +
- Result +
- Actuality

1.2. Major roles

- Addressee +
- Instrument
- Possession
- Comitative
- Caritive
- Non-standard subject +

1.4. Logical relations

- Cause
- Purpose
- Consequence
- Condition
- Concession +

1.6. Sets and elements

- Additive
- Inclusive
- Exceptive
- Exclusive
- Subset
- Options
- Quantification +

1.3. Situation modifiers

- Spatial expressions +
- Temporal expressions +
- Manner

1.5. Properties

- Salient property +
- Temporary characteristics +
- Comparison +

1.7. Magnitude

- Non-existence +
- Measure +
- Calculation +

2. Modality and its neighborhood

2.1. Core modal meanings

- Root modality +
- Epistemic modality +

2.2. Neighborhood

- Volition
- Causation +
- Prohibition +
- Threat
- Request
- Apprehension +
- Curse

3. Subjectivity

- Assessment +
- Attitude +
- Polarity value +
- Source of opinion +
- Mirative

4. Discourse

4.1. Discourse organization

- Discourse structure +
- Intersubjectivity
- Objectivity
- Source of information

4.2. Discourse clauses

- Reaction to the previous discourse +
- Routine +

5. Parameters

- Degree of intensity +
- Degree of accuracy +

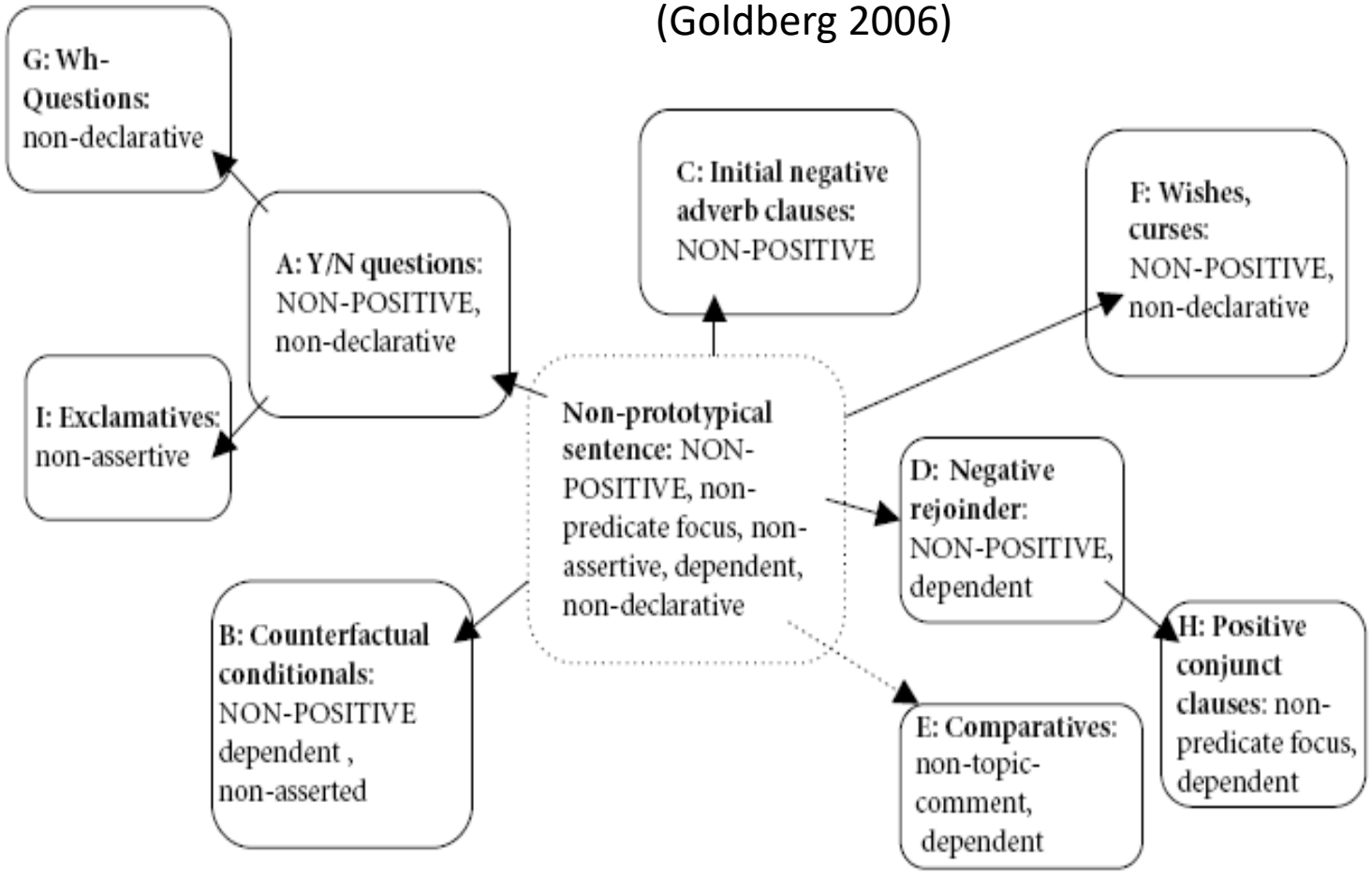
55 semantic types of cxns grouped in 5 classes

Description available at https://constructicon.github.io/russian/semantic-types/

2. Theoretical background: Construction Grammar

- Constructions are entrenched language-specific form-meaning pairings available at all levels of linguistic complexity (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Fried and Östman 2004, Langacker 2008).
- Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004: What makes the English resultative (sub)constructions form a family is "their family resemblance in syntax and semantics"

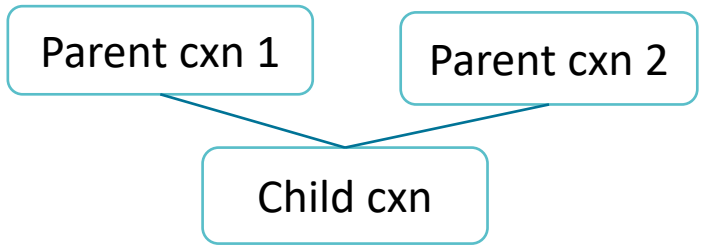
English Subject Auxiliary Inversion family of constructions (Goldberg 2006)



Approaches to a family: nuclear vs. extended

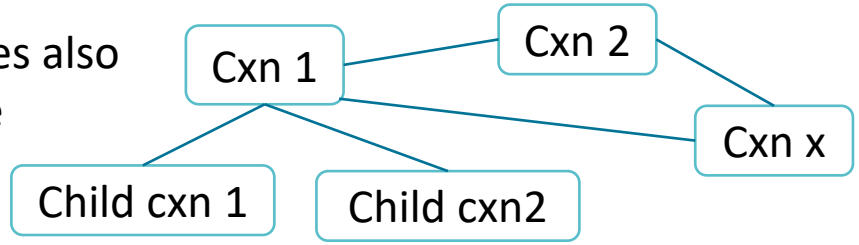
1. A family of cxns is an inheritance structure: one or more specific cxns instantiate a more abstract one and inherit its properties (Lyngfelt 2018: 7): parent vs child (a "nuclear" family – a family group consisting of parents and their children, one or more). Level of abstractness

1a. a subtype: A family of cxns with multiple inheritance links



2. Horizontal relationships (links) between two or more cxns that have certain properties in common

3. Extended family extends beyond nuclear family, includes also aunts, uncles, in-laws, grandparents (all living in the same household)



Approaches to a family: nuclear vs. extended

1. A family c
cxns instant
(Lyngfelt 20
group consi
of abstractn

1a. a subtyp

VP do NP-Gen
X til Y-GEN
'to X to the point of Y!'

VP do absurd-a
X til absurd-GEN.SG
'to X til the point when it becomes absurd!'

Parent cxn

Child cxn

cxn 1

Parent cxn 2

Child cxn

2. Horizontal relationships (links) between two or more cxns that have certain properties in common

Cxn 1 — Cxn 2

3. Extended family extends beyond nuclear family, includes also aunts, uncles, in-laws, grandparents (all living in the same household)

Cxn 1 — Cxn 2, Cxn x, Child cxn 1, Child cxn2

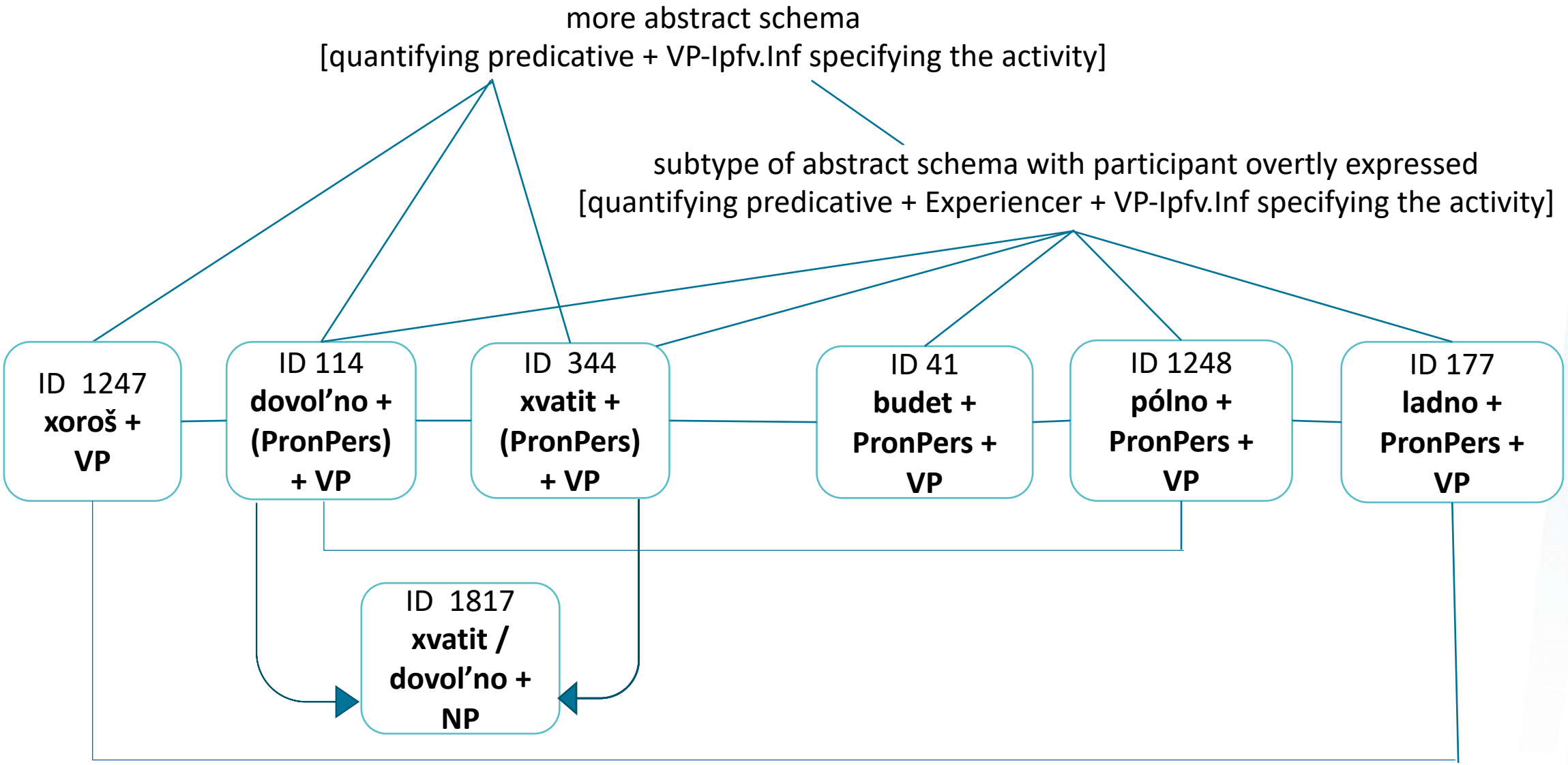
Example of a family (7 cxns)
Quantitative cxns ‘Enough X-ing’, mild attenuated prohibition
Subgroup 1: "measuring" predicates; coding of the interlocutor optional or impossible

ID	Construction name	Illustration
114	**dovol’n-o (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!** enough-ADV you-DAT X-IPFV.INF ‘Enough X-ing (for you)!’	Dovol’n-o žalov-a-t’-sja! enough-ADV complain-IPFV-INF-MED ‘Enough complaining!’
344	**Xvat-it (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!** be_enough.PFV-FUT.3SG you-DAT X-IPFV.INF ‘Enough X-ing (for you)! That will do!’	Xvat-it rug-a-t’-sja! be_enough.PFV-FUT.3SG fight-IPFV-INF-MED ‘Enough fighting! It will do!’
1247	**xoroš-Ø VP-Ipfv.Inf !** good-SG.MASC.SHORT X-IPFV.INF ‘Quit X-ing! Cut it out!’	Èj, naverxu! Xoroš-Ø pryg-a-t’! hey upstairs good-SG.MASC.SHORT jump-IPFV-INF ‘Hey, up there! Stop jumping!’
1274	**xvat-it / dovol’n-o Cop NP-Gen!** be_enough.PFV-FUT.3SG enough-ADV COP X-GEN ‘Enough X-s! So much for the X-s!’	Xvat-it nežnost-ej! be_enough.PFV-FUT.3SG softness-GEN.PL ‘Enough cuddling!’

Example of a family (7 cxns)
Quantitative cxns ‘Enough X-ing’, mild attenuated prohibition
Subgroup 2: more supportive attitude of the speaker; obligatory coding of the interlocutor

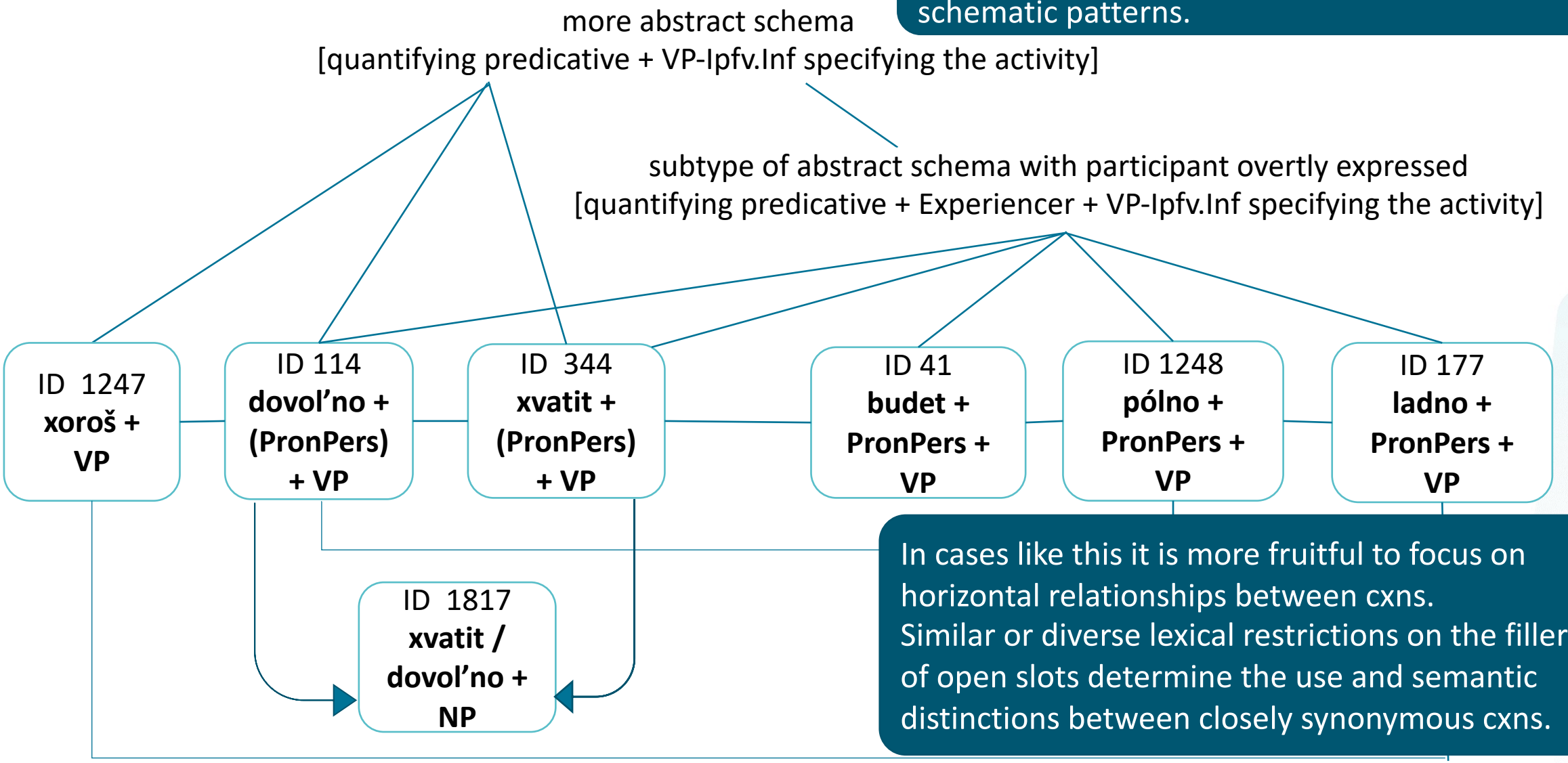
ID	Construction name	Illustration
41	**bud-et PronPers-Dat (VP-Ipfv.Inf)!** be.FUT-3SG PRONPERS-DAT X-IPFV.INF ‘For you it is enough X-ing! That’ll do!’	Bud-et teb-e vr-a-t’! be.FUT-3SG you.SG-DAT lie-IPFV-INF ‘Enough telling lies!’
1248	**póln-o PronPers-2.Dat VP-Ipfv.Inf!** full-SG.N.SHORT you-DAT X-IPFV.INF ‘You have X-ed enough! That will do! Move on!’	Póln-o teb-e plak-a-t’! full-SG.N.SHORT you.SG-DAT cry-IPFV-INF ‘Enough crying for you, you should move on!’
177	**ladn-o PronPers-2.Dat VP-Ipfv.Inf!** harmonious-SG.N.SHORT you-DAT X-IPFV.INF ‘You are done X-ing! Stop X-ing!’	Ladn-o vam spor-i-t ’! harmonious-SG.N.SHORT you.PL-DAT argue-IPFV-INF ‘That is enough arguing for you!’

The structure of the family



The structure of the family

The predicates in these cxns are grammaticalized in different degrees. Structural similarities are blurred. This makes it difficult to compare them and to associate them with more abstract but schematic patterns.



In cases like this it is more fruitful to focus on horizontal relationships between cxns.
Similar or diverse lexical restrictions on the fillers of open slots determine the use and semantic distinctions between closely synonymous cxns.

57 Russian prohibitive constructions form 12 families visualized as boxes.

1:2 (7 constructions)
General rules
Ne VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'No X-ing!'

1:4 (7 constructions)
Prohibition of smallest portion
(Čtoby) nikakoj-Gen NP-Gen!
'No X-es!'

1:5 (3 constructions)
Anticipation of resistance
PronPers-Nom ne VP-Fut!
'You're not going to do X!'

1:3 (10 constructions)
Milder tone
(NP-Dat) ne stoit VP-Ipfv.Inf
'There's no point in X-ing'

1:1 (5 constructions)
Prevention of intended activity
Ne smet'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Don't you dare X'

1:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition against repeating
Čtob(y) PronPers bol'še ne VP-Pst!
'No more X-ing!'

2:2 (7 constructions)
Quantitative, milder tone
xvatit (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Enough X-ing!'

2:1 (4 constructions)
Stop unwanted activity
brosit'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Stop X-ing!'

2:5 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Disapproval
NP-Dat li Cop VP-Inf?
'Who are you to X?'

2:3 (2 constructions)
Delimitative
po-Verb-Pst i budet
'You've done enough X-ing'

2:4 (3 constructions)
Stop temporarily
podoždat'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf
'Stop X-ing for a while'

2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'

Constructions in Cluster 1 ask a hearer to refrain from doing something, prohibit a future action. Cxns contain the marker of negation

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General rules
Ne VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'No X-ing!'

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Prohibition of smallest portion
(Čtoby) nikakoj-Gen NP-Gen!
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PronPers-Nom ne VP-Fut!
'You're not going to do X!'

N=35 cxns

1:3 (10 constructions)
Milder tone
(NP-Dat) ne stoit VP-Ipfv.Inf
'There's no point in X-ing'

1:1 (5 constructions)
Prevention of intended activity
Ne smet'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Don't you dare X'

1:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition against repeating
Čtob(y) PronPers bol'še ne VP-Pst!
'No more X-ing!'

Constructions in Cluster 2 express prohibition of an on-going activity (termed continuative prohibition, cf. Rakhilina 2013, Khrakovski 1986), Cxns lack the marker of negation

2:1 (4 constructions)
Stop unwanted activity
brosit'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Stop X-ing!'

2:5 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Disapproval
NP-Dat li Cop VP-Inf?
'Who are you to X?'

N=22 cxns

Delimitative
po-Verb-Pst i budet
'You've done enough X-ing'

2:4 (3 constructions)
Stop temporarily
podoždat'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf
'Stop X-ing for a while'

2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'

12 families comprise 2 distinct clusters that form a single network

Cluster 1

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'Don't you dare X'

1:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition against repeating
Čtob(y) PronPers bol'še ne VP-Pst!
'No more X-ing!'

Cluster 2

2:2 (7 constructions)
Quantitative, milder tone
xvatit (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Enough X-ing!'

2:1 (4 constructions)
Stop unwanted activity
brosit'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Stop X-ing!'

2:5 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Disapproval
NP-Dat li Cop VP-Inf?
'Who are you to X?'

2:3 (2 constructions)
Delimitative
po-Verb-Pst i budet
'You've done enough X-ing'

2:4 (3 constructions)
Stop temporarily
podoždat'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf
'Stop X-ing for a while'

2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'

Thick boxes indicate prototypes.

Cluster 1

Cluster 2

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General rules
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Prohibition of smallest portion
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Stop temporarily
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'Stop X-ing for a while'

2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'

Prototypical prohibition

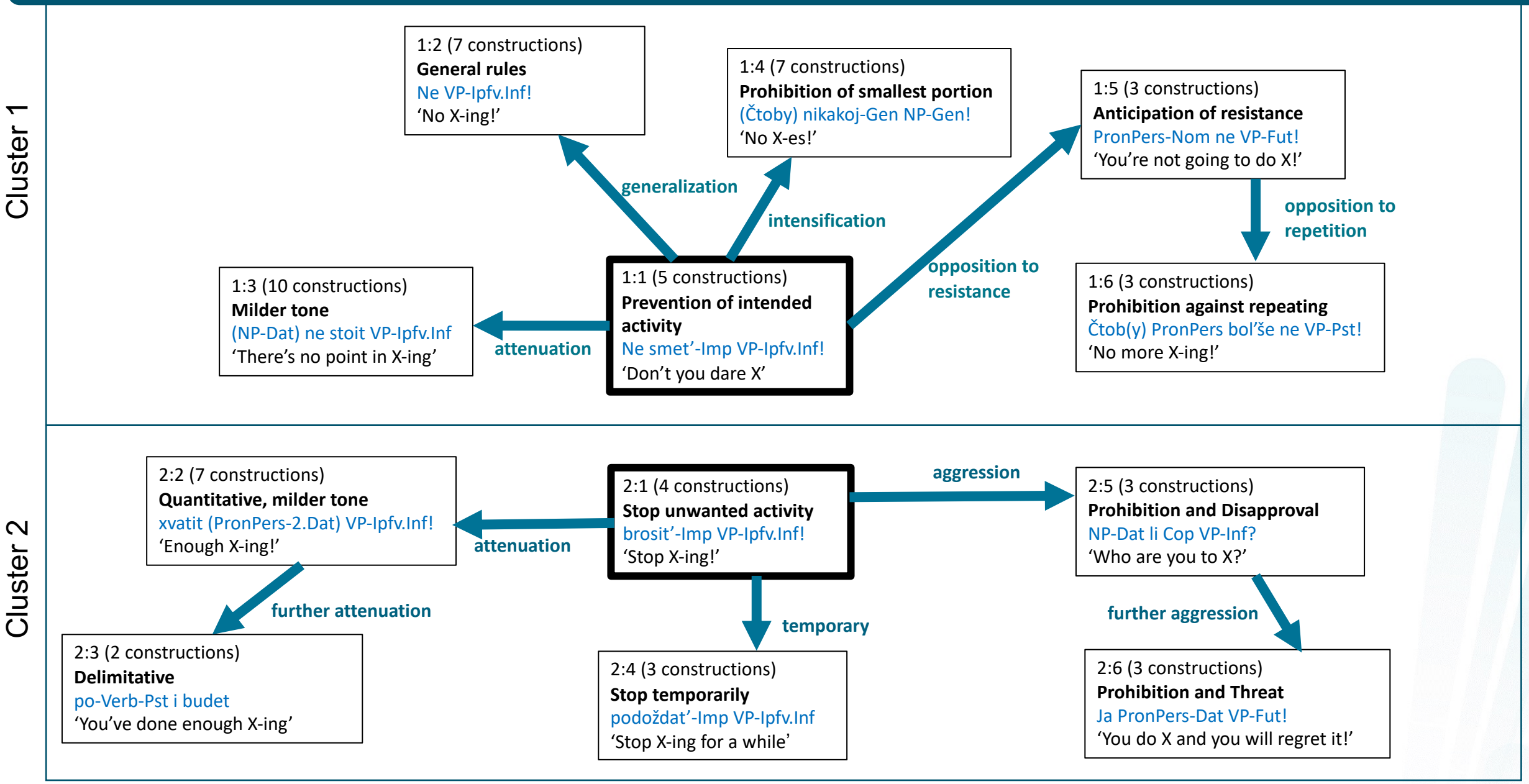
1. The speaker prompts the interlocutor to not carry out an undesirable activity.

2. The interlocutor is an individual person or a specific group of people.

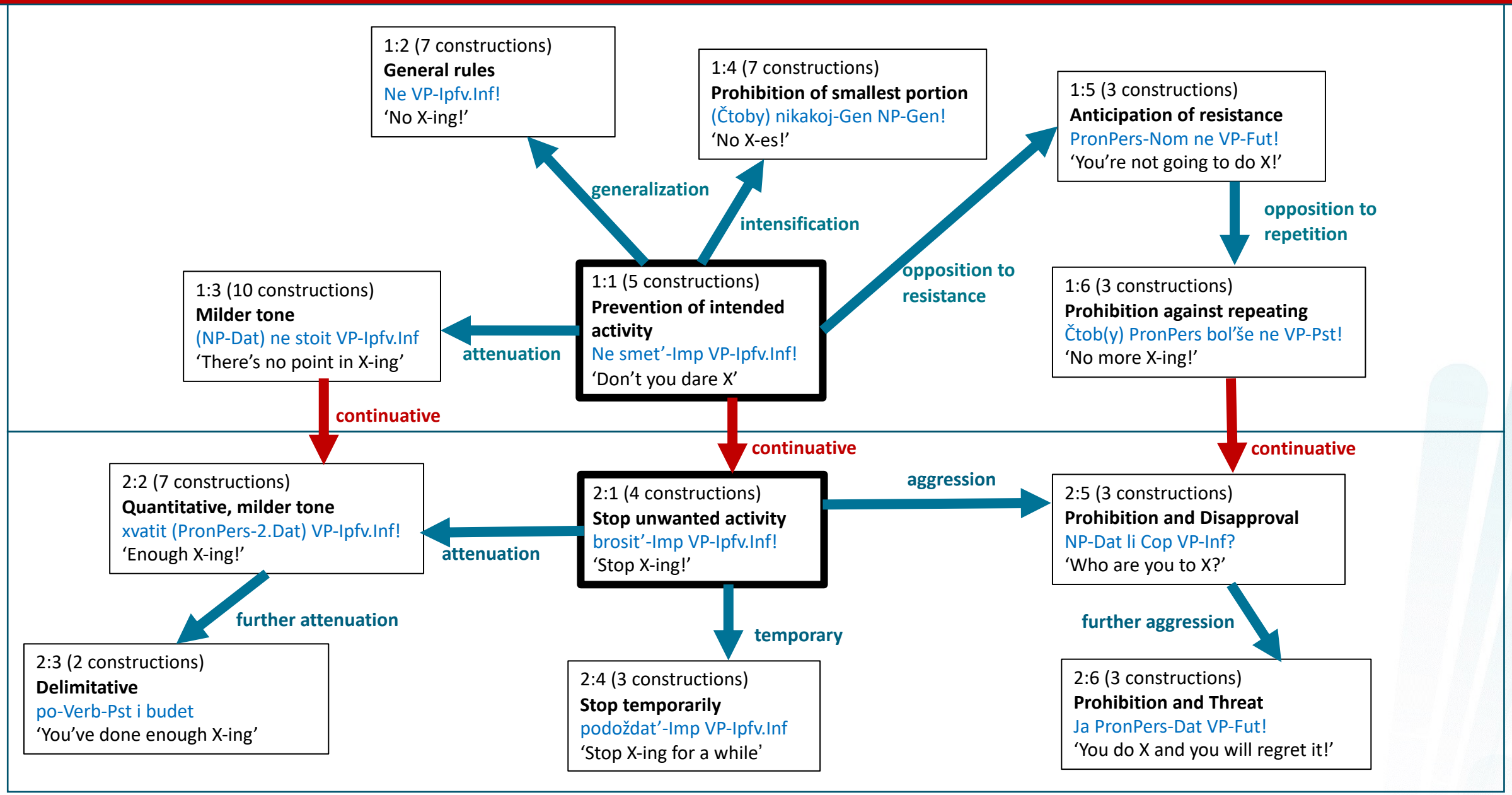
3. The speaker has more authority / life experience / higher status in the social hierarchy than the person to whom the prohibition is addressed (e.g. boss vs. subordinate, adult vs. child).

4. The prohibition is spoken in a strict commanding peremptory tone.

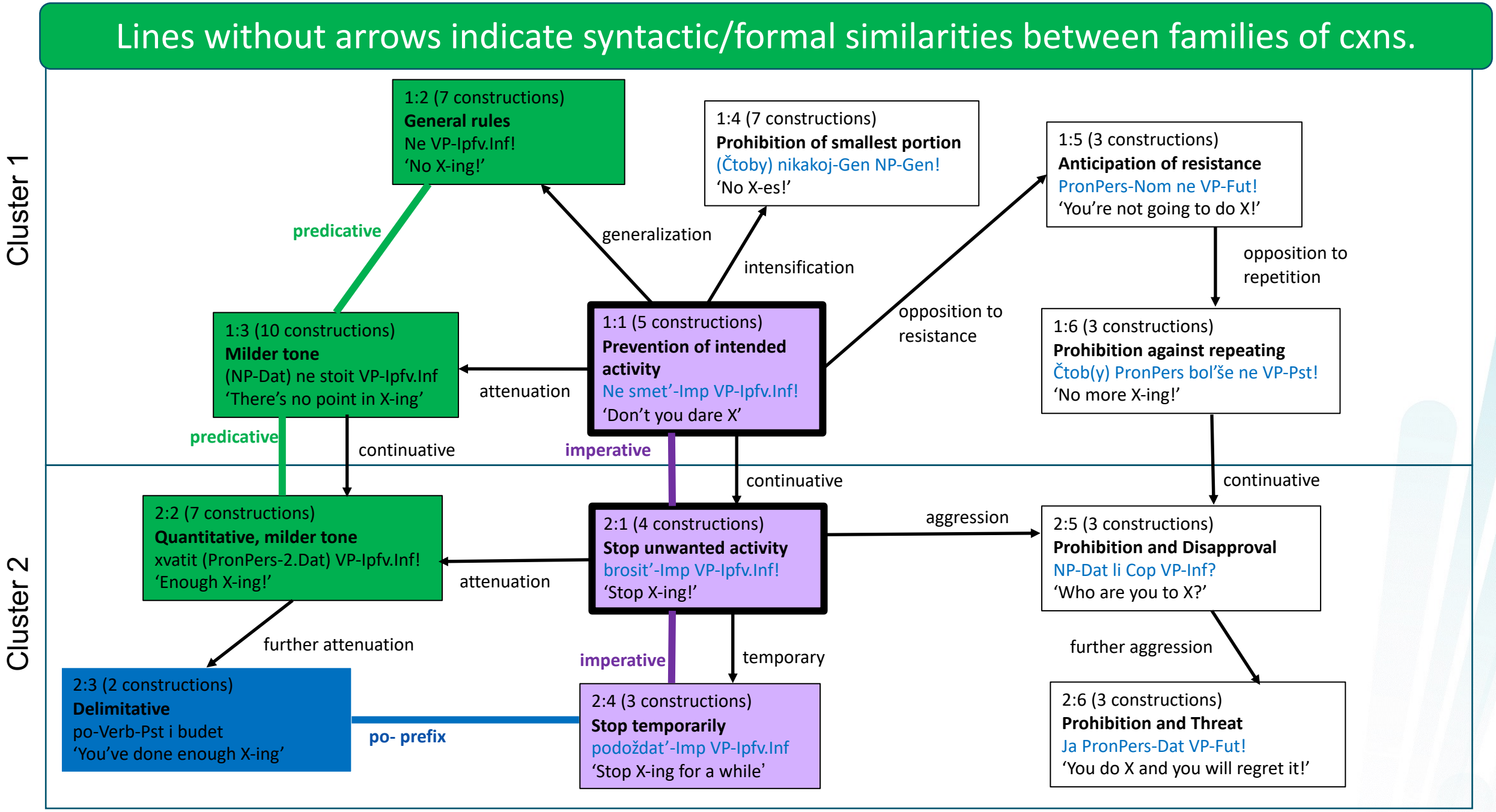
Lines with arrows show semantic transitions between families of cxns.



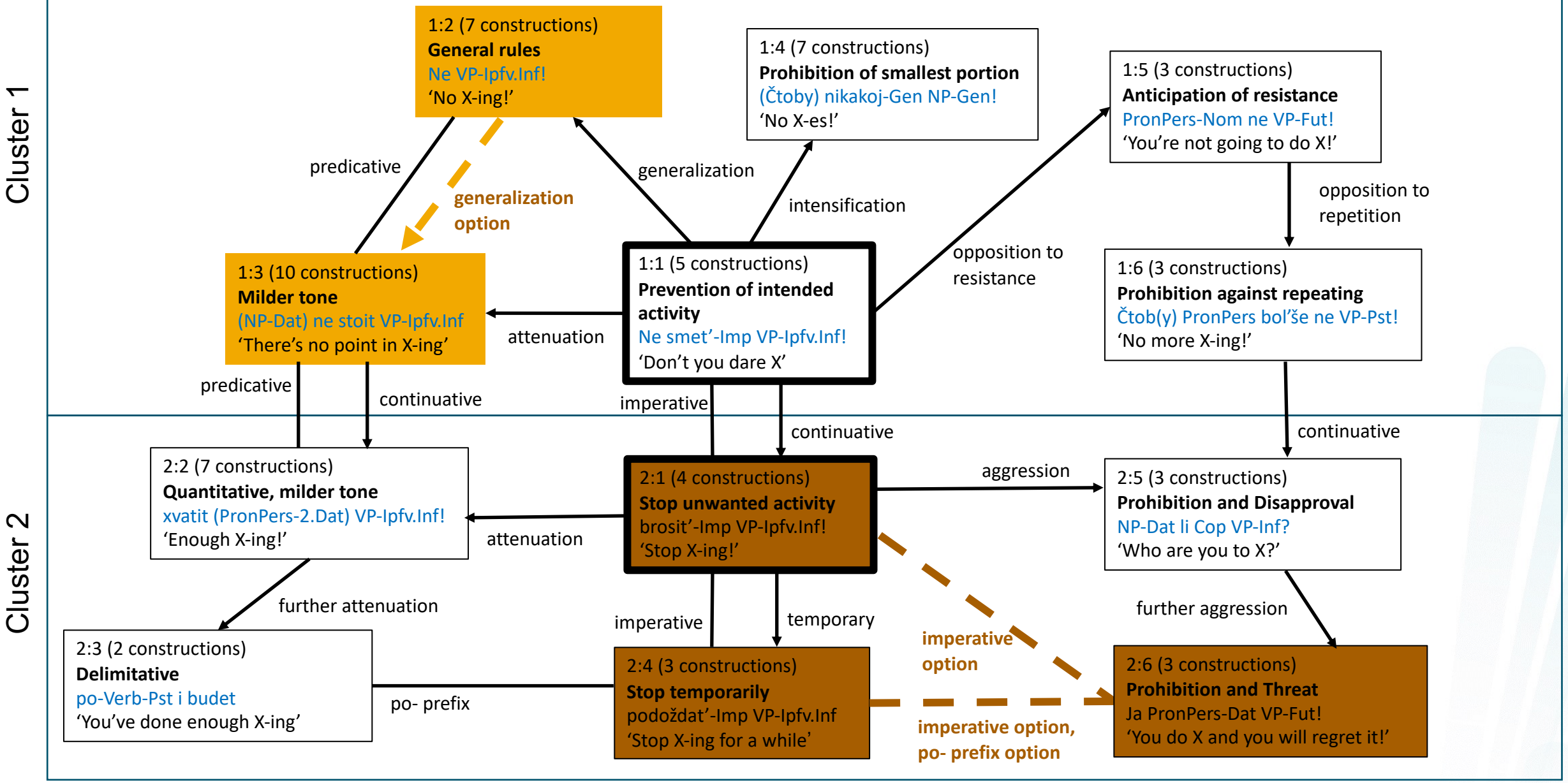
The two clusters are connected through the semantic transition Continuative.

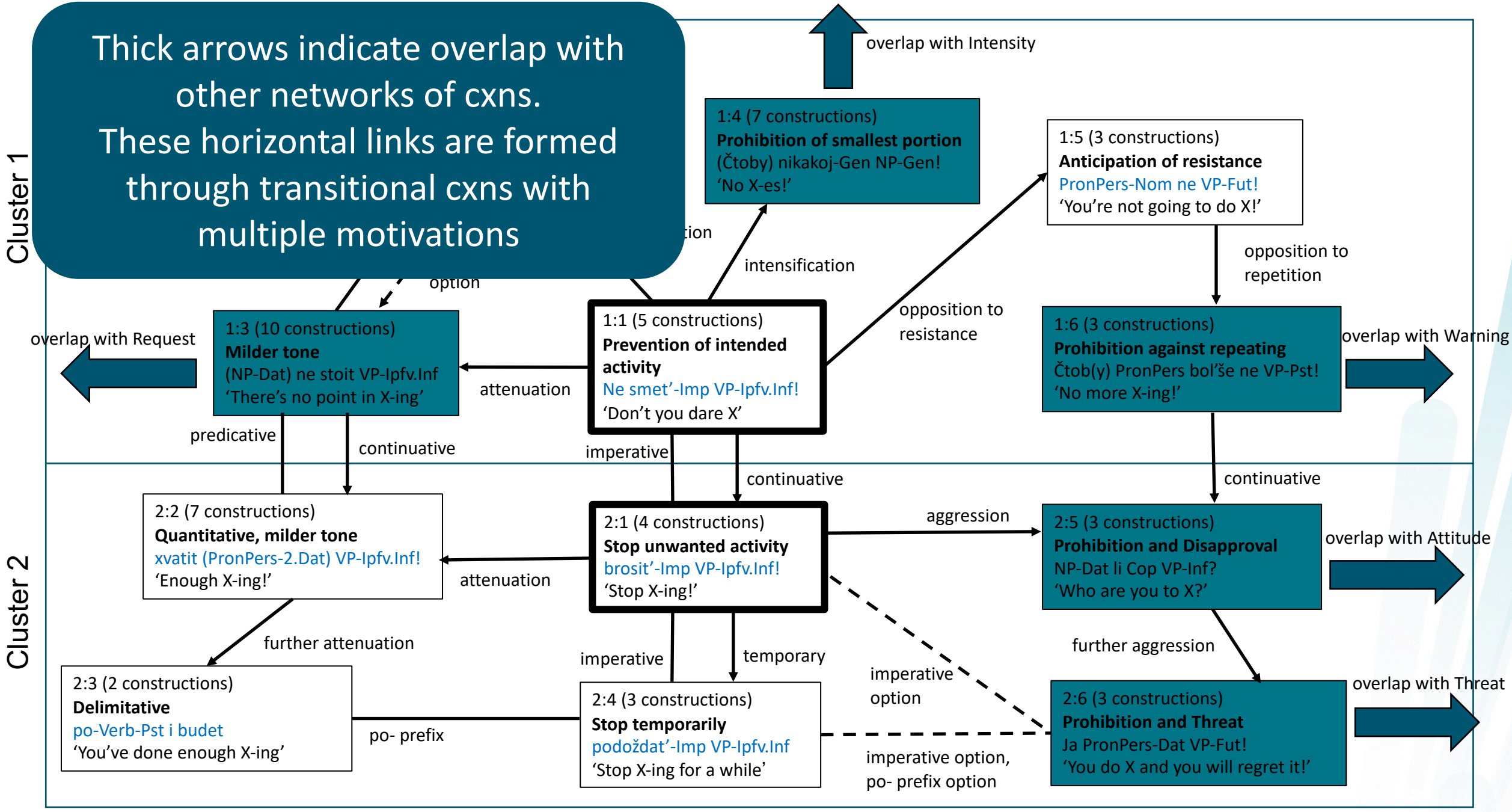


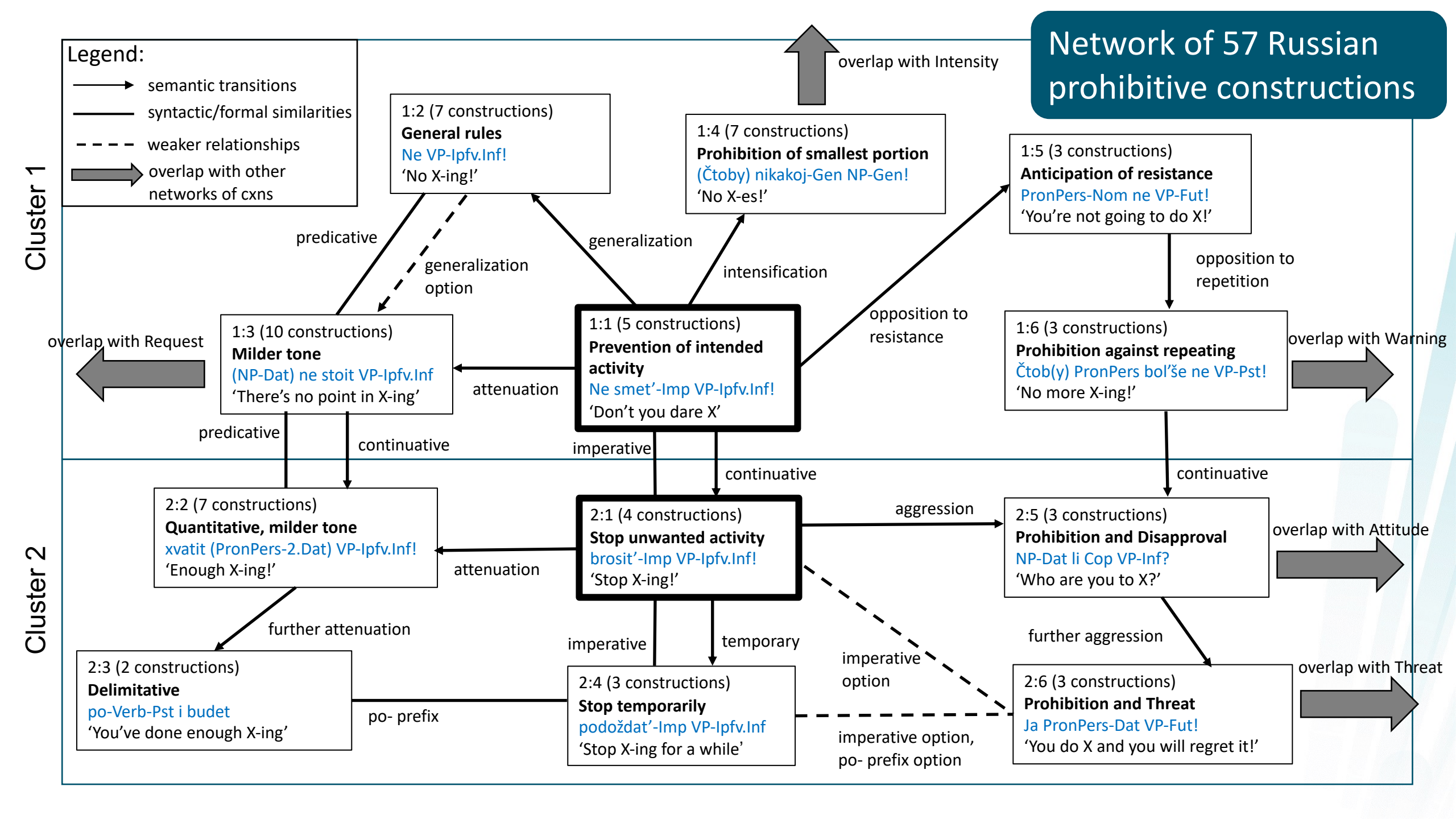
Lines without arrows indicate syntactic/formal similarities between families of cxns.



Dotted lines and arrows indicate weaker relationships (properties observed in some cxns in a family).




Thick arrows indicate overlap with other networks of cxns.
These horizontal links are formed through transitional cxns with multiple motivations
Cluster 1
Cluster 2
overlap with Intensity
1:4 (7 constructions)
Prohibition of smallest portion
(Čtoby) nikakoj-Gen NP-Gen!
'No X-es!'
1:5 (3 constructions)
Anticipation of resistance
PronPers-Nom ne VP-Fut!
'You're not going to do X!'
intensification
opposition to repetition
option
overlap with Request
1:3 (10 constructions)
Milder tone
(NP-Dat) ne stoit VP-Ipfv.Inf
'There's no point in X-ing'
attenuation
1:1 (5 constructions)
Prevention of intended activity
Ne smet'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Don't you dare X'
opposition to resistance
1:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition against repeating
Čtob(y) PronPers bol'še ne VP-Pst!
'No more X-ing!'
overlap with Warning
predicative
continuative
imperative
continuative
continuative
2:2 (7 constructions)
Quantitative, milder tone
xvatit (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Enough X-ing!'
attenuation
2:1 (4 constructions)
Stop unwanted activity
brosit'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Stop X-ing!'
aggression
2:5 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Disapproval
NP-Dat li Cop VP-Inf?
'Who are you to X?'
overlap with Attitude
further attenuation
imperative
temporary
further aggression
2:3 (2 constructions)
Delimitative
po-Verb-Pst i budet
'You've done enough X-ing'
po- prefix
2:4 (3 constructions)
Stop temporarily
podoždat'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf
'Stop X-ing for a while'
imperative option
2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'
overlap with Threat
imperative option, po- prefix option


Network of 57 Russian prohibitive constructions
Legend:
semantic transitions
syntactic/formal similarities
weaker relationships
overlap with other networks of cxns
Cluster 1
Cluster 2
overlap with Intensity
1:2 (7 constructions)
General rules
Ne VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'No X-ing!'
1:4 (7 constructions)
Prohibition of smallest portion
(Čtoby) nikakoj-Gen NP-Gen!
'No X-es!'
1:5 (3 constructions)
Anticipation of resistance
PronPers-Nom ne VP-Fut!
'You're not going to do X!'
predicative
generalization option
generalization
intensification
opposition to repetition
overlap with Request
1:3 (10 constructions)
Milder tone
(NP-Dat) ne stoit VP-Ipfv.Inf
'There's no point in X-ing'
1:1 (5 constructions)
Prevention of intended activity
Ne smet'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Don't you dare X'
opposition to resistance
1:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition against repeating
Čtob(y) PronPers bol'še ne VP-Pst!
'No more X-ing!'
overlap with Warning
attenuation
predicative
continuative
imperative
continuative
continuative
2:2 (7 constructions)
Quantitative, milder tone
xvatit (PronPers-2.Dat) VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Enough X-ing!'
2:1 (4 constructions)
Stop unwanted activity
brosit'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf!
'Stop X-ing!'
aggression
2:5 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Disapproval
NP-Dat li Cop VP-Inf?
'Who are you to X?'
overlap with Attitude
attenuation
further attenuation
imperative
temporary
imperative option
further aggression
2:3 (2 constructions)
Delimitative
po-Verb-Pst i budet
'You've done enough X-ing'
2:4 (3 constructions)
Stop temporarily
podoždat'-Imp VP-Ipfv.Inf
'Stop X-ing for a while'
2:6 (3 constructions)
Prohibition and Threat
Ja PronPers-Dat VP-Fut!
'You do X and you will regret it!'
overlap with Threat
po- prefix
imperative option, po- prefix option

Conclusions

Family:

- the smallest grouping of (usually 2-9) cxns that are nearly synonymous;
- some members may also share similar syntactic structure and anchor words;
- cxns in a family may share not necessarily all properties but various subsets of these properties (family resemblance)
- focus on horizontal relationships between cxns, but can also include inheritance links

Cluster:

- a group of families that displays a radial category structure,
- with a core prototypical family of cxns and related families that are more or less peripheral and encode additional semantic nuances

Network:

- a structured group of clusters sharing general semantics such as Prohibitive, Comparison, Assessment, etc.
- Often contains a prototypical cluster and related clusters joined by semantic links or shared families

Conclusions

Investigation of relationships between cxns in a family can help to

- differentiate between two (or more) nearly synonymous cxns and provide them with thorough descriptions
- predict how a family of cxns can expand or evolve
- identify typologically relevant anchor words (i.e. fixed elements of cxns)

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