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The Chain of *Being and Having* in Slavic

Steven J. Clancy

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The Chain of *Being* and *Having* in Slavic

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by Steven J. Clancy

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Abbreviations and symbols used

1st	first (person)	INF	infinitive
2nd	second (person)	INST	instrumental
3rd	third (person)	L-participle	participle formed with -l suffix in Slavic used in past tenses and conditionals
ACC	accusative		
ADJ	adjective		
AOR	aorist		
AUX	auxiliary	Lat	Latin
B	Bulgarian	LCS	Late Common Slavic
Bel	Belarusian	LOC	locative
C	consonant	Mac	Macedonian
cent.	century	ME	Middle English
COND	conditional	MnE	Modern English
CSR	Contemporary Standard Russian	NEG	negative
Cz	Czech	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	NP	noun phrase
DEF	definite article	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
dial	dialectal form	OCz	Old Czech
EMPH	emphatic particle	OE	Old English
Engl	English	OIr	Old Irish
ESl	East Slavic	OP	Old Polish
EVID	evidential	OR	Old Russian
Finn	Finnish	P	Polish
Fr	French	PERF	perfective
FREQ	frequentative	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
GEN	genitive	PL	plural
Gm	German	PPP	past passive participle
Grk	Ancient Greek	PRO	pronoun
HU	Hindi-Urdu	QUEST	interrogative particle
Hung	Hungarian	R	Russian
IE	Indo-European	R/P	The reflexive and passive marker found in R - <i>sja/-</i> <i>s'</i> , Cz <i>se/si</i> , P <i>się</i> , and B <i>se</i>
IMPER	imperative		
IMPERF	imperfective	SC	Serbo-Croatian
IMPF	imperfect	SG	singular

Slk	Slovak	sw	southwest
s.o.	someone	Ukr	Ukrainian
Span	Spanish	V	vowel
SSl	South Slavic	voc	vocative
sth.	something	WSl	West Slavic

A note on the content and format of this book

Readers of this book need not fear if they have little or no knowledge of the Slavic languages or of other languages cited in this book. All language examples are translated into English and the vast majority are fully parsed word-by-word with grammatical roles clearly noted. For languages with non-Latin alphabets (e.g., Russian, Bulgarian, Hindi-Urdu), standard transliterations have been used. Languages which use adapted versions of the Latin alphabet remain in their original orthography (e.g., Czech, Polish, German). Cover terms in small caps such as BE, HAVE and GET are used to represent ideas or concepts as opposed to specific verbal manifestations 'be', 'have', and 'get', enclosed within single quotes, or specific lexical items such as P *być* 'be', R *u + GEN + (est)* 'have', and Cz *dostat* 'get' indicated by italics with glosses in single quotes. Small caps are also used for various other concepts such as THINK, COMPULSION, DUTY, and so forth. The terms BECOMING, BEING, and UNBECOMING refer to categories in the conceptual network discussed at length in Chapter 2. Numbered examples consist of three parts: a language example in italics, a word-by-word parsing in brackets, and a smooth English translation in single quotes.

The focus of this book is on Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian, but English examples and correspondences to commonly studied European languages are frequently given to illustrate various phenomena where possible. The four Slavic languages are not given equal treatment in every chapter of this book, rather attention has been given to features of interest wherever they arise in these languages. This book consists of seven chapters with eleven thematic capsules. Chapter 1 introduces the topic BE and HAVE and provides an overview for the entire book, chapters 2–6 present the data and major issues in detail, and chapter 7 concisely summarizes the major findings of this study. In some of the chapters, one or more capsules are woven into the text. The capsules can be read in any order and they each deal with independent topics, but are thematically associated with the chapters where they are found. The capsules allow for the discussion of tangentially related topics without going into great detail in the body of a particular chapter. Capsules are referred to by name in the text of the chapters and indicated parenthetically in a different font, e.g. (NETWORK). The idea for the structure, format, and placement of the capsules was taken from a recent history of Europe by Norman Davies in which he employs such thematic capsules to introduce topics which would not fit in

anywhere else, but which merit attention nevertheless. In this book the capsules make it possible to discuss some issues of diachronic development, grammaticalization, and speculation regarding avenues for future research which would not otherwise have been included in this study.

Ideally, this book would be both diachronic and synchronic, a thorough account of the origins and historical development of BE and HAVE constructions from the earliest Indo-European and Slavic textual evidence down through the centuries as they flourished into the variety of forms and functions we find in the modern languages. At this point, I chose to focus on describing the synchronic uses of BE and HAVE in a few of the Slavic languages. However, to some extent, the diachronic and synchronic approaches cannot be separated from the development and grammaticalization of constructions for BE and HAVE in language. This book is intended as an introduction to the full range of concepts, categories, and processes of language change and development which must be considered in order to approach a complete understanding of BE and HAVE in language. Thus, this study is necessarily quite broad, considering BE and HAVE individually, considering the relationship of these two concepts to semantically related concepts, considering the influence that the BE and HAVE constructions of one language may have on neighboring languages, and exploring the significant capacity for BE and HAVE to be used in auxiliary and modal constructions and as function words. In future projects, I intend to investigate the synchronic state even more thoroughly as well as to reconstruct the historical development of the constructions for BE and HAVE in Slavic. It is my hope that readers of this book will be able to take the ideas discussed here concerning two concepts of great importance in language and apply them to their own research in other languages, in philosophy, in cognitive studies, and in other related disciplines.

My general thinking on the typology and semantics of BE and HAVE has been influenced by Isačenko 1974, Heine 1997, Orr 1992, Andersen 1987, Benveniste 1971/1960, Chvany 1975, Rude 1978, Hopper & Traugott 1993, Kahn 1966 and 1978, Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; and in cognitive linguistics and semantic maps by Croft 2001, 2003, Croft & Poole 2008, Haspelmath 1997, 2003, Langacker 1987, 1991, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987. Many of these works are frequently cited in the following chapters and, even where I do not directly cite these various authors, I am certain that my thinking about BE and HAVE owe much to these particular works. Also of great use were Clancy 1997 and 2000, previous studies I conducted on the development of BE and HAVE in Russian, Old Church Slavonic, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. Isačenko 1974 was of particular use to the development of the ideas presented in the current study. Many of the questions

addressed in detail in this study were posed in Isačenko's seminal work on **BE** and **HAVE** in Slavic and the European languages.

Quite a few of the ideas in this study of **BE** and **HAVE** in Slavic owe their origins to an interest in completely different language groups. The initial idea to study the means of expressing **BE** and **HAVE** in Slavic came to me while studying Old Irish (see epigraph to Chapter 4). The range and contents of the **BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING** network were developed in a study of Hindi-Urdu compound verbs (see **NETWORK**). I have found that the further I go from the Slavic languages, the more I end up learning about them when I return. This work represents a full treatment of the issues surrounding **BE** and **HAVE** in the Slavic languages, but the inspiration for parts of this study often came from further corners of the world.

Why BE and HAVE?

'I'm doing BEINGNESS.'

'Doing BEINGNESS or being DOINGNESS?'

'I'm HAVING.'

'You're HAVING? You've gotten to HAVING? Get outta there, baby!'

– *Absolutely Fabulous*, "The Last Shout"

1.0 Beginning notions: Questions and expectations

Why a study of BE and HAVE? The verbs 'be' and 'have' occur so often in the commonly studied European languages that we are inclined to take them for granted. What could be special about these verbs? Why should they merit a study of their own and furthermore why should they be considered together? At first glance, 'be' and 'have' appear to pose no problems, but we do not have to look far before these seemingly simple verbs begin to reveal their complexities.

Why a study of BE and HAVE? If we take a look at the multiple functions of these verbs in English, for example, we should be able to answer this question. English 'be' is a verb of existence (Engl *I am* 'I exist') and a copula (Engl *I am tall*, *Raleigh is the capital of North Carolina*, *You are a good student*, *A frog is an amphibian*). As a copula, 'be' equates two items, assigns items to various categories, and establishes location. In its role as an existential expression, 'be' serves to express presence and absence (Engl *There is a book on the table*, *There are bananas on sale*, *There isn't anyone at home*) and location (*We are in Texas*). We also find 'be' in impersonal sentences (Engl *It is cold*, *It's too bad they couldn't come*). Besides the many uses of 'be' as a main verb, it is also used as an auxiliary (Engl *I am reading*, *This book was written in the 19th century*). Instead of finding a simple verb with a straightforward usage, we have a polysemous lexical item which is both a main verb and an auxiliary. Its conjugation is irregular, its paradigm is supplet, and it manifests both full and phonetically reduced forms.

Why should 'have' be considered with 'be'? This question can also be answered by looking at English examples. 'Have' is a transitive verb used to express possession. It covers possession in the broadest terms: general possession and ownership (Engl *We have a house*, *You have a cold*, *I have a bad feeling about this*, *The door has*

a note taped to it), location (Engl *I have five dollars with me, They have money in the bank, She has a blue sweater on*), availability (Engl *She has the car for today*), and non-possessive relationships (Engl *A spider has eight legs, The room has four walls, He has two brothers and a sister*). But 'have' is not limited to these expressions of possession and relationships; it also occurs as an auxiliary (Engl *I have cooked dinner, She had already left before we got there, The kids all have their homework done*), as a causative (Engl *I had my car washed yesterday, We are having our picture taken tomorrow*), and as a modal verb (Engl *We have to attend a meeting today*). Again, we have a lexeme with both lexical and grammatical functions. It is polysemous and has multiple auxiliary functions. It has full and phonetically reduced forms. These examples of 'be' and 'have' functions in English are not comprehensive, but are sufficient to demonstrate the complexity of the two verbs and the parallels between them.

These uses of 'be' and 'have' are not unusual for Indo-European languages. When we turn to the Slavic languages, we find similar functions for 'be' and 'have', but we are also confronted by different uses and new questions. This study focuses on BE and HAVE constructions in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. These languages were chosen because they are most familiar to me and because they represent the East (Russian), West (Czech, Polish), and South (Bulgarian) branches of the Slavic language family. The uses of the verbs 'be' and 'have' in Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian are quite similar to English, but Russian poses many problems. In Russian, we find an extremely limited transitive verb 'have' and a common possessive expression with a form of the verb 'be'. To further complicate our picture, Russian has lost its present tense forms of 'be' all except for a frozen form *R est* 'there is', which has been highly grammaticalized. Subsequently, a number of copula-like expressions have developed in Russian in the absence of these present tense forms of 'be'.

The similarities between the English uses of 'be' and 'have' and the Slavic constructions extend into the polysemies of the verb and the auxiliary uses. The verb 'be' is used as an auxiliary in all four languages: as a past tense auxiliary in Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian; as a future auxiliary in Czech, Polish, and Russian; and as a conditional auxiliary in all four languages. The verb 'have' is used as an auxiliary in Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian and as a modal verb in Czech and Polish. Russian shows the overlap between BE and HAVE in its possessive constructions (*R u* + GEN + (*est*) + NOM [by + GEN + (there is) + NOM] 'have', *R imet'sja* [have-R/P] 'there is'), Polish and Bulgarian show overlap in expressions of presence and absence (positive *P jest* 'there is' and negative *P nie ma* [not has] 'there is not', *B ima/njama* [has/not-has] 'there is/there is not'), and Czech and Polish show overlap in the common expression 'how are you' (*Cz jak se máš/P jak się masz* [how R/P have-you]). These

examples are merely an introduction to the kinds of roles that BE and HAVE constructions play and to the connections between the two concepts. It can be seen, however, that these concepts are semantically “heavy” and quite richly developed in their lexical and grammatical meanings, despite the fact that concepts such as BE are often treated as “light” or primitive verbs. (cf. 3.2, Yokoyama 1985: 193; Swan 1993: 147).

The importance of the concepts BE and HAVE and specifically of their verbal manifestations has not gone unnoticed in the linguistic literature. Benveniste (1971/1960) tied these two verbs together in a short article and Isačenko (1974) covered much ground on these concepts, prefiguring many of the topics of this study in a lengthy article on BE-languages and HAVE-languages in a European context. Works have been written specifically on the syntax of BE-sentences (Chvany 1975) or on existential and copula functions in logic, but these works often multiply the details in a cataloguing fashion or discuss what is grammatical and not grammatical, what is or is not a subject, or reduce the questions to distinctions of formal logic. Depending on the theoretical perspective, the various studies pose different questions and provide different answers. This study provides an analysis in which BE and HAVE are understood as parallel, coherent concepts whose many meanings and functions spread out over multiple lexical forms is motivated by the semantics of these concepts and their interactions with semantic neighbors in a highly structured, language-specific system.

1.1 A synthesis of BE and HAVE (Chapter 2)

How do these various uses of BE and HAVE cohere? In order to answer this question, we must discuss the *concepts* BE and HAVE as well as their specific lexical manifestations. As verbs, ‘be’ and ‘have’ do not confine themselves to one meaning, rather, they have a wide range of uses in each individual language. These verbs express concepts such as EXISTENCE and POSSESSION, and are used as copulas, auxiliaries, causatives, and modals. They appear in a host of idiomatic expressions. The verb ‘have’ is particularly interesting for its absence in the Indo-European languages up until historic times. It developed independently in some branches of Indo-European and has yet to develop in others. These two expressions become highly grammaticalized, while still retaining connections to their semantic roots. Constructions for BE and HAVE are similar in that they are both polysemous and are utilized in a number of similar grammatical constructions. In addition to these parallels, BE and HAVE are connected to a number of other synonymous and inter-related notions such as GIVE-HAVE-TAKE-GET or MAKE/DO-BE-BECOME.

All of these concepts are central to any language and their expression is found in core vocabulary. These semantic connections are organized around the meanings of BE and HAVE, meanings that also motivate their use as richly developed lexical concepts and as grammatical expressions.

As concepts, BE and HAVE both represent states. Accompanying this stative notion are related concepts, which, depending on the point of view, either bring about or put an end to the state of BEING or HAVING. The concept GIVE ends the state of HAVING for one possessor and causes a new possessor to enter that state. The concept TAKE approaches the relationship from the opposite direction. The idea behind GET is the initiation of the state of HAVING through the possessor's own actions. Similarly, in the act of creation, the concepts MAKE and DO bring about the state of BEING. Through BECOMING, an already existent entity takes on a new identity or trait that adds to its nature. These relationships hold for a number of synonymous concepts so that we find various inchoative (or ingressive) expressions, which are here labeled BECOMING. The stative concepts BE and HAVE fall under the category BEING. There is not a suitable term for the expressions which put an end to BEING, although we might propose egressive as opposed to ingressive to describe the category referred to here as UNBECOMING. Within the state of BEING, we may make the further distinction between a neutral state which may or may not be temporary and another state which is marked for duration. Duration for BE is marked by the notion REMAIN, for instance. Concepts such as HAVE, may be marked for long or short duration by concepts such as OWN, KEEP, or BORROW.

Why is this conceptual network necessary? The relationships expressed in the network provide fresh material for renewal of BE and HAVE expressions and motivation for the development of polysemy. In Chapter 2, evidence will be presented to support the inter-relation of these concepts in the minds of speakers and to explain the presence of suppletion in BE and HAVE expressions. An example of such relationships in this conceptual network is provided by a pair of Polish expressions. Lempp's (1986) work on Polish is quite interesting and useful as a study of the verb 'have', but only considers a narrow range of constructions in one language. The existence of a phrase such as *P mieć kogoś za coś* [have someone for something] 'consider someone something' was only marginally interesting to Lempp's study, which was not concerned with the details and idiosyncrasies of 'have'. However, constructions of this type are especially interesting to this study, which finds fascinating all the myriad possibilities of BE and HAVE constructions and seeks to understand why these two concepts and the fundamental ideas behind both of them are so fruitful in language and how these two concepts are intricately related to semantically contiguous concepts. I analyze these constructions in terms of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network, in which *P mieć kogoś za coś* [have someone for something] 'consider someone something' is in the stative

category of BEING and the similar expression P *brać kogoś za coś* [take someone for something] ‘come to consider someone something’ is in the ingressive category of BECOMING. By viewing various expressions in terms of these relationships, we can better understand how a single idea is extended to new constructions. In this study, I approach BE and HAVE as inseparable from this network of core concepts. If we look at the wider context of related expressions, we can motivate the polysemies of these two concepts and understand something about the renewal and replacement process of BE and HAVE expressions. Some examples from the Indo-European languages demonstrate the interrelation between BE and HAVE and related concepts such as GIVE. In the following examples, new BE constructions have arisen from related constructions: Gm *es gibt* [it gives] ‘there is’, Fr *il y a* [it there has] ‘there is’, and R *imet’sja* [have-R/P] ‘there is’. Further manifestations of these links will be explored in Chapter 2 as well as the question of what the existence of semantic networks means for the wider semantic system of the languages involved.

1.2 BE and HAVE as independent concepts (Chapters 3 and 4)

Constructions for BE and HAVE participate in a semantic structure in which multiple concepts are blended into a single, coherent macro-concept. These macro-concepts have developed from two prototypical ideas, an abstract notion and a linking notion, which have formed a single semantic complex. For BE, the abstract notion is EXISTENCE and the linking notion is the COPULA. For HAVE, the abstract notion covers all the varieties of POSSESSION and the linking notion covers all of the non-possessive RELATIONSHIPS established through HAVE expressions. For BE, the prototype EXISTENCE comprises MERE EXISTENCE, having life or substance in the world, a type of fundamental being and the related notions LOCATION/POSITION and PRESENCE/ABSENCE deal with the location of an existent object in the world or with the accessibility of that object. The COPULA notion joins subjects and predicates. For HAVE, the prototype POSSESSION consists of POSSESSION PROPER, a general form of possession including the notion of ownership, and the related notions LOCATION (the physical possession of having an item with you or in a specific place) and AVAILABILITY (having access to a possessed item including expressions of borrowing). The RELATIONSHIP expressed by HAVE constructions most often involves expressions of PART and WHOLE and is found in expressions of body part possession and kinship. The blending of the two prototypical notions for BE and HAVE is shown in the interplay of the two prototypes in all expressions of BE and HAVE. In Engl *I have a brother in Colorado* the LOCATION notion is invoked and a RELATIONSHIP of kinship is expressed. In Engl *My brother is happy in Colorado*, EXISTENCE, COPULA, and LOCATION notions are all present. The blending

of these individual concepts into something new is revealed in sentences such as these which we cannot place neatly into discrete categories. The blended semantics of BE and HAVE also gives rise to the use of these constructions in grammatical roles as auxiliaries, modal expressions, and function words.

1.3 BE and HAVE in grammaticalization processes (Chapter 5)

As we have already seen in our discussion of the general uses of BE and HAVE constructions, various auxiliary functions are likely to be associated with these concepts. As BE and HAVE constructions become auxiliaries, they begin to function more as grammatical items, conveying categories such as tense, aspect, or mood, and function less as mere lexical items. However, in this process of grammaticalization, there is often not a semantic loss or modification, rather the grammaticalized forms of BE and HAVE still maintain connections to their core meanings. The verb 'be' had already been grammaticalized in a number of auxiliary roles by the time of Common Slavic. In Old Church Slavonic, we find the verb OCS *byti* 'be' used as an auxiliary for the perfect system (past, present, and future forms of OCS *byti* 'be' + the L-participle of the main verb) and in the conditional. In Old Church Slavonic and the older forms of the modern Slavic languages, we also find some use of the verb 'have' as a future auxiliary. Between the Common Slavic period and the present day languages of Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian, there has been considerable rearrangement of the tense and aspect system and increased grammaticalization. Despite these changes, we still find 'be' used in the modern languages in the same auxiliary constructions of earlier Slavic alongside new developments such as the imperfective future in Russian, Czech, and Polish. In addition to auxiliary uses, we also find many function words formed from the verb 'be'. The 3sg present form of 'be' has lent itself to a grammaticalized expression of 'if' in R *esli*, Cz *jestli*(*že*), and P *jeśli*, all composed of [is-whether]. Another example of function words derived from 'be' are expressions of 'either...or' in P *bądź...bądź* [be-IMPER...be-IMPER] and Cz *bud'...(a)nebo* [be-IMPER...or].

The forms of 'if' above also demonstrate the phonetic reduction that commonly occurs in the process of grammaticalization. The Czech form is the most conservative, but both the Russian and the Polish forms have lost phonological segments and their obvious connections with 'be'. Another common characteristic of the process of grammaticalization is the loss of paradigmatic cohesion. Both of these phenomena are present in the Slavic languages. In the past tense of Czech, Polish, and Russian, varying degrees of phonetic reduction have taken place with the 'be' auxiliaries. In Czech, the present tense forms of 'be' used in the past tense construction lose the stress and prominence of the main verb 'be' and become clitics. In Polish, the auxiliary forms of the present tense 'be' have been further

reduced phonetically and have become desinences with some clitic properties. The phonetic reduction of the forms of the auxiliary 'be' even led to a reformation of the present stem of the main verb 'be' in Polish. In Russian, all clitics have been lost, resulting in a past tense with no trace of an auxiliary. Russian also manifests the loss of paradigmatic cohesion in the reduction of the present tense paradigm of the verb 'be' to the original 3sg form *R est* '(there) is', which remains in many curious constructions along with the much rarer original 3pl form *R sut* '(there) are'. Among the uses of the particle *R est* '(there) is' are the Russian HAVE construction (Chapter 4) and a partitive construction (5.1.2.1). Alongside this grammaticalization of *R est* 'there is', we also find a tendency in Russian to reduce auxiliary conjugations to a single, unchanging form, as demonstrated by the reduction of the conditional conjugation of 'be' to a single auxiliary particle *R by* 'would'. Additionally, Russian provides good examples of the context dependence of words undergoing grammaticalization. Various new copula-like constructions have arisen in Russian to replace the loss of the present tense forms of 'be'. Among the new copulas, we find the verb *R javljat'sja* 'is', which especially functions as a categorizing copula. However, this copula usage is only possible for the imperfective form of the verb, whereas the perfective *R javit'sja* can mean 'become'. Despite this grammaticalization, the imperfective/perfective pair also retains its original meaning *javljat'sja/javit'sja* 'appear'. As a general areal feature of the Balkans, Bulgarian has developed an evidential construction, the renarrated mood, utilizing the auxiliary 'be'. We also find HAVE constructions serving grammatical roles in the Slavic languages. Both Czech and Polish have developed a new perfect construction with the verb 'have'. Polish and Bulgarian employ a 'have' verb for the expression of presence/absence. These various grammatical functions involving 'be' and 'have' attest to the rich semantic potential of these two concepts.

The process of grammaticalization involving BE and HAVE is not limited to tenses and function words. New modal verbs have developed in Czech and Polish using the verb 'have'. The verb 'be' is regularly employed as an auxiliary with a number of various modal adjectives and adverbs in Russian, Czech, and Polish. Both Polish and Czech use the verb 'have' in a meaning similar to Engl *have to*. Additionally, Cz *mít* 'have', especially in the past or conditional is used to mean 'should' and the P *mieć* 'have' also takes on this meaning. The modal uses of 'have' may be motivated by the notions of obligation and responsibility entailed in possession.

1.4 The effect of language contact phenomena on BE and HAVE (Chapter 6)

When looking at BE and HAVE constructions in the Slavic languages, many questions arise. Why is Russian so different from the other Slavic languages?

Why has a transitive verb supplied the most neutral expressions of HAVE in all Slavic languages except Russian? Likewise, why have the present tense forms of 'be' been lost in Russian? Perhaps some of these differences may be explained by the influence of neighboring languages. Russian may have been influenced by the non-Indo-European Finno-Ugric languages of bordering peoples. All of the other Slavic languages may have been strongly affected by various European languages, all of which employ a transitive verb 'have' and which have an expressed copula with 'be'. In addition to the effects of contact phenomena on the grammatical structure of the languages in question, we find a number of expressions in these languages which appear to be syntactic calques of expressions with 'have'. Czech has incorporated a large number of such 'have' calques on German models, whereas Russian, lacking a common verb for HAVE, has been much more resistant to permanently adopting these syntactic calques and retains only a few based largely on French expressions.

1.5 Some comments on the theoretical framework used in this study

This account of BE and HAVE makes use of a loose theoretical framework employing ideas from various theoretical models. This study draws concepts from Cognitive Linguistics, grammaticalization theory, and historical linguistics. The study likely employs more elements from Cognitive Linguistics than from other linguistic movements, but I hope that it employs all the strengths of linguistic analysis that would make up a larger tradition, what Dixon refers to as a Basic Theory which "describe[s] the fundamental theoretical apparatus that underlies all work in describing languages and formulating universals about the nature of human language" (1997: 132). Where one theoretical approach is strong and accurate in its description, it should be employed, but where it is lacking, we must find something else. Dixon's critique is particularly apt:

Working within a non-basic theory there is little scope for argumentation – it is just a matter of slipping bits of the language into pre-ordained pigeon holes (and if there is some bit for which no slot seems appropriate, then that is of little interest since it falls outside the scope of that particular theory). Needless to say, such an approach tends to make all languages seem rather similar, and ignores the really interesting features which do not conform to any expectations.

(Dixon 1997: 132–3)

One of the most appealing elements of Cognitive Linguistics is that it is not willing to sweep misbehaving data under the rug to make the analysis more orderly. In studying the development and functions of linguistic manifestations of BE and HAVE, this study utilizes notions of categories, prototypes, metaphor, polysemy, universal language features with language-specific realization, and language change.

The relationship between BE and HAVE

Qu. If it BE,
Why SEEMS it so particular with thee?

Ham. SEEMS, madam? nay it is, I know not "SEEMS."

Ham. These indeed SEEM,
For they are actions that a man might PLAY,
But I have that within which passes SHOW,
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.
– William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

2.0 Introduction

Expressions for BE and HAVE share many common features. In the Slavic languages considered here, they are highly polysemous and are found in grammatical and modal functions as well as lexical functions. The frequent grammaticalization of these two concepts is likely not arbitrary, but driven by their semantic natures, particularly the concept EXISTENCE, the unifying notion at the core of these expressions. In addition to a single, polysemous lexeme for multiple concepts, we also encounter suppletion, in which two or more separate roots are used to express a single concept in various contexts. The origins of BE and HAVE, the forms these expressions take, and their subsequent involvement in fulfilling grammatical roles can all be accounted for if we consider these expressions to be part of a broad network of concepts including BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors. The concepts in this network and their mostly verbal manifestations participate in a relationship of BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING, where the BECOMING category includes change of state verbs with meanings such as 'become', 'get', 'do/make', 'give', 'put', 'come', all of which can act in an ingressive role as causative or reflexive-causative verbs, bringing on the state of BEING. The stative verbs in the BEING category include the two verbs most prone to grammaticalization, 'be' and 'have', as well as related lexical items such as 'hold', 'keep', 'move', 'remain', and various verbs of position. The UNBECOMING category contains the change of state

verbs that put an end to the state of BEING, among them 'die', 'take', and 'go/leave'. The interactions between concepts in the network lead to the extension of BE and HAVE constructions to grammatical and modal functions. The network interactions are the driving force behind renewal and replacement of constructions for BE and HAVE, a fact exhibited by the polysemy and suppletion of the constructions. The broad range, yet similar nature of the network concepts make these notions both particularly susceptible to contact phenomena and prone to influence the constructions of other languages. Thus we see the range of similar constructions in German and Czech (6.2).

The verbs and auxiliaries in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network deal with the concept of EXISTENCE with its specificities of TIME (verbs showing duration or frequency) and SPACE (with concomitant notions of LOCATION and MOTION). Concepts found in the network express the position, availability, and sensibility of objects, and they establish relationships between various objects and the world and describe how those relationships move and change. Through this specification of entities and interaction with various objects, the concepts BE and HAVE constantly reaffirm the world in which we live and act, a world filled with all sorts of entities. BE and HAVE expressions provide linguistic realization of the foundational concepts behind substance, life, and thought and give us a means of interacting with the world of both objects *and* ideas.

Section 2.1 on BE and 2.2 on HAVE provide some background on these concepts individually. Section 2.3 considers attempts to reconcile the similarities and differences between BE and HAVE and to provide a unified framework for understanding these two concepts. In Section 2.4, I consider in detail the types of polysemy and suppletion we find in expressions of BE and HAVE. In 2.5, I formally define the conceptual network and present the range of concepts involved. The same processes of polysemization and suppletization are involved with modal and durational/frequentative extensions of network concepts. Section 2.6 shows the processes of polysemization and suppletization in action. The subsections in 2.6 provide examples of how the network works in individual languages. The network provides a wider paradigm for the verb 'be' in Russian through the suppletion of additional concepts (2.6.1). A recurring process of renewal takes place in English as lexical items meaning GET come to mean BECOME (2.6.2). The concept GET provides an interesting point of departure for further discussion of how network concepts and connections develop in individual languages. The semantic neighbors of BE and HAVE also take on similar grammatical roles (2.6.3). Expressions for SEEM and THINK are closely related to the conceptual network, frequently involving BE or taking on grammatical roles in the same way as network concepts (2.6.4). The modal interactions of network concepts are discussed in 2.6.5. The understanding gained by a thorough exploration of these concepts, not only in themselves, but in relation to each other, to the grammatical and modal systems of language, and to

similar concepts in other languages, makes it possible to see these concepts in the different and brighter light provided by the conceptual network.

2.1 ISBE a verb? Is the verb 'BE' simple or complex in meaning?

considering Benveniste 1971/1960

Starting with the concept BE, we can begin to look at the questions that have been asked and what answers have been offered. We can also see what myths have been established and examine how these understandings have affected the analysis of BE constructions. In the opening remarks of his article on the linguistic functions of 'be' and 'have', Benveniste (1971/1960) poses the question: "is 'be' a verb? If it is one, why is it so often missing?" (1971/1960: 163). When discussing the phenomenon of 'be' verbs, there is often a conflation of two ideas: the copula and the existential expression. Benveniste notes that the "*two have coexisted and will always be able to coexist since they are completely different. But in many languages they have merged*" (Benveniste 1971/1960: 163). That these two concepts often merge points to similarities in meaning, rather than to distinctions. What is it about the linguistic expression of the copula and existence that so often motivates the integration of these two concepts into a single polysemous lexeme? For Benveniste, the Indo-European situation is merely a coincidence: "What matters is to see clearly that there is no connection, either by nature or by necessity, between the verbal notion of 'to exist, to be really there' and the function of the 'copula'" (1971/1960: 164). For Benveniste, the question is not why is there omission of the verb 'be' in a language such as Russian, but why is there ever a verb 'be' in the copula function in any language? (1971/1960: 164). Nevertheless, the verbal expression of the copula and the other meanings of BE by a verb does have significant ramifications for other concepts in a language. When BE is a verb, it is connected with other verbal concepts in a language. When BE is disconnected from the verbal system of a particular language, we do not find the same connections between BE, HAVE, and related concepts.

The explicit manifestation of the copula by a verbal form is not found in all languages. Benveniste provides examples where pronominal forms come to function as copula verbs. Nor is any explicit linguistic form necessary; the zero copula (i.e., mere juxtaposition of the subject and predicate) may also be used. Benveniste brings forth a number of examples from various language families to illustrate the point.

(1) Aramaic

(Benveniste 1971/1960: 165)

malḵūteh malḵūt 'alam

[zero copula]

[royalty-his royalty eternal] (literally)

'his royalty is an eternal royalty'

- (2) Aramaic (Benveniste 1971/1960: 165)
ʿanahnā himmō ʿabdōhī dī- ʿlāh-šmayyā wʿarā [explicit copula]
 [we they the-servants...] (literally)
 'We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth' (Ezra 5: 11)
- (3) Arabic (Benveniste 1971/1960: 165)
allahu huwa ʿThayyu [explicit copula]
 [God he the-living] (literally)
 'God is the living'
- (4) Turkish (Benveniste 1971/1960: 166)
mān yaş mām [explicit copula]
 [I young I] (literally)
 'I am young'

In (1), no explicit copula is necessary, in (2) and (3) a 3rd person pronoun can be used as an explicit form of the copula and in (4) a copula construction has arisen by implementing the repetition of a subject pronoun. The grammaticalization of a pronoun to an expressed copula is only one of the possible means of copula development. Benveniste provides examples from Iranian dialects (Sogdian, Yagnābi, Pashto, Ossetic) where demonstrative pronouns have come to serve copula functions (1971/1960: 166–7). Although it is often maintained that an explicit lexical form of BE can be omitted for copula meanings, but not for existential meanings, Kahn asserts that this is “a pure myth” and gives examples in Ancient Greek, where a zero form is used to express existence (1966: 259). These examples in (1)–(4) show that BE is not always a verb and that BE constructions may be limited to one meaning, here the copula.

In the examples above, it is thus easily proven that the conflation of existence and copula into one lexeme, particularly into a verb, is not a necessary development, but we have yet to explain why these two concepts are so often connected in the Indo-European languages. Chvany (1975: 6) is also troubled by this dual nature of BE in Russian but must admit that her analysis “does not explain why the existential verb and the copula share the same forms and thus fails to account for the intuition reflected in the single dictionary entry” In offering a resolution to this quandary, I challenge Benveniste’s claim that there is no connection *by nature* between existence and the copula. This is, of course, a difficult point to argue, especially in a language such as English which relies on these particular polysemies. As Kahn (1978) points out in his work on the Ancient Greek verb ‘be’ and its effects on the development of philosophical ideas, the polysemies of Ancient Greek ‘be’ provided fertile ground for the subsequent ontological course of Greek philosophy (**COPULA-EXISTENCE-TRUTH**). At the same time, because of the polysemies of Ancient Greek

'be', the confusion of the notions of existence and predication were perhaps inevitable.

...this concept of being does not rest on an illegitimate confusion, since it brings together three distinct notions – existence, predication, and truth – which belong together in any ontology or in any metaphysical scheme. At the same time is it important to recognize that these three notions *are* distinct, and that the distinction between them was not always clearly seen in Greek philosophy, precisely because the same verb *eimi*, and its participle *on*, was used to express all three. ...In defending the concept of being against the charge of linguistic confusion, it is important to recognize the genuine possibilities for confusion that were latent in the multiple usage of the verb. (Kahn 1978: 32–4)

As Kahn tells us, it is important to realize that the concepts of existence, copula, and truth do cohere from an extralinguistic philosophical perspective which may be responsible for the polysemies we so often find across languages. Such conflation of ideas into a single lexeme may not be necessary, but there is motivation for the grouping of meanings we find in the Indo-European languages. To further complicate the picture, are we dealing with only two (or three) concepts within the verb 'be'? For many languages, the answer is no. Rude (1978) proposed an interesting cross-linguistic analysis for understanding the typical polysemies in BE constructions, revealing that we are dealing with more than just copula and existence with 'be' verbs (see 2.3).

How are we to explain this multitude of meanings? Why do these functions converge in one lexeme? From the established meanings of existence and copula, we can derive many of the other functions of 'be' verbs. Existence is inherent in being in a location but the copula could also assign an item to a particular location. Similarly, presence and absence are part of this locational notion, particularly in such a phrase as the Engl *there is* where a dummy location is coupled with the verb 'be'. The use of 'be' as an auxiliary with various participial forms of verbs and in impersonal expressions is likely related to the existential and copula notions and to the fact that 'be' is a verb of state, even what Benveniste calls "*the verb of state par excellence*" (Benveniste 1971/1960: 172). How an individual verb 'be' may go about collecting these various meanings and functions is discussed in 2.6 below.

2.2 What ISHAVE? Where does HAVE come from?

considering Benveniste 1971/1960 and Heine 1997

Identifying the nature of HAVE expressions is no simple task. We must be ever vigilant to avoid falling into over-simplifications or repeating various myths about HAVE constructions or relying too heavily on the Indo-European situation. Almost

every definition we can propose for HAVE is inadequate, but many have been suggested: possession, control, spatial proximity, sphere of influence, schema of interest or involvement, ownership, possessor of an act, and an experiential gestalt with a constellation of properties (see summary of possession studies in Heine 1997: 3–6).

Finding a central semantic property of HAVE is only one problem. The form that HAVE expressions take is another. Approaching the problem of HAVE from the linguistic perspective of many Western European languages, we will be somewhat biased by the existence of a HAVE expression with a transitive verb in these languages. Someone steeped in only these European languages may even be somewhat shocked to find that a transitive verb is somewhat unusual cross linguistically for the expression of HAVE. Many languages express HAVE with the verb ‘be’ and a possessor marked by a dative or locative expression, as in the Latin construction *mihi est aliquid* [to me is something] ‘I have something’. As with defining the general meaning of HAVE expressions, we must again be on our guard in identifying the formal representations of HAVE. Transitive ‘have’ verbs are not rare because “the development is from *mihi est* to *habeo* and not the reverse” (Benveniste 1971/1960: 170). Contrary to what Benveniste maintains, there is no causal or developmental link between the *mihi est*-type and the *habeo*-type constructions. There is no mandatory progression in language from a “primitive” locational HAVE expression to an “advanced” transitive verb ‘have’. We also encounter languages that have abandoned transitive ‘have’ verbs for a newer construction with ‘be’, as is the case with Hungarian (Heine 1997: 111). Expressions for HAVE are subject to renewal and replacement over time as the Latin examples show, but any of Heine’s (1997) source domains discussed below may be employed in the development of new constructions.

Further confusion has arisen from the tradition of using the Latin constructions as definitions of HAVE (and the same might be said for the use of the English cover terms BE and HAVE). This use of Latin terminology, English cover terms, or the notions of BE-languages and HAVE-languages in a scholarly medium shapes the form of the debate. Would we even have the two concepts BE and HAVE if the language of discourse were different? The terms we use are unavoidable artifacts of the analysis. What is truly important are the individual ideas that make up the macro-concepts BE and HAVE and which form the semantic network discussed in 2.5. These ideas tend to be confused with the lexical items that express them, which change over time. However, the ideas which we can abstract from expressions of BE and HAVE are constant and aid us in our understanding of how lexical items develop through processes of polysemitization and suppletization.

Table 2-1. Source domains for HAVE expressions (adapted from Heine 1997: 47)

Source Domain	Formula	Meaning
ACTION	X takes Y	'X has Y'
LOCATION	Y is located at X	'X has Y'
ACCOMPANIMENT:COMPANION	X is with Y	'X has Y'
EXISTENCE:GENITIVE	X's Y exists	'X has Y'
EXISTENCE:GOAL	Y exists for/to X	'X has Y'
EXISTENCE:SOURCE	Y exists from X	'X has Y'
EXISTENCE:TOPIC	As for X, Y exists	'X has Y'
EXISTENCE:EQUATION	Y is X's (property)	'X has Y'

Heine (1997) proposes four universal source domains out of which HAVE constructions develop: "what one does (Action), where one is (Location), who one is accompanied by (Accompaniment), or what exists (Existence)" (Heine 1997: 45). These source domains are concrete expressions which provide material for HAVE constructions. The ACTION, LOCATION, and ACCOMPANIMENT source domains are rather straightforward, but EXISTENCE covers several subtypes (GENITIVE, GOAL, SOURCE, TOPIC, and EQUATION) (Heine 1997: 57–67). These source domains are presented with their basic formulas in Table 2-1. If the *habeo*-construction seems rarer cross-linguistically than the *mihi est*-construction, it is because a HAVE expression with a transitive verb only occurs in one of the eight source domains.

For the Slavic languages, only the ACTION and LOCATION source domains are relevant,¹ but Heine notes that "it is quite common for a given language to derive expressions for predicative possession from three or more" of these source domains (1997: 72). The ACTION source domain gives rise to LCS **jьměti* 'have' and its reflexes in the modern languages as in Cz *mít*, P *mieć*, B *imam*, and R *imeti* 'have'. The ACTION source domain uses verbs with various meanings of obtaining or holding to form a grammaticalized and semantically modified verb 'have'. Typical meanings of the ACTION source verbs are 'get', 'grab', 'seize', 'take', 'obtain', 'hold', 'possess', 'receive', 'find', 'catch', etc. (Heine 1997: 47–8, Isačenko 1974: 44). When such verbal concepts become 'have' verbs they come to occupy a position among

1. We may include a third schema, EXISTENCE:GOAL, for the dative *mihi est aliquid* type found in OCS [see PROTO-HAVE], but this source domain is not responsible for HAVE constructions in the modern Slavic languages. The GOAL schema is present, however, in BELONGING expressions such as Cz *Zed' patří soukromníkovi, jednomu bývalému východoněmeckému pohraničnickovi, zato půda městu*. [Wall-NOM belongs private-businessman-DAT, one former East German border guard-DAT, but land-NOM city-DAT.] 'The wall belongs to a private businessman, a former East German border guard, but the land belongs to the city.' (Pátek Lidových Novin).

the core lexical items of a language. Perhaps they give up something of their full semantic character, but they make gains in other ways. The centrality of ‘have’ is seen in its frequent grammaticalization (discussed in 4.3 and Chapter 5) and in the interactions with semantically related verbs. LCS **jbǔměti* ‘have’ is motivated by the ACTION source domain and related to the root of LCS **ǰti* ‘take’. The most neutral and most common HAVE construction in Russian, R *u* + X-GEN + (*estʹ*) + Y-NOM [at X ((there) is) Y] ‘X has Y’ is derived from the LOCATION source domain using the remnants of the verb ‘be’ and the preposition R *u* ‘by, at’. We can now see how distorted our view of HAVE is if we rely exclusively on knowledge of the HAVE-languages of Europe for information about HAVE.

2.3 Attempts to unify BE and HAVE

considering Rude 1978 and Chvany 1995

The similarities between BE and HAVE have been noted by studies such as Benveniste (1971/1960) and Isačenko (1974) and attempts have been made to unify the two concepts. The similarities between BE and HAVE may be seen in the conceptual structures for each of these concepts introduced in Figures 2-1 and 2-2

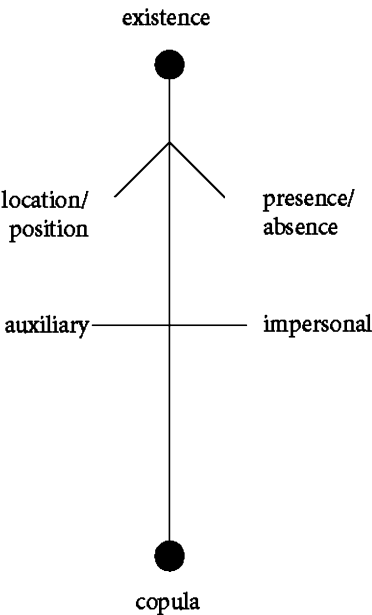


Figure 2-1. BE

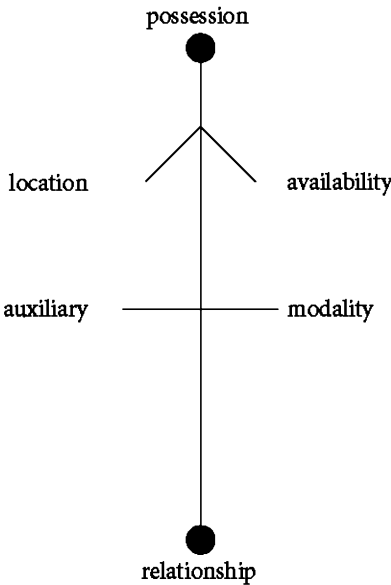


Figure 2-2. HAVE

(these structures are discussed in detail in the individual treatments of BE and HAVE in Chapters 3 and 4).

In a highly abstract sense, EXISTENCE may be the most basic sense of BE, but the COPULA use is much more frequently encountered in speech. Similarly, POSSESSION may be the most basic notion for HAVE; it neither requires nor precludes physical possession of the item. However, the control and physical proximity of HAVE:LOCATION and HAVE:AVAILABILITY would be hard to deny as the most salient types of possession in real speech situations and life experience. Nevertheless, frequency of use is not necessarily a good indicator of the prototype behind BE and HAVE. Each of these two concepts has a further use that joins items together. For BE expressions, this joining is performed by the concept COPULA and for HAVE, it is found in manifold types of non-possessive RELATIONSHIPS (e.g., kinship, body parts). With the concepts BE and HAVE, there are two organizing prototypes, rather than a single prototype, with each pole of the semantic complex in Figures 2-1 and 2-2 representing the two prototypical ideas for each concept. These prototypes have merged into the coherent structure of BE and HAVE found in the Slavic languages. There are striking structural similarities between the two semantic structures and many parallels between BE:EXISTENCE and HAVE:POSSESSION and between BE:COPULA and HAVE:RELATIONSHIP. However BE and HAVE often behave differently in language and their functions are not identical. These semantic structures allow for a philosophical distinction between concepts which may not be represented in language and at the same time provide a structure motivating the polysemies we find. The assumption of EXISTENCE even in uses of the COPULA is discussed below in 3.2. For HAVE, the assumption is reversed in terms of the model in Figure 2-2. In all constructions with HAVE, whether for possession or for non-possessive expressions (body parts, kinship, etc.), the notion of RELATIONSHIP is present to a greater or lesser degree.² The inseparability of these prototypes in language is further evidence that the prototypes have blended into a coherent macro-concept of BE and HAVE.

This blended semantics results from the processes of polysemization and suppletion. Based on their origins, BE and HAVE constructions may start in one place with a single focus and move in other directions. For instance, HAVE is language-specific and even construction-specific within a language. HAVE constructions which develop from the ACTION source domain may have a different initial focus and context than constructions arising from the LOCATION source domain and will continue to be constrained by their formal origins in further developments.

2. Support for this ever-present concept of the RELATIONSHIP is found in Lempp (1986: 135) who argues that the basic role of P *miec* 'have' is to express the part-whole relationship.

The semantic and lexical origins may comprise a central idea, from which the constructions expand under the constraints of the original semantics and syntax. However, for BE and HAVE in the Indo-European languages, it is no longer possible to separate out a dominant concept. Even when new roots come under the umbrella of BE and HAVE and introduce changes, these new constructions are still entering into a system of related concepts which has long been established, and we may see the contexts of new constructions quickly expand to encompass the roles of the models in Figures 2-1 and 2-2 above. It is not difficult to find similarities between BE and HAVE, but the precise relationship between them remains to be identified.

The unity of BE and HAVE was taken up in a particularly interesting study conducted by Rude (1978), who proposed a model for understanding BE cross-linguistically.³ Noting that BE constructions share many of the same polysemies across languages, Rude set up a circular continuum of contiguously polysemous BE functions (Rude 1978: 202ff). Attributing the “principle of contiguity” to Bickerton and Clark,⁴ Rude performed his analysis under the guidelines that “no morpheme or word in any language [could] encode meaning from discontinuous regions of a meaning continuum, and conversely that a morpheme [could] manifest polysemy with respect to any of the categories on such a continuum as long as they [were] contiguous” (Rude 1978: 204). Applying these criteria, Rude tentatively identified seven distinct functions for BE expressions based on data from 30 randomly selected languages (Rude 1978: 203). The categories are each represented by a linguistic construction: *Production* (MAKE), *Acquisition* (GET), *Possession* (HAVE), *Location* (BE + LOC), *Attribution-Temporal* (BE + ADJ-TEMPORAL), *Attribution-Inherent* (BE + ADJ-INHERENT/PERMANENT), and *Equation* (BE + NP). A circular continuum was chosen over a linear one since some of the languages examined shared expressions across the *Equation-Production* divide. What results is the circular model presented in Figure 2-3.

The presentation in Figure 2-3 is intriguing but the circular structure imposes unnecessary constraints on the analysis. The constraints of contiguous polysemy and the limitations of a linear continuum connected at both ends into Rude’s circle lead to an inadequate understanding of the concepts involved and the structure of the relationships between concepts. Rude’s goal is to account for a continuum

3. The presentation of HAVE in Chapter 4 and Heine’s (1997) work on possessive constructions are similar to what Rude does cross-linguistically for BE. Heine (1997), in particular, investigates whether there is some limit to the distinct possessive constructions marked by a language and how these concepts will be realized lexically.

4. References to non-published sources in Rude 1978.

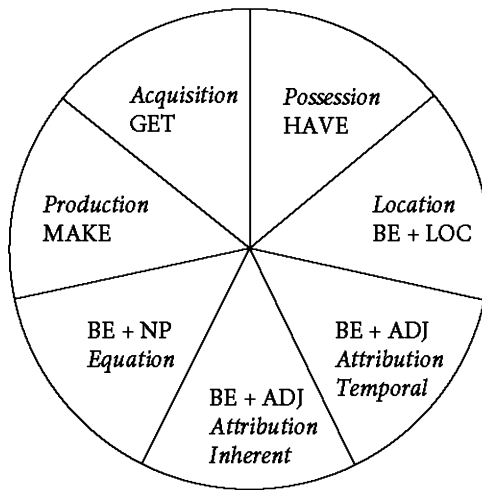


Figure 2-3. A Contiguously Polysemous Continuum of Meaning adapted from Rude (1978)

of meaning in the copula, but his analysis invites other categories into consideration such as *MAKE*, *GET*, and *HAVE*. Unfortunately, within the realm of *BE*, Rude neglects the concept *EXISTENCE*, which Chvany (1995), in her adaptation of Rude's circle, inserts in between *HAVE* and *BE + LOC*.⁵ In addition to repairing the conspicuous absence of *EXISTENCE*, Chvany also combines the notion of *BECOME* with the category containing *GET*, resulting in the version of the circle presented in Figure 2-4 (Chvany 1995: 77).

Chvany (1995) inserts an additional category and adapts another one, specifically to account for the situation in Russian. These alterations do not break down the contiguity requirement. However, even with Chvany's amendments, there still remain flaws in the model. The separate categories for *BE + ADJ-TEMPORAL*, *BE + ADJ-INHERENT/PERMANENT*, and *BE + NP* seem somewhat arbitrary. What is really important for these three categories: the difference in the predicate between adjectives alone and noun phrases or the distinction temporary vs. permanent? The same temporal divisions could be introduced for *BE + NP*, a distinction which is somewhat realized in the Slavic use of the predicate instrumental for temporary or non-inherent nouns (e.g., professions, a period of life such as childhood, etc.) and the *NOM* for permanent or inherent nouns (*IDENTITY*). Still, we can amend Rude's analysis to *BE-COPULA-TEMPORAL* and *BE-COPULA-INHERENT/PERMANENT*,

5. Despite the fact that *EXISTENCE* does not occupy a position in Rude's circle, he did recognize that the central concept behind *BEING* and various related concepts was *EXISTENCE* (Rude 1978: 207).

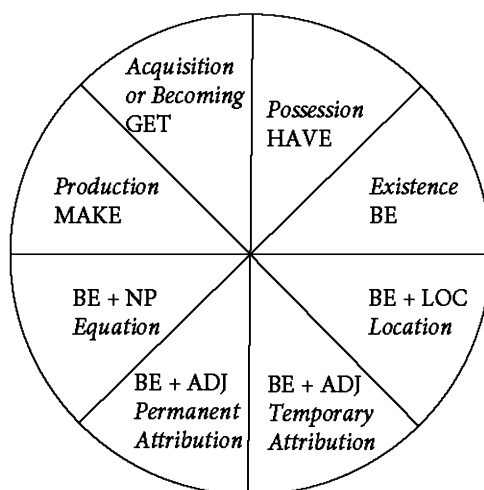


Figure 2-4. A Adaptation of Rude's Circle for Russian adapted from Chvany (1995)

where COPULA is understood to include both adjectives and noun phrases, and still not challenge the validity of the circular model.

A serious challenge to the model arises in the need to include further categories. Rude admits that it may be necessary to include the notion *KEEP* somewhere in the continuum of meaning (1978: 204–5). He suggests that this notion might find its place between *GET* and *HAVE* or between *HAVE* and *BE + LOC*. If we place *KEEP* in this latter position, however, we break contiguity for languages that use the same lexeme for *BE* and *HAVE*. If we place *KEEP* between *GET* and *HAVE*, we may be inclined to ask which languages have polysemous *GET/KEEP* or *KEEP/HAVE* expressions. The *HAVE* expressions in some languages develop from notions such as ‘get, obtain’ or ‘hold, keep’, but conceptually speaking, the continuum does not flow well from *GET* ‘come to have’ to the marked possessive notion *KEEP* ‘have + duration’ to the neutral expression of possession *HAVE*. The problem does not lie primarily in what Rude identifies as the typical functions of *BE* (*Location, Attribution, Equation*), but in what he identifies as the overlap of *BE* with the notions *Production, Acquisition, and Possession*. If we may include *MAKE* ‘cause to be’, why not *GIVE* ‘cause to have’ or *TAKE* ‘cause to not have’? Chvany’s additions of *EXISTENCE* and the notion *BECOME* are also important. However, the single category containing *BECOME* and *GET* is somewhat inaccurate. These two concepts do share common features, but they are not strictly identical on the conceptual level (see below 2.6.2). The likely position for *BECOME* would be between *BE + NP* and *MAKE* or between *MAKE* and *GET*. However, the former arrangement might conceivably break contiguity for a language such as

Two, which Rude states has polysemy over the *Equation-Production* divide. This arrangement for English is somewhat problematic as well, since both Engl *get* and Engl *make* can mean 'become' in certain contexts, but these verbs clearly have other primary functions more properly associated with *Acquisition* and *Production* and not with the notion 'come to be'. If we place BECOME in between MAKE and GET, then we lose contiguity for languages such as Hindi-Urdu, where BE and BECOME are expressed by the same verb, but MAKE is expressed by a separate verb.

In short, Rude's contiguously polysemous circle does not successfully account for the typology of BE. Either we must discard the notion of contiguity or the structure of the circle. Ultimately, I propose that both of these aspects may be discarded without loss of structure in the analysis. When faced with breaks in contiguity, Rude believes that it "is better to remove a category from the continuum than a language if our goal is universal structure" (1978: 204). However, this removal of troublesome categories may lead to an analysis which is overly vague and thus less useful. The strength of the cognitive linguistics approach lies in its ability to account for unruly data and categories and the option to deal with language-specific structures for BE and HAVE in which the individual concepts remain the same, but are distributed, connected, and realized lexically in different ways in each language through the lens of human experience and cognition (see 2.6).

The real problem with Rude's model is his insistence on a one-dimensional continuum of meaning which wraps back upon itself, when what may really be needed is a two or three dimensional model, though even these added dimensions may still overly constrain the analysis and fail to reveal how BE and HAVE expressions work. The difficulties in the continuum are found in the relationship between BE and the categories MAKE, GET, and HAVE. The presence of these three notions hints at the involvement of a much wider conceptual base than merely BE. Rude's account of polysemy also fails to account for the role of suppletion and the interplay of various lexical forms across the category divisions. The notion of contiguity is more useful than the circular presentation, but may not be a formal criterion. The high degree of conceptual contiguity found in these expressions demonstrates how lexemes or grouped suppletive lexemes may slide from one semantic notion to another and thereby take on new roles. The high degree of contiguity demonstrates the orderliness of these semantic changes, but may still not be strictly necessary. Processes of analogy, metaphor, and metonymy may also account for transitions between categories.

Rude's further goal in the analysis is to provide a "discovery procedure" for identifying the categories of a given language for cross-linguistic comparison in order to discover universal categories (1978: 202). Across languages, the same polysemies are not always shared exactly, but are quite similar. Such an analytic tool would prove to be "a valuable descriptive mechanism, but also a model for

historical change” (1978: 203). For Chvany, Rude’s circle represents another type of language paradigm, not an inflectional or syntactic paradigm, but a semantic paradigm, “expressed in lexemes, which are themselves potentially stored as paradigms” (1995: 77). Rude understood that his circle would need refinement. He readily admits that his model is “by no means a complete and final product” and that its chief strength is “that it can be refuted” (Rude 1978: 207–8). Nevertheless, his idea is compelling and has been informative for the analysis presented here. Likewise, Chvany’s notion of these lexical items as participating in an ordered, structured system is intriguing. In the following section, I propose a widened, more comprehensive view of what Rude has explored and what Chvany begins to suggest. We may have just the sort of analytic tool Rude was seeking in what I discuss as the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network in the following section.

2.4 Polysemy and Suppletion with **BE** and **HAVE**

The multiple uses and meanings introduced above are a function of the polysemy typical of **BE** and **HAVE** expressions. In a language such as Old Irish, the tendency was to separate the ideas associated with **BE** lexically and spread them out among various roots and constructions, whereas in Ancient Greek, multiple, separate but related ideas were combined into a single, polysemous verb (PIE **h₁es-* > Grk *eimi* ‘I am’) expressing the concept **BE**. The possibility of multiple or single root forms introduced the notions of polysemy and suppletion, but we may further consider the additional irregularities and morphophonemic alternations of a single root found within the conjugation of ‘be’ verbs, or the further suppletion that takes place if we understand the concept **BE** in a wider context, including such notions as presence/absence constructions (e.g., B *ima/njama* [has/not has] ‘there is/there is not’), near-copula constructions (e.g., R *javljat’sja* ‘appear’ as a categorizing or general copula), or specific verbs of existence (e.g., P *istnieć* ‘exist’). This grouping of genetically unrelated forms together into a coherent paradigm is an example of how the concept **BE** is manifested by various lexical forms, yet maintains a certain conceptual unity.

The typical irregularity of ‘be’ verbs owes its existence to two types of suppletion. The former involves morphophonemic alternations due to historical phonological changes in different forms of the ‘be’ paradigm. This type of suppletion is interesting in its own right as an example of the high tolerance of **BE** expressions for all kinds of irregularities and multiple stems. However, this type of suppletion is not the primary focus of the present discussion of suppletion. Rather the discussion centers on the suppletion by multiple roots inherent in the **BE** constructions of many languages. These irregularities in the paradigm of ‘be’ are not merely the result of sound changes over time, but represent the use of separate

SUPPLETION

Suppletion gets only a passing mention in Hock's handbook of historical linguistics: "suppletion, the suppletive use of different roots or stems for different forms of the 'same word' (cf., e.g., E[ngl] *go* : *went*, where *went* is an old past tense of *wend*, as in *wend one's way*)" (Hock 1991: 182). Such a treatment is little more than a description of an existent phenomenon in language. Suppletion includes the morphophonemic stem alternations due to historical phonological changes (Engl *am/is/are* from the single root PIE **h₁es-* 'be') and suppletion by multiple, separate root forms (Gm *bin* 'am', Gm *ist* 'is', Gm *war* 'was'). Suppletion, as it is discussed in this study for verbs is much more. It is the systematic process of suppletization whereby a language renews, adapts, redefines, and replaces certain lexical items, quite often those which express BE, HAVE, and other related notions in the conceptual network. Suppletization as a process also defies another typical assumption regarding suppletion as a phenomenon in language, that assumption being that suppletive forms are always in complementary distribution (cf. competition between *P zostać* 'remain, become' vs. *być* 'be' as a passive auxiliary). Once the process stabilizes for a given suppleted concept, we often do find complementary distribution as in present Engl *go* and past Engl *went* or present Cz *je* 'is' but past Cz *byl* 'was'. However, we also find situations of non-complementary distribution such as the overlapping uses of *R u* + GEN + (*est*) + NOM 'have' and *R imet* 'have'.

Varying degrees of suppletion of BE are found in the Indo-European languages. These groupings of suppletive concepts serve to express the concept BE in all of its functions. For instance, we find three separate roots in English 'be' (PIE **bhuh_x* - 'be, become' > *be*, PIE **h₁es-* 'be' > *am/is/are*, PIE **wes-* 'dwell' > *was/were*), two roots in Slavic 'be' (e.g., PIE **bhuhx-* > P *być* 'be', PIE **h₁es-* > P *jest* 'is', in addition to the zero copula with demonstrative P *to* 'that'), and at least five roots in Old Irish (PIE **bhuh_x* - > OIr *bíid* 'is', PIE **h₁es-* > OIr *is* 'is', PIE **steh₂* - 'stand' > OIr *at-tá* 'is', PIE **ghabh-* 'takes' > OIr perfect *ronn-gabus* [lit. 'I have taken it'] 'I am', OIr *fil* 'see!' > *ní-m-fil* [lit. 'See me not!'] 'I am not' (see Thurneysen 1946: 468–494)).¹ These examples show the rich potential for renewal and development of BE through other network concepts such as STAND, TAKE, and BE VISIBLE. Through the process of suppletization, a given concept comes to include new lexical means of expression along with other already existing lexical items. The new expressions may compete with older ones, eventually replacing them or synonymous, parallel expressions may coexist. Given the passage of time and continued development, the new construction may also find a specific niche in a relationship of complementary distribution with older constructions.

¹Suppletion of BE is so widespread in Old Irish that Thurneysen (1946: 468–94) has a lengthy treatment of the topic in separate sections on "suppletive verbs" and "the verb 'to be'". The situation has simplified little in Modern Irish. The expression of BE is so important for the modern language that in the 36 lessons of Ó Siadhail's introductory textbook, 15 separate grammar sections are devoted to the expression of the verb 'be' with only an additional 11 sections on verbs in general.

stem formations from different roots to make up the paradigm of the verb 'be' (SUPPLETION). Constructions for HAVE also demonstrate similar tendencies toward polysemy and suppletion. Whereas languages such as English have a single verb 'have' for all possessive notions, many languages make use of multiple construction types for different categories of possession. So we find maximal polysemy in

Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian, where a single lexeme 'have' covers all possessive notions, cf. the maximal polysemy of BE in Ancient Greek. Russian, however, may be viewed as possessing a supplet concept of HAVE in the constructions R *u* + GEN + (*est*) + NOM 'have' and R *imet*' 'have', particularly in the need for verbal forms such as the infinitive or participles (see 4.3.2), the special partitive role of R *est*' 'there is' (5.1.2.1), the use of R *imet*' 'have' predominantly with abstract nouns (4.3.2), and the primary association of R *u* + GEN with animate possessors (4.3.1). This conditioning spreads the concept HAVE over a number of lexical items and syntactic expressions.

The concepts BE and HAVE are expressed linguistically through a complex combination of polysemy and suppletion involving concepts in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. Various semantic concepts combine into a single lexeme, or a single lexeme may take on the roles of neighboring concepts, extending meaning into a broad conceptual realm. The resulting situation is one in which concepts such as BE and HAVE typically include a number of genetically unrelated lexical forms and may even be understood to possess a fuller paradigm, combining the roots and forms of closely synonymous verbs and constructions, formally depending on the nature of the specific language. This type of suppletion may be manifested in a separate root for the possession of abstract objects (e.g., R *imet*' 'have'), or one root may be used for the present tense and another for the past (e.g., Engl *am/is/are* and *was/were*). Renewal and change are accomplished as lexemes transfer from one position on the network to another, sometimes fully becoming something new (e.g., as when a verb 'have' develops from a verb 'seize'), sometimes taking on a newer meaning in addition to older meanings (e.g., the modal developments involving 'have' in Czech and Polish; the original 'appear' meaning in addition to the 'be' meaning of R *javl'jať'sja*). The results of these processes of renewal and change are amply demonstrated by the irregularity, suppletion, and polysemy of BE and HAVE expressions in the Indo-European languages. We see evidence that these processes are constantly ongoing in more recent replacements of or additions to the constructions for BE and HAVE. It is useful to remember that we are never starting from zero in these matters, but are always working within languages with their own individual histories of the development of the concepts BE and HAVE. The origin of these constructions and the already existing collection of concepts continue to affect the contexts in which the constructions are used and the ways in which the conceptual network functions in that language.

The conceptual network shapes the conceptual unity of BE and HAVE and allows for the extension of expressions from one concept to another (such as the similarity between the Polish expressions P *mieć kogoś za coś* [have-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC] 'consider someone (to be) something' and P *brać kogoś za coś* [take-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC] 'come to consider someone (to be) something', where the network concepts HAVE and TAKE focus on different aspects

of the relationship expressed by the preposition *P za* 'for'.⁶ As will be seen in further chapters, the Slavic languages show great variety in the development of BE and HAVE. Similarly, the development and productivity of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network concepts in these languages depend on the source and structure of the expressions for BE and HAVE. The network relationships are more complete when the ideas are expressed in a systematically consistent manner within the language, e.g., all concepts in the network are lexically expressed by verbs with similar means of marking agents, patients, and so forth. For instance, Russian's status as a BE-language does not imply that it has a precisely defined and well behaved verb 'be'. The development of zero-forms of BE and the loss of paradigmatic cohesion for the forms of *R byt'* 'be', particularly the special partitive developments of *R est'* 'there is' (5.1.2.1) and the reduction of auxiliary conjugations to unchanging particles, such as the conditional *R by* 'would' (5.1.1.4) indicate that in Russian, 'be' is no longer treated as a verb in many respects. Among the many competing pathways available to Slavic development, the BE/HAVE-language dichotomy may have determined further development and even established what sorts of choices regarding further developments were possible. The loss of connections in the conceptual network for Russian – or the failure of these connections to develop – has likely been due to vastly different lexical expressions and the lack of a coherent system in this area of the language. The unique nature of BE and HAVE in Russian may have prevented the development of auxiliary and modal verbs, as well as the fuller realization of network connections in Russian. The structure of the conceptual network and the types of connections involved are discussed in detail in the following sections.

2.5 BE and HAVE as part of a larger system of inter-related concepts: The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network

Expressions of BE and HAVE share much in common with their semantic neighbors in a conceptual network. The major portions of the network correspond directly to BE and HAVE, but several synonymous levels can be conceived of in terms of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network (FIELD OF SEMES). Table 2-2 below shows the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING relationship for the concepts BE and HAVE and then provides a sample of related concepts. For BE and HAVE, the

6. The English equivalent of *P mieć kogoś za coś* [have-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC], Engl *take someone for something*, uses the concept TAKE without the inchoative nuances of the corresponding *P brać kogoś za coś* [take-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC] 'come to take someone for something'. Network concepts are often quite similar across languages, even when the correspondences do not precisely overlap.

BECOMING category can be subdivided into a causative BECOMING with the concepts MAKE/DO and GIVE as opposed to self-actuating or reflexive-causatives for BECOMING found in the concepts BECOME and GET. The BE and HAVE series is dominant in the network, but the other concepts are presented in no particular order and without exhaustively listing the possible network concepts. In Table 2-2 GIVE and TAKE are presented as causative verbs, one verb initiates the state of HAVING, the other negates it. For 'be', this causative role is played by MAKE, which creates something or causes something to enter a state of BEING. The possessor in a HAVE construction and the entity in a BE construction are affected by outside agents in their attainment of the state if they have entered it as a result of a causative verb, but have actively brought about the attainment of that state if they have entered it through GET or BECOME, which do not involve outside agents. Lexical items that represent the related series of concepts may turn up in BE and HAVE uses in various languages: BE in location is found in R *naxodit'sja* 'be located', APPEAR has been made into a copula in R *javijat'sja* 'be; appear', and GIVE turns up in the German PRESENCE/ABSENCE construction Gm *es gibt* 'there is'. Further examples of semantic change and expansion are discussed below in 2.6.

Table 2-2. The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING Network⁷

CATEGORY	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
<i>existence</i>	MAKE/DO BECOME GIVE, TAKE	BE	(UNMAKE) TAKE, GIVE
<i>possession</i>	GET	HAVE	LOSE
<i>creation</i>	CREATE	EXIST	DESTROY
<i>life</i>	BE BORN	LIVE, GROW	DIE
<i>visibility, presence</i>	APPEAR SHOW	BE visible BE visible	DISAPPEAR HIDE
<i>accessibility</i>	FIND	KEEP	LOSE, LEAVE
<i>motion</i>	COME	STAY	GO/LEAVE
<i>process</i>	START/BEGIN	CONTINUE	FINISH/END
<i>position</i>	STAND UP	STAND	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN
	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN	SIT/LIE	STAND UP
<i>manipulation</i>	PUT PICK UP	BE in location HOLD	REMOVE PUT DOWN

7. It is rather comforting to know that this slot is somewhat forced and that we must take great pains to come up with lexical items to fill this position. The negation of fundamental BEING is simply not expressed lexically and is not a part of our everyday experience of living and interacting with the world.

The BEING category can be further subdivided according to markedness for duration or frequency in which BE fades into more durative REMAIN or STAY and into frequency with concepts such as HAPPEN or specific verbs marked for frequency (e.g., R *byvat* ‘be (frequentative)’). Similarly, the concepts OWN and KEEP suggest duration for HAVE and some HAVE expressions are specifically marked for frequency (e.g., Cz *mívat* ‘have (frequentative)’).

Table 2-3. Duration and Frequency with BEING

BEING		
(unmarked for duration or frequency)	(marked for duration)	(marked for frequency)
BE	REMAIN, STAY	HAPPEN, OCCUR, BE (frequentative)
HAVE	OWN, KEEP	HAVE (frequentative)

These duration and frequency constructions are also found in grammaticalized BE and HAVE roles as in P *zostać* ‘remain, become’ as a passive auxiliary with perfective verbs and the use of Cz *bývat* as a conditional auxiliary. Interactions between the categories occur here as they do in the general map of the network in Table 2-2. For instance, Engl *have* crosses over into REMAIN territory in the construction Engl *X has yet/still to be Y-ed* ‘X remains to be Y-ed’.

As will be seen in Chapter 5, BE and HAVE are frequently involved in modal expressions. The interplay between root modality and epistemic modality (cf. Sweetser 1990) also exhibits a network-like structure involving BE and HAVE, and

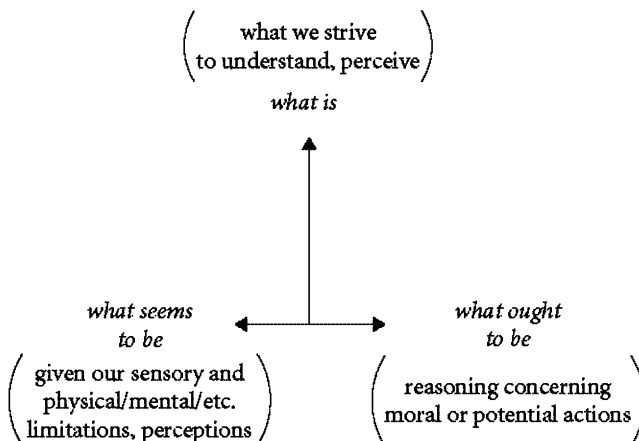


Figure 2-5. Modality and our knowledge of the World

development through transitions from one network position to another. However, the domain is not BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING, but rather something similar to WHAT IS – WHAT OUGHT TO BE – WHAT SEEMS TO BE. The domain of WHAT IS represents a reality which we strive to understand given the perceptive, mental, and physical limitations of our human condition. Thus most of our perceptions and actions take place in the domain of WHAT SEEMS TO BE. The processing of our sensory perceptions and our system of reasoning are associated with both the domains of WHAT SEEMS TO BE and WHAT OUGHT TO BE. Modality is expressed in both of these domains. Root modality, with its focus on real world forces and barriers, perceives those forces as WHAT SEEMS TO BE, and epistemic modality metaphorically takes these obstacles and authorities into account and allows us to reason about moral or potential actions on the level of WHAT OUGHT TO BE. These two domains represent how we understand the world and ponder the results of potential actions. These domains include the full range of modal notions, including NEED (NECESSITY), MUST (COMPULSION), OUGHT /SHOULD (DUTY), MAY (NOT)/ (NOT) ALLOWED (PERMISSION), etc. Our reasoning about WHAT OUGHT TO BE then enables us to make decisions about how to act in order to best realize WHAT IS. In terms of the model presented here, we approach WHAT IS through the interaction of WHAT SEEMS TO BE (informed by our perceptual abilities and limitations) and WHAT OUGHT TO BE (informed by our reasoning about potential actions). We can now formulate a unified notion of modal concepts with a foundation in the interplay of real-world, concrete forces and barriers (CAN/BE ABLE TO, MUST/COMPULSION, NEED/NECESSITY), the more abstract, but equally real, present, and effective, forces and barriers of morality (OUGHT TO/SHOULD), and the extension of these concepts to our processes of reasoning (see also discussion of root and epistemic modality in 5.2). Not only are BE and HAVE involved in modal constructions (as in the development of modals such as Engl *have to*), but their semantic neighbors participate in these constructions as well. The conceptual network not only provides linguistic material for the expression of modal concepts, but modal expressions are like the concepts BE and HAVE in that they change and develop by the same processes of polysemization and suppletization.⁸ Specific examples of how the conceptual network is involved in the development and extension of modal constructions is discussed in 2.6.4 and 2.6.5.

8. After finishing this study, I came across another study discussing the semantic space of BE and HAVE, Koch 1999. The reader is referred to this paper and the useful bibliography it contains.

2.6 Renewal and replacement of meanings by polysemization and suppletization

How the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING Network works in language

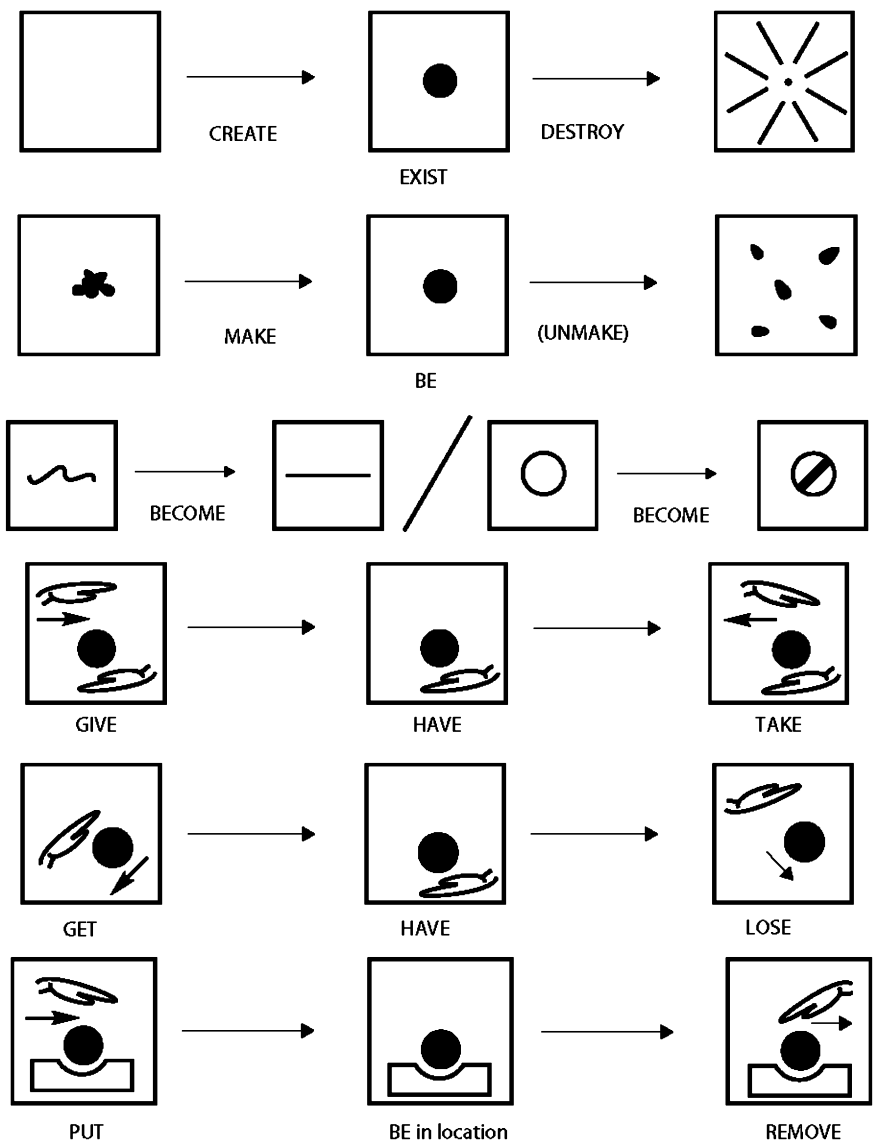
Renewal and replacement of BE and HAVE expressions occurs by means of two interacting processes. Polysemization provides one means of renewal and change, whereby a single lexical item extends its meaning to include a neighboring semantic concept and thereby broadens its range of concepts. In some cases, lexical items may change their dominant meaning, simply sliding from one position on the network to another, leaving its former meaning behind and replacing another lexical item (e.g., the replacement of OE *weorðan* ‘become’ by Engl *become* discussed below or the development of ‘have’ from verbs with such meanings as ‘seize’). In other cases, this process yields truly polysemous lexical items, resulting in two, three, or several meanings associated with a single lexeme. Polysemy is both an inherited and a developed trait in the languages considered here. The other process of replacement and renewal of expressions is provided by suppletion, a process whereby a single idea or grouping of similar ideas becomes associated with multiple lexical roots, sometimes in specific categories of tense or mood, sometimes in the expression of one meaning over another.⁹ The give and take between polysemy and suppletion is exhibited throughout the uses of BE and HAVE and these processes are invaluable for understanding the fuller relationship of BE and HAVE to their semantic neighbors in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network.

We may well ask the question why these developments of polysemization and suppletization take place? Like other language changes, they may be combinations of sufficient time, the right conditions, and the pragmatic concerns of the message. However, changes with BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors, just as with many language changes, involve a further sense of creativity and playfulness with semantics and with the syntactic possibilities in a given language. The development of connections between network items and the extension of roots

9. The Slavic languages also show suppletion in the aspectual pairings of verbs. In Russian, for instance, the verbs which form aspect pairs by different roots all express network concepts: R *brát’/vzjat’* ‘take’, *klast’/položít’* ‘put’, *lovít’/pojmat’* ‘catch’, *iskat’/najti* ‘look for, find’, *ložít’sja/leč’* ‘lie down’, *sadít’sja/sest’* ‘sit down’, *stanovit’sja/stat’* ‘become’. The pair, R *govorit’/skazat’* ‘speak, say’, may not seem to fit in with the network concepts, but the root *kaz-* does express the network concept SHOW. The verbs of motion also exhibit suppletion and fit into the network: R *xodít’* ‘go (multidirectional)’ and *idti* ‘go (unidirectional)’. Also compare the same phenomenon in Cz *brat’/vzít’* ‘take’, *skládat’/složit’* ‘put up, together’, *nacházet’/najít’* ‘look for, find’.

FIELD OF SEMES

The diagrams in Figure C-1 represent the most basic semantic notions of the conceptual network. Several of these notions are combined in the Indo-European understanding of the macro-concept BE. New expressions of BE and HAVE are drawn from lexical items representing these semantic ideas. Lexical items with close semantics, such as BECOME and GET, often take on each other's roles. Although the items presented in Tables 2-2 and 2-3 are likely not comprehensive of all the notions which belong in the conceptual network, it is hoped that this grouping of concepts represents a first step towards identifying the semantic notions closely related to BE and HAVE that behave much like these two organizing concepts and exhibit auxiliary and modal uses.



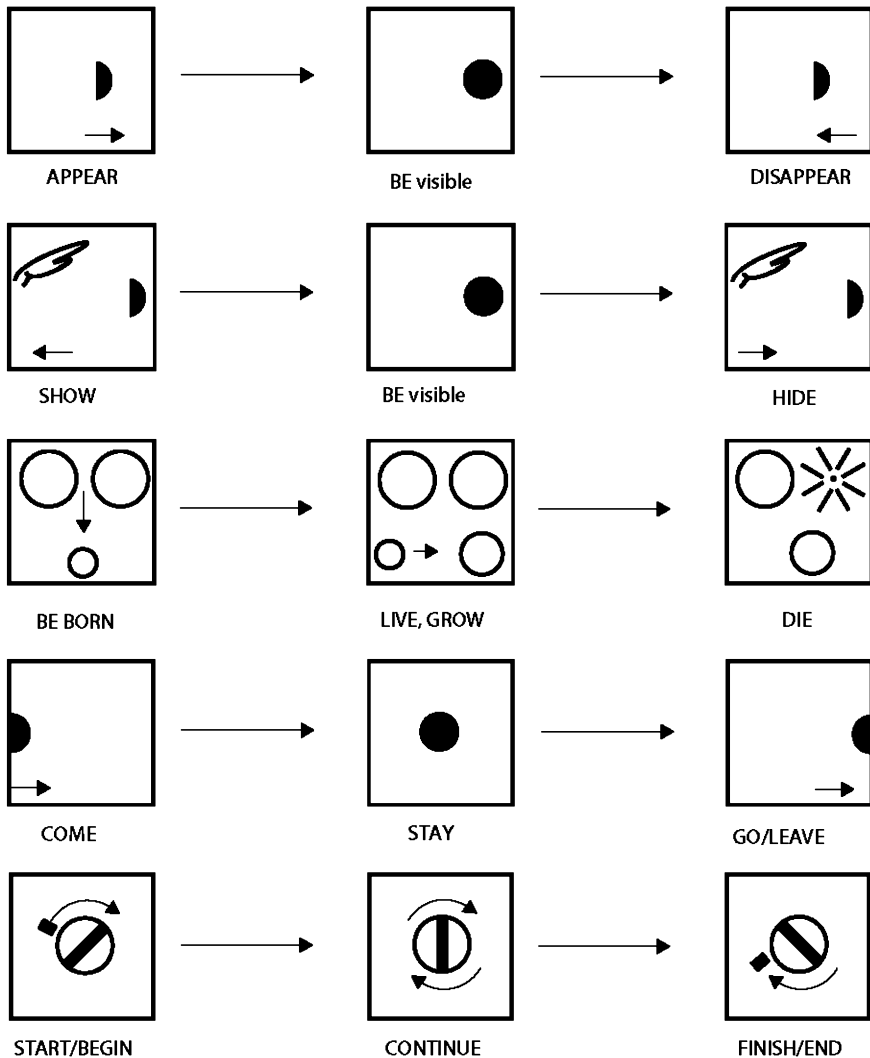


Figure C-1. Semantic Ideas in the Conceptual Network

to new meanings involve the familiar processes of analogy and metaphor. These processes are also involved when a given syntactic structure comes to be used with multiple verbs (as with ‘have’ and ‘take’ in *P mieć kogoś za coś* [have-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC] ‘consider someone (to be) something’ and *P brać kogoś za coś* [take-INF someone-ACC for something-ACC] ‘come to consider someone (to be) something’). Further development of network connections may occur when speakers of multiple languages incorporate network connections from one language into another (see Chapter 6). The related meanings in the network often

make possible multiple synonymous expressions, yet a specific language usually has a preference for one of these means. For instance, in languages with separate verbs for BE and HAVE, we may find corresponding synonymous expressions as in the following examples.

- (5) Gm *Ich bin hungrig.*
[I am-1SG hungry.]
'I'm hungry.'
- Gm *Ich habe hunger.*
[I have-1SG hunger.]
'I'm hungry.'
- (6) Cz *Pane, vaše taška je otevřena!* (King 1998: 15)
[Sir-VOC, your bag-NOM IS-3SG open-NOM!]
'Sir, your bag is open!'
- Cz *Pane, máte otevřenou tašku!* (King 1998: 15)
[Sir-VOC, have-2PL open bag-ACC!]
'Sir, your bag is open!'
- (7) Cz *Oči měla modré.* (Short 1993a: 500)
[Eyes-ACC had-FSG blue-ACC.]
'She had blue eyes.'
- Cz *Její oči byly modré.* (Short 1993a: 500)
[Her eyes-NOM were-NPL blue-NOM.]
'Her eyes were blue.'
- (8) Cz *On je silný.*
[He-NOM is strong-NOM.]
- Cz *On má sílu.*
[He-NOM has-3SG strength-ACC.]
'He is strong'
- (9) Cz *Ona je rozumná.*
[She-NOM is reasonable/sensible-NOM.]
- Cz *Ona má rozum.*
[She-NOM has-3SG reason/sense-ACC.]
'She is reasonable/sensible.'

However, in these languages, there is a preference for one of the constructions over the other. Despite the fact that both versions of the sentences in (5) are grammatically correct, German prefers the version with the verb 'have' for the expression of hunger. King (1998: 15) asserts that Czech has a preference for 'have' in (6) and Short (1993a: 500) confirms that 'have' is preferred in (7). In sentences of the type in (8) and (9), both expressions are possible, one with 'be' and an adjective, the other

with 'have' and the corresponding noun. However, the English translations in (5), (6), (8), and (9) use 'be'. The 'have' alternatives are quite odd-sounding in English *I have hunger*, Engl *Sir, you have an open bag*, Engl *He has strength*, Engl *She has reason/sense*. English does allow for figurative uses of such nouns with 'have' (see also 6.2) for the expression of hunger. It is possible to say Engl *He doesn't have the strength to carry on* or Engl *She doesn't have the sense to come in out of the rain*, but English uses a copula expression in such contexts to associate the quality of strength or reason with someone. There may also be a nuance in English of having strength at a given moment in time with Engl *have strength*, but a more permanent association of the quality of strength with Engl *is strong*. I do not detect a strong preference for one or the other variant in (7), but Short (1993a: 500) maintains that English prefers 'be' while Czech prefers 'have'.¹⁰ In the expression of age, we also find a variety of preferred constructions across the languages considered here.

- (10) Engl *I am 28 years old.* (BE:COPULA)
 Gm *Ich bin 28 Jahre alt.*
 [I am-1SG 28 years old.]
 R *Mne 28 let.* (BE:IMPERSONAL)
 [Me-DAT 28-NOM years-GEN.]
 Cz *Je mi 28 let.*
 [Is-3SG me-DAT 28-NOM years-GEN.]
 P *Mam 28 lat.* (HAVE)
 [Have-1SG 28-ACC years-GEN.]
 B *Imam 28 godini.*
 [Have-1SG 28 years.]
 'I am 28 years old.'

In (10) we see that English and German use a BE:COPULA expression, Russian and Czech use a BE:IMPERSONAL construction with the dative case, and Polish and Bulgarian both use the verb 'have', a construction which is also possible for Czech. Even within the concept BE by itself in a single language, we may find competing phrases. Swan (1993: 157) maintains that there is virtually no difference between

10. Perhaps Short's preference is a factor of British English. My American English preference is for 'have' in this instance. Additionally, there is also a sense that Engl *Her eyes were blue* could imply that at a certain time in the past her eyes were blue, i.e., she had blue contact lenses on but her eyes are usually a different color; cf. Engl *Her eyes were red*, i.e., at some time in the past her eyes were bloodshot. My sense is that Engl *She had blue eyes* sets up a more permanent relationship between possessor and possessee. The temporary reading seems more likely in English with 'be' than with 'have'. Engl *She had red eyes* would not be preferred to Engl *Her eyes were red* to describe bloodshot eyes.

the two constructions in (11), but in (12), the use of the P *to* 'that' BE construction is preferred over the copula by itself.

- (11) P *Warszawa jest stolicą Polski.* (Swan 1993: 157)
 [Warsaw-NOM is-3SG capital-INST Poland-GEN.]
 'Warsaw is the capital of Poland.'
- P *Warszawa to stolica Polski.* (Swan 1993: 157)
 [Warsaw-NOM that-NOM capital-NOM Poland-GEN.]
 'Warsaw is the capital of Poland.'
- (12) P *Ta pani to moja żona.* (Swan 1993: 157)
 [That lady-NOM that-NOM my wife-NOM.]
 'That lady is my wife.'
- P *Ta pani jest moją żoną.* (Swan 1993: 157)
 [That lady-NOM is-3SG my wife-INST]
 'That lady is my wife.'

The preferred term, whether it is 'be' or 'have', may experience challenges and undergo changes over time. For instance, Czech generally uses 'be' rather than 'have' in PRESENCE/ABSENCE constructions (see 3.1.3), but Cz *mít* 'have' is acceptable in the following example, even though the negative of 'have' is not yet widely employed as a PRESENCE/ABSENCE construction in Czech, as opposed to Polish and Bulgarian (see 3.1.4).

- (13) Cz *"Nemá ho kdo hlídat," vysvětlí Louka.*
 ["Not-has-3SG him-ACC who-NOM watch-INF," explains-3SG Louka-NOM.]
 "There isn't anyone to watch him," explained Louka.'
- (14) a. Cz **"Není ho kdo hlídat," vysvětlí Louka.*
 ["Not-is-3SG him-ACC who-NOM watch-INF," explains-3SG Louka-NOM.]
 "There isn't anyone to watch him," explained Louka.'
- b. Cz *Není, kdo by ho hlídal.*
 [Not-is-3SG, who-NOM would-AUX him-ACC watch-MSG.]
 'There isn't anyone who could watch him.'
- c. Cz *Nenašel jsem nikoho na hlídání.*
 [Not-found-MSG am-AUX-1SG no-one-ACC for watching-ACC.]
 'I didn't find anyone to babysit.'
- d. Cz *Nemám nikoho na hlídání.*
 [Not-have-1SG no-one-ACC for watching-ACC.]
 'I don't have anyone to babysit.'

- e. Cz *Nemám nikoho, kdo by*
 [Not-have-1sg no-one-ACC, who-NOM would-AUX
ho pohlídal/hlídal.
 him-ACC watch-Msg-(PERF/IMPERF).]
 'I don't have anyone who could watch him.'

However, according to my native informants, (14a) with Cz *není* '(there) is not' is unacceptable without the further addition of the conditional/subjunctive particle Cz *by* 'would' as in (14b). Circumlocutions for (13) were also suggested as in (14c-e). Only time will tell whether or not Cz *mít* 'have' will firmly establish itself in the territory of PRESENCE/ABSENCE as it has in Polish and Bulgarian. This particular construction with an interrogative pronoun is connected with a whole category of possible constructions with Cz *mít* 'have' + interrogative pronoun (see 4.4). These examples serve to demonstrate that there are still definite preferences for a single construction, even in the presence of various synonymous possibilities.

New expressions for BE and HAVE or periodic additions arise from changes in the network. BE constructions quite commonly become expressions of HAVE and vice versa. Such changes are demonstrated by R *imeti'sja* [have-R/P] 'there is', B *ima me* [it-has me] 'I exist', P *Jak się masz?* [how R/P you-have] 'How are you?', and also the French expression *il y a* [it there has] 'there is'. Expressions for HAVE also provide BE expressions in the negative P *nie ma* [not has] 'there is not', but positive P *jest* 'is', and in both contexts for B *ima/njama* [has/not-has] 'there is/there is not'. In Russian, the present tense forms of R *byť* 'be' have been mostly lost, but new, specialized BE verbs such as R *javljat'sja* 'appear' and R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' have developed. English shows great flexibility and use with the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network, allowing such sentences as *She made a teacher*¹¹ or *He went mad* for BECOME. English also shows many near copula expressions with concepts from the network such as *come, go, die, begin*, and others (see Horton 1996).

When HAVE expressions are renewed, they are derived according to Heine's (1997) source domains from the concept BE or via the ACTION source domain with a concept in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. HAVE expressions with a transitive verb typically develop from such verbs as 'take', 'seize', 'grab', and 'obtain', showing the extension from TAKE, GET, KEEP, and so forth to HAVE, e.g., the replacement of Lat *habēre* 'have' by Span *tener* < Lat *tenēre* 'hold'

11. The dialectal (?) English construction of the type Engl *She made a teacher* expressing BECOME may be unfamiliar to some readers, but it is certainly alive and well in the East Texas dialect familiar to the author. This construction should not be confused with the perhaps more familiar construction of the type Engl *He made colonel* expressing OBTAIN or GET in the context of achieving a rank or position.

(Isačenko 1974: 44). The network concepts are usually realized linguistically as verbs, so those HAVE expressions which are most like other items in the network more easily participate in shared network roles. Alternatively, another source domain may provide a new HAVE construction, as in the loss of the transitive verb Hung *bír* 'have' in favor of an expression Hung *X-nak van Y+PRO* [X-DAT is Y+PRO] 'X has Y' with the verb 'be' (Heine 1997: 111). These new HAVE constructions may then compete with the already existing constructions for a contextual niche or may become the dominant or exclusive HAVE expression. Context and competition are always present in this type of renewal. Whenever a new construction enters the system, other lexical items may become obsolete or shift their conceptual focus.

Simply based on the archaism of BE constructions throughout the Indo-European languages and the much later and independent development of transitive verbs meaning 'have', the constructions for BE would appear to be more stable over time, whereas HAVE expressions seem to have a shorter lifespan. Why this should be so is unclear. Perhaps it is due to the increased burden on HAVE constructions. As seen in the lexical roles of BE and HAVE in Chapters 3 and 4, the types of possessor and possible possessed items as well as the relationships associated with HAVE expressions are even greater in number than those EXISTENCE and COPULA notions associated with BE. Expressions of BE tolerate a higher degree of suppletion, whereas expressions of HAVE, compete for dominance. BE can take in a variety of roots, keeping some and discarding others over time. The ACTION source domain, motivating 'have' as we find it in the European languages tends to be a maximally polysemous verb with no root suppletion. Other expressions of HAVE are all based on source domains which incorporate the notion BE and therefore share in the suppletion capacities of BE constructions.

This somewhat misleading view of the unchanging nature of BE may also be biased by the sheer archaism and preservation of the forms of 'be' in many Indo-European languages. It should be noted, however, that there have been quite a number of changes to Indo-European BE (as demonstrated in the BE maps in Figure 3-3 and the general discussion of BE in Chapter 3), which the presence of archaic morphological forms of the verb and a narrow definition of the concept BE tend to obscure. We need only look at the additions and innovations of P *jest* [is-3SG] 'there is' / *nie ma* [not has-3SG] 'there is not', the zero-copula in Russian, Gm *es gibt* 'there is' (from Gm *geben* 'give'), and so forth. It is worthwhile to note that 'be' in Slavic is the only verb that has both a present and a future conjugation. All other verbs have a single conjugation which is used either for the present tense in the case of imperfectives or predominantly as a future tense in the case of perfectives. The separate future conjugation of 'be' probably owes its existence as much to processes of polysemization and suppletization as to the special nature of BE. Even taking into account the archaisms of Indo-European BE expressions, it is seen that BE and HAVE constructions undergo the same types

of changes in the same ways. When suppletization provides for the renewal of BE and HAVE expressions, a concept on the network becomes associated with additional lexical items (e.g., the concept BE incorporates 'have' to express PRESENCE/ABSENCE as in Polish and Bulgarian). When the renewal is by polysemization, a single lexical item expands into new conceptual territory (e.g., extension of the verb 'have' to modal meanings).

2.6.1 A wider paradigm for BE in Russian

A study of network concepts may also lead us to be somewhat more inclusive in our definition of the paradigm for concepts such as BE. In Russian, where the present tense of the verb 'be' has been lost, other items have developed as BE-like verbs, focusing on one or two of the polysemies typical of BE. Some of these verbs are discussed in full in Chapter 3, but additional verbs and examples are presented here to show the variety of Russian BE expressions.

- (15) R *Ja ne beremenna i ne javljajus' biologičeskoj ili*
[I-NOM not pregnant-NOM and not appear-1SG biological or
priemnoj mater'ju rebenka.
adopted mother-INST child-GEN.]
'I am not pregnant and am not the biological or adopted mother of a child.'
- (16) R *I ešče lager' predstavljaet soboj dovol'no*
[And still camp-NOM presents-3SG self-INST enough
točnuju model' gosudarstva.
precise model-ACC state-GEN.]
'And another thing – the camp is quite a precise model of the state.'
- (17) R *Po-moemu, i učastvovat' na dueli, i prisutstvovat'*
[By-mine, and participate-INF on duel-LOC, and be-present-INF
na nej, xotja by v kačestve vrača,
on it-LOC, even be-COND-AUX in quality-LOC doctor-GEN,
prosto beznравstvenno.
simply immoral.]
'In my opinion, both to participate in a duel and to be present at one, even if only in the role of a doctor, are simply immoral.'
- (18) R *Paul' Rudi naxoditsja v tjur'me.*
[Paul Rudy-NOM is-located-3SG in prison-LOC.]
'Paul Rudy is in prison.'
- (19) R *A pri Staline razve tvorilos' takoe?*
[But during Stalin-LOC really happened-NSG/R/P such-NOM?]
'But did such things really happen under Stalin?'

- (20) R *Poxorony sostojalis' na sledujuščij den', pri*
 [Funeral-NOM took-place-PL-R/P on next day-ACC, with
učastii prezidenta Belorussii.
 participation-LOC president-GEN Belarus-GEN.]
 'The funeral took place the next day with the participation of the president
 of Belarus.'
- (21) R *Tatarskij proboval borot'sja, delaja vid, čto*
 [Tatarsky-NOM tried-MSG fight-INF, making image-ACC, that
ničego na samom dele ne proisxodit.
 nothing-GEN on actual fact-LOC not happens-3sg.]
 'Tatarsky tried to fight, pretending that nothing was actually going on.'

In these examples we see a variety of different roots, all network concepts, extending their meanings to express COPULA, PRESENCE/ABSENCE, and LOCATION. The copula constructions in (15) and (16) are expressed by the verbs R *javljať'sja* 'appear' and R *predstavljat'* 'present', which represent the network concepts APPEAR and PUT/STAND (R *pred-stavljat'* is composed of the elements [before-put/stand]). The PRESENCE/ABSENCE expression in (17) is derived from the prefix R *pri-*, which conveys a meaning of arrival or presence plus the present participle stem of 'be', LCS **spt-*, a form of the PIE **h₁es-* 'be' root. The LOCATION meaning is expressed in (18) by R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' (i.e. [on-go + R/P]) and the transitive version R *naxodit'/najti* 'find', cf. Fr *se trouver* 'is found, is') and by the various HAPPEN expressions in (15)–(17). The expression in (19) represents the concept CREATE in the verb R *tvorit'sja* [create' + R/P], (20) uses the positional notion STAND in R *sostojat'sja* 'take place' ('consist', i.e., [with-stand + R/P]), and (21) utilizes GO in R *proisxodit'* 'happen, take place' [through-from-go]. Through their meanings and their relationship to the conceptual network, these constructions cohere. However, there is little syntactic unity among these expressions. R *javljať'sja* 'appear' takes an instrumental predicate, R *predstavljat'* 'present' combines with the instrumental of the reflexive pronoun, R *soboj* 'self'-INST, and takes an accusative object. These uses of the instrumental convey the notions of 'appears as X'='is X' and 'presents X as itself'='is X'. The HAPPEN expressions are all intransitive verbs, but their formation differs in the presence or absence of the R/P particle R *sja*.¹² The

12. The role of the reflexive/passive particle, R *-sja*, Cz *se*, P *się*, B *se* deserves further study. This tiny word plays numerous roles in the Slavic languages, including the expression of the passive, various reflexive notions, and what is sometimes termed the middle voice. Given the role of this particle, R *-sja*, in many of these BE expressions, the expression of BE by this particle should be further evaluated in studies of the reflexive/passive particle.

translations for (19)–(21) also demonstrate the many lexical expressions in English for HAPPEN, including Engl *happen*, Engl *take place*, and Engl *go on*. These Russian examples show the productive nature of the conceptual network in the renewal of expressions for BE. Several new COPULA, EXISTENCE, and LOCATION expressions have most likely arisen to fill the void left by the loss of the explicit present tense forms of ‘be’ and the reduction of those forms to the single particle *R est* ‘there is’. Although network concepts are widespread in BE and HAVE development in Russian, the connections between ideas in the network are not as fully developed as in some other languages. The reasons this may be so are discussed in the following subsection on the concept GET.

2.6.2 GET and the conceptual network

Another interesting example of semantic change according to the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING conceptual network is provided by the history of BECOME in English. Here we see an overlap and connection between BE and HAVE in the reflexive-causative BECOMING role (Figure 2-6). In Old English, the verb for BECOME was OE *weorðan* ‘become’ and the verb OE *becuman* meant ‘come; obtain’. Over time, OE *weorðan* was replaced by OE *becuman* for the concept BECOME, yielding Modern English *become*. However, the same process is taking place all over again in the current challenge to Engl *become* by Engl *get* (itself a borrowing into English from the Scandinavian languages). Compare the expressions *I became angry* and *I got angry*. Similar synonyms to BECOME are found with the English verbs *come* and *go* as in Engl *come true* ‘become existent, in effect’, Engl *go mad/crazy* ‘become mad/crazy’ or the colloquial expressions Engl *go postal* ‘become crazy’, Engl *go medieval* ‘become violent; attack’, Engl *go native* ‘become like a native’, and so forth. In this meaning of ‘become’, both Engl *get* and Engl *go* definitely have a colloquial flavor, but Engl *get*, in particular, seems to be gaining greater acceptance in a wider range

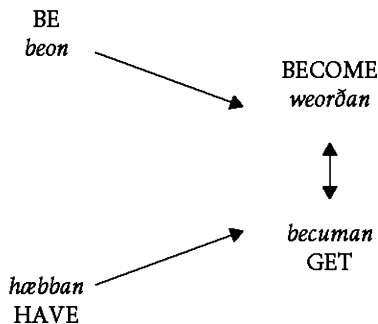


Figure 2-6. Relationship between BECOME and GET in Old English

of contexts and could, given sufficient time, come to seriously compete with Engl *become*. It should be noted that, at present, Engl *get* 'become' can only be used with adjectives such as Engl *angry*, *rich*, or *tired* and not with nouns in a phrase such as Engl *She became a doctor*. The analogous sentence Engl *She got a doctor* has quite a different meaning in relation to the same noun, just as Engl *get mad* 'become angry' and Engl *go mad* 'become crazy' express different nuances of a single adjective. A similar use of GET=BECOME is reflected by the scholarly use of the word Engl *obtains* 'comes to be so, comes into such an arrangement, is established'. These replacements and renewals of BECOME in English show how items in the network are related and can change in relation to each other in certain contexts.

Now that the conceptual network has been introduced and a few examples of the types of renewal and changes that take place through polysemization and suppletization have been presented, we turn our attention to the development of network connections across languages. The cohesiveness of the network concepts in a given language is constrained by the grammatical systems of that language. In languages where BE and HAVE are verbs and TAKE, GIVE, DO, GET, and so forth are expressed by verbs, relationships in the verbal network may exhibit more unity and develop more deeply. The formal overlaps in addition to the semantic overlaps make the connections between network concepts more obvious. Talmy (1988a:166) states that "grammar, broadly conceived, is the determinant of conceptual structure within one cognitive domain, language". The grammar of an individual language and the syntax of its constructions for network concepts affect the further development of relationships between network items.

More network-related expressions are possible in English than in Czech and more in Czech than in Russian where connections between network concepts often cannot be made. The lack of consistent verbal expressions of BE and HAVE in Russian likely accounts for these deficiencies in the network. The system of prefixation in Slavic and the case system may also account for structural differences in the conceptual network between Czech and English. Whereas English has often maintained its Anglo-Saxon vocabulary for the most common verbal notions, many of which occur in the realization of network concepts, Slavic possesses its native word-stock and system of prefixation. These Anglo-Saxon verbs perform many basic functions in English and are well suited to the central role and heavy semantic burden of network concepts, whereas the borrowed words of Latin or Norman French origin may not be employed so often in network concepts (borrowing has not inhibited the use of Engl *get*, a Scandinavian loan word). Slavic does not have the same multi-layered vocabulary as English, but rather has its own peculiarities. Case behavior may also affect the cohesiveness of the network concepts. Even if the concepts are all expressed as verbs, the different complement forms (NOM, ACC, INST, GEN, etc.) may inhibit the development of associations between these concepts in the minds of speakers.

Isačenko (1974: 66) notes that in HAVE-languages, there is “a very intimate relation between the verbs *have* and *get*” and remarks that these verbs “tend to become correlated with *have* in a very specific manner: ‘get, obtain’ is interpreted as an inchoative of *have*, meaning ‘begin to have’”. The relationships presented in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network hold well for Czech, where we find examples as in Table 2-4, but the Czech categories are not always equally matched with their English counterparts.

Table 2-4. Comparison of Network Concepts in Czech and English

GIVE	<i>Dali</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>psa.</i>		<i>They gave me a dog.</i>
	[Gave-PL	me-DAT	dog-ACC.]		
HAVE	<i>Mám</i>	<i>psa.</i>			<i>I have a dog.</i>
	[Have-1SG	dog-ACC.]			
HAVE GOT					<i>I(’ve) got a dog. = I have a dog.</i>
GET	<i>Dostal</i>	<i>jsem</i>	<i>psa.</i>		<i>I got a dog.</i>
	[Got-MSG	am-AUX-1SG	dog-ACC.]		
MAKE	<i>(Polil</i>	<i>mě</i>	<i>(vodou).)</i>		<i>He made/got me wet.</i>
	[Poured-MSG	me-ACC	(water-INST).]		
BE	<i>Jsem</i>	<i>mokrý.</i>			<i>I’m wet.</i>
	[Am-1SG	wet-NOM.]			
BECOME	<i>(Zmohl</i>	<i>jsem.)</i>			<i>I became wet.</i>
	[Got-wet-MSG	am-AUX-1SG.]			
GET	<i>(Zmohl</i>	<i>jsem.)</i>			<i>I got wet.</i>
	[Got-wet-MSG	am-AUX-1SG.]			
GET TO (MOTION)	<i>Dostal</i>	<i>jsem</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>do finále.</i>	<i>I got to the finals.</i>
	[Got-MSG	am-AUX-1SG	R/P	to finals-GEN.]	
	<i>Dostal</i>	<i>jsem</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>do Prahy.</i>	<i>I got him to Prague.</i>
	[Got-MSG	am-AUX-1SG	him-ACC	to Prague-GEN.]	

Czech and English are well matched for the HAVE series, except that Czech lacks the perfect tense expression of a state supplied by Engl *I(’ve) got a dog*. For the BE series, the formal matches are not so good. It is incorrect to say in Czech **Dostal jsem mokrý* ‘I got wet’ and Cz *Stal jsem se mokrým* with Cz *stát se* ‘become’ with the predicate adjective in the instrumental case sounds archaic and possibly humorous to Czech ears. In this particular example, however, English lacks the corresponding verb ‘get wet’ which Czech possesses in Cz *zmoknout* ‘get wet’. But Czech can use GET in the sense of ‘become’ in some situations: *Dostal jsem strach* ‘I got scared’, *Dostal jsem hlad* ‘I got hungry’ (Isačenko 1974: 67). This particular use may have been influenced by the German models Gm *Ich habe Angst* [I have

fear] 'I am scared' and Gm *Ich bekam Angst* [I got fear] 'I got scared'. Czech also makes use of GET in the sense of MOTION as in English.¹³ For English and Czech, GET can even function as BE in some passive sentences as in (22)–(24).

- (22) Cz *Dostal jsem dovoleno (od lékaře) kouřit*
 [Got-MSG am-AUX-1SG allowed (from doctor-GEN) smoke-INF
jen dvě cigarety denně.
 only two cigarettes-ACC daily.]
 'I was allowed (by the doctor) to smoke only two cigarettes a day.'

- (23) Cz *Pavel dostal (od Petra) vynadáno.*
 [Pavel-NOM got-MSG (from Petr-GEN) scolded.]
 'Pavel got yelled at (by Petr).'

- (24) Cz *...za dobře odvedenou práci chtějí dostat*
 [...for well carried-out work-ACC want-3PL get-INF
dobře zapláceno.
 well paid.]
 '...for well done work, they want to get well paid.'

For Czech, this construction is analogous to the use of Cz *mít* + PPP where the agent of the action is other than the subject of the verb 'have' (see 5.1.2.2).

The relationship expressed by 'have' with the past passive participle can be extended to the closely related network concept GET, resulting in the possibility of the constructions in (22)–(24) (for more information on Cz *dostat* + PPP, see *Mluvnice Češtiny* 1987: 246–51). For English, Celce-Murcia states that the GET passive is colloquial compared to the formal BE and that it "suggests the emotional involvement of the speaker" (1983: 226).

- (25) Engl *John was hurt in the accident.* (Celce-Murcia 1983: 226)
John got hurt in the accident.
 (26) Engl *He was invited to the party.* (Celce-Murcia 1983: 226)
He got invited to the party.
 (27) Engl *The answer was known to all of us.* (Celce-Murcia 1983: 226)
**The answer got known to all of us.*

She also states that "the [GET] passive is more limited than the [BE] passive in that it can only be used with verbs denoting actions and processes [(25)–(26)],

13. Network concepts frequently take on the semantics of motion verbs. Another example is R *devat'sja/det'sja* 'get to, disappear somewhere', formed from the verb R *det* 'put'.

not states [(27)]” (Celce-Murcia 1983: 226).¹⁴ These examples show the colloquial beginnings of new grammatical structures which may continue to expand into ever wider contexts of use in the process of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 12–13). Since my data have largely been drawn from literary and journalistic sources, I have likely missed some of the “highly structured, semi-autonomous ‘formal idioms’ of a language that make it unique, but are often regarded as peripheral”, which Hopper and Traugott identify as sources for incipient grammaticalization (1993: 10). This peripheral nature makes it difficult for native speaker and linguist alike to find and characterize such constructions. Nevertheless, further research could reveal much more about the use of network concepts in colloquial Czech and the colloquial registers of the other languages considered here.

The relationship of HAVE to GIVE, TAKE, and GET is examined by Isačenko (1974). He points out the synonymy of the expressions *I have* and *I’ve got* in English and states that GET is the inchoative of HAVE (Isačenko 1974: 66). Perhaps it is because of the active nature of the concepts BECOME and GET that these two ideas share so many common features with BE and HAVE. Unlike the causatives MAKE and GIVE, they do not require another entity for the action. However, within the concept GET, we must distinguish between the more passive nuances of RECEIVE and the more active nuances of TAKE. Russian *polučat’/polučit’* ‘receive; get’ does not possess all of the meanings of ‘get’ in typical HAVE-languages and can never be used in Russian without an understood donor (Isačenko 1974: 66). The Czech verb *Cz dostávat/dostat* ‘get’ is a general GET verb and also incorporates the notion RECEIVE as in (28).

- (28) *Cz Dostáváte dnes nabídky na filmové role?*
 [Get-2PL today offers-ACC for film roles-ACC?]
 ‘Do you still get offers today for film roles?’

However, R *polučit’* ‘receive’ is more properly understood as a passive verb RECEIVE and does not possess the qualities of active GETTING as in R *dostávat’/dostat’* ‘get, obtain’ or R *priobretat’/priobresti* ‘get, obtain’. Unlike the Czech use of *Cz dostat* ‘get’ with network connections, R *dostat’* ‘get’ seems to be confined to physical taking and does not lend itself to more abstract extensions and developments of network connections. The passive notion of RECEIVE, R *polučit’*, does not participate

14. Celce-Murcia also discusses the use of Engl *get* and Engl *have* as causative verbs: Engl *I had someone cut my hair*, Engl *I got Brian to wash my car*, Engl *I had my hair cut*, Engl *I got my car washed* (Celce-Murcia 1983: 481). Russian, Czech, and Polish do use ‘be’ as a causative in the form of the conditional (see 5.1.1.4): R *čtoby*, Cz *abych, abys, aby*, etc., and P *žebym, žebyś, žeby*, etc.

in the type of network roles for GET discussed above for Czech and English. For Russian, it is a matter of *get from whom* (R *polučit* 'get; receive') vs. *get from where* (R *dostat* 'get; obtain') as in:

- (29) R *Agapova dostala bloknot i zapisala na*
 [Agapova-NOM got-FSG notebook-ACC and wrote-down-FSG on
čistoj stranice – Levin.
 clean page-LOC Levin-NOM.]
 'Agapova got out a notebook and wrote down on a clean page: "Levin."'
- (30) R *Žbankov dostal iz karmana fotoapparat.*
 [Zhbankov-NOM got-MSG from pocket-GEN camera-ACC.]
 'Zhbankov took a camera out of his pocket.'
- (31) R – *My polučili otvet, – skazal Lijvak.*
 ["We-NOM got-PL answer-ACC," said-MSG Lijvak-NOM.
 – *Ot kogo – ne ponjal ja.*
 "From whom-GEN?" not understood-MSG I-NOM.
 – *Ot tovarišča Brežneva.*
 "From comrade Brezhnev-GEN."]
 "We got an answer, said Lijvak.
 "From whom?" I didn't understand.
 "From comrade Brezhnev."

In (29) and (30), R *dostat* 'get; obtain' expresses the specific taking of an object from a location, such as a pocket, and in some contexts may express attainment through some difficulty. The example of R *polučit* 'get; receive' in (31) shows how the notion of a donor is present in the semantics of the verb. The sentence R *Ja polučil ot nego desjat' rublej* 'I got ten rubles from him' may describe the same situation as R *On dal mne desjat' rublej* 'He gave me 10 rubles' (Isačenko 1974: 66). However, sentences with 'get' which are perfectly sensible in English, German, and Czech may not be translated with R *polučat*, e.g., Engl *I got an idea*, Engl *We got a new teacher*, Engl *I got scared*. Russian renders these examples as R *Mne prišla v golovu ideja* 'I got an idea' (literally, 'An idea came into my head'), R *U nas teper' novyj učitel'* 'We got a new teacher' (literally 'At us [there is] now a new teacher'), R *Mne stalo strašno* 'I got scared' (literally 'It became frightful to me') (Isačenko 1974: 66–8). Isačenko states that the semantic construction 'begin + HAVE' does not exist in Russian. Thus, we do not see the same correlation between GET and GIVE in Russian as we see in HAVE-languages. For instance, Russian cannot literally translate a sentence such as Engl *I got a shot* and Engl *They gave me a shot*, sentences which are perfectly normal in English, German, and Czech (Isačenko 1974: 68). For Russian, the appropriate concept on the network would seem to be 'begin + BE'=MAKE: R *Mne sdělali ukol* 'I got a shot' (literally 'They made me a shot') or 'begin + BE'=BECOME as in the Russian version of Engl *I got scared* above (Isačenko 1974: 68). Obviously,

utterances which are expressed by network concepts in one language may be translated into Russian by some means, but there is not the same interconnectedness of network concepts in Russian, a BE-language, as in HAVE-languages. Whereas a HAVE-language groups together GIVE-HAVE-GET-TAKE, the scenario in Russian would seem to be GIVE-(U + GEN +)BE-BECOME-TAKE. This scenario is further demonstrated by the extension of the network concepts MAKE and GET to BECOME in the following Russian examples.

- (32) R *Otvečaeť ženskij golos: – Šlušaju! – U nee*
 [Answers-3SG female voice-NOM: Listening-1 SG – at her-GEN
polučilos’ – “svušaju”. – Svušaju, miven’kij!
 received-NSG-R/P – “wistening”-1 SG. – Wistening-1 SG, deawie-NOM!]
 ‘A woman’s voice answers: “I’m listening!” it comes out ‘wistening’ –
 “I’m wistening, deawie!”’
- (33) R *On sdelalsja kak budto men’she rostom.*
 [He-NOM made-MSG-R/P like as-if smaller height-INST.]
 ‘It was as if he became shorter in height.’

In (32), the combination of R *polučat’/polučit’* ‘get, receive’ with the R/P suffix R *-sja* produces the meaning ‘come to be, take form’. The use of the same suffix with the verb R *delat’/sdelat’* ‘make’, yields ‘become’ in (33). Thus we can see that Russian is not disconnected from the conceptual network, but the “wiring” of concepts is different. Since Russian does not have a uniform means of realizing network concepts (e.g., all verbs with similar syntax), the Russian network system is not fully developed and connected as is possible in languages with more systematic uniformity among network concepts.

However, network connections for GET are found to some degree in Russian for the active sense of GET with the verb R *priobresti* ‘get’.

- (34) R *Est’ lavka suvenirov, gde ja priobrel*
 [There-is shop-NOM souvenirs-GEN, where I-NOM got-MSG
kupaľnye trusiki...
 swimming trunks-ACC...]
 ‘There is a souvenir shop where I got some swimming trunks...’
- (35) R *Tatarskij priobrel dva novyx kačestva.*
 [Tatarsky-NOM got-MSG two-ACC new qualities-GEN.]
 ‘Tatarsky picked up two new qualities.’
- (36) R *Za èti gody dejstvitel’no stal nervnym,*
 [For these years-ACC really became-MSG nervous-INST,
isportil želudok i priobrel xroničeskij artrit.
 ruined-MSG stomach-ACC and got-MSG chronic arthritis-ACC.]
 ‘During these years, he became really nervous, ruined his stomach, and got chronic arthritis.’

- (37) R *Strannoje delo: byvajut daže iz takix i*
 [Strange thing-NOM: happen-3PL even from such-GEN and
sovsem nedobrye ljudi, a meždu tem
 completely unkind people-NOM, but between it-INST
priobretajut inogda bol'suju popularnost'.
 get-3PL sometimes big popularity-ACC.]
 'It's a strange thing: even from that sort you get completely unkind people,
 but nevertheless they sometimes attain great popularity.'
- (38) R *Kakie pustjaki, kakie glupyje meloči*
 [What-kind-of nonsense-NOM, what-kind-of stupid trivialities-NOM
inogda priobretajut v žizni značenie, vdrug ni
 sometimes get-3PL in life-LOC meaning-ACC, suddenly not
s togo ni s sego.
 from that-GEN not from this-GEN.]
 'What nonsense, what stupid trivialities sometimes take on meaning in life,
 suddenly, not for any reason.'
- (39) R *On byl soveršenno novyj čelovek v krugu*
 [He-NOM was-3SG completely new man-NOM in circle-LOC
dvorjan, no, očevidno, imel uspech i ne
 noblemen-GEN, but, obviously, had-MSG success-ACC and not
ošibalsja, dumaja, čto priobrel uže vlijanie
 was-mistaken-MSG/R/P, thinking, that got-MSG already influence-ACC
meždu dvorjanami.
 among noblemen-INST.]
 'He was a completely new person in the circle of noblemen, but he was
 obviously successful and was not mistaken in thinking that he had already
 gained influence among the noblemen.'

In these examples, R *priobresti* 'get' is used as a verb of taking for concrete objects and abstract objects and displays a connection with the verb R *imet'* 'have'. In (34) the verb is used to describe the attainment of a new physical possession, but in (35) it applies to character traits, in (36) to a health condition, and in (37) to attaining popularity. In (38) and (39), it shows an extension of the phrases R *imet' značenie* 'have meaning, mean' and R *imet' vlijanie* 'have influence' to the concept GET in R *priobretat'/priobresti značenie* 'take on meaning' and R *priobretat'/priobresti vlijanie* 'gain influence', providing a contrast between stative constructions and reflexive-causative constructions.

This discussion of the concept GET has served to show how concepts that are semantically related to BE and HAVE participate in the same kinds of rich syntactic and grammatical developments as do BE and HAVE. The concept GET provides an excellent example of the importance of the individual network concepts in their own

right, but also their further significance in relation to neighboring concepts in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. We find more network connections for GIVE-HAVE-GET-TAKE in a HAVE-language like Czech, but see a discontinuity among these concepts in a BE-language like Russian. As one further example before moving on, we may consider the related concept GIVE. In Czech, the verb Cz *dát* ‘give’ has become associated with PUT, here demonstrating the now familiar process of transfer from one concept to another in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network.¹⁵

- (40) Cz *Musely jsme postupovat pomalu, nejdřív jak*
 [Had-to-FPL are-AUX-1PL proceed-INF slowly, first how
začínám mísit ty jednotlivé věci, pak chtěla
 begin-1SG mix-INF these individual things-ACC, then wanted-F3SG
pohled shora, pak ze strany, pak jak to
 view-ACC from-above, then from side-GEN, then how this-ACC
házím do vody, jak to vaří a
 throw-1SG into water-GEN, how this-NOM cooks-3SG and
bublá, jak to vyndávám, krájím a dávám
 bubbles-3SG, how this-ACC take-out-1SG, cut-1SG and give-1SG
do misky, to všechno z různých úhlů,
 onto dish-GEN, this-NOM all from various angles-GEN,
prostě já jsem ten knedlík vařila
 simply I-NOM am-AUX-1SG that dumpling-ACC cooked-F3SG
celý den, vlastně až do noci.
 whole day-ACC, actually until to night-GEN.]
 ‘We had to proceed slowly, first how I begin to mix the individual
 ingredients, then she wanted the view from above, then from the side, then
 how I throw it into the water, how it boils and bubbles, how I take it out,
 cut it, and put it on a dish, all of this from various angles, I simply cooked
 that dumpling all day, actually even until night.’

15. It is unclear precisely how the meanings ‘give’ and ‘put’ have become associated with the single Czech verb Cz *dát* ‘give; put’, but somehow the semantics of the Old Czech verb OCz *dějati* ‘put’ have mingled with the lexical forms of Cz *dát* ‘give’. The -VjV- contraction of OCz *dějati* ‘put’ yields Cz *dít se* ‘happen, occur’ (morphological forms include Cz *děje se* ‘it happens’ in the 3sg non-past and both Cz *dělo/dělo se* ‘it happened’ in the Nsg past tense), but also Cz *zdát se* ‘seem’ (morphological forms include Cz *zdá se* ‘it seems’ in the 3sg non-past and Nsg past tense Cz *zdálo se* ‘it seemed’ with retained length in the L-participle form). However, if OCz *dějati* once yielded a contracted form Cz *dát* ‘put’, then these forms have since become completely united with the morphophonemics of Cz *dávat/dát* ‘give’, assuming the imperfective/perfective pair and the loss of length in the past tense displayed by Cz *dát* ‘give’, cf. Cz *dal* ‘he gave’. Whether through phonological confusion in the wake of -VjV- contraction or through semantic similarity, the notions GIVE and PUT have become fused into a single verb in the minds of contemporary Czech speakers. See Notes 16 and 17 as well.

- (41) Cz *Já si třeba vůbec nemohu pořídit paní,*
 [I-NOM self-DAT probably at-all cannot-1SG treat-INF lady-ACC,
kteřá by mi uklízela, protože
 who-NOM be-COND-AUX-3SG me-DAT cleaned-FSG, because
bych si v její přítomnosti stejně
 be-COND-AUX-1SG self-DAT in her presence-LOC same
neuměla dát nohy na stůl a
 not-knew-how-FSG give-INF feet-ACC on table-ACC and
odpočívat, i když bych to potřebovala.
 rest-INF, even if be-COND-AUX-1SG this-ACC needed-FSG.]
 'I probably couldn't even begin to treat myself to a cleaning lady, because in her presence, I wouldn't know how to **put my feet up on the table** and rest, even if I needed to.'
- (42) P *Dlatego bardzo bogata jest liturgia Narodzenia*
 [Therefore very rich-NOM is liturgy-NOM Birth
Pańskiego: w Mszach o północy, o świcie
 Lord's-GEN: in Masses-LOC at midnight-LOC, at daybreak-LOC
i w ciągu dnia każdy z tekstów liturgicznych
 and in course-LOC day-GEN each-NOM from texts liturgical-GEN
rzuca jak gdyby nowe światło na to wielkie wydarzenie,
 throws-3SG as if new light-ACC on that great event-ACC,
jakie Bóg chce dać poznać wszystkim,
 that-ACC God-NOM wants-3SG give-INF know-INF all-DAT,
którzy Go oczekują i szukają.
 who-NOM Him-ACC await-3PL and search-3PL.]
 'Therefore the liturgy of the Nativity of our Lord is very rich: in the Masses at midnight, at daybreak, and in the course of the day, it is as if each of the liturgical texts sheds new light on that great event that God **wants** everyone, who waits for and seeks Him, **to know** about.'
- (43) R *Imenno ètot klip dal ponjat' bol'somu*
 [Namely this clip-NOM gave-MSG understand-INF big
količestvu... obez'jan, što nastala pora
 collection-DAT monkeys-GEN, that began-FSG time-NOM
peresaživat'sja v džipy...
 switch-seat-INF in jeeps-ACC...]
 'It was just this clip that **let** quite a number of monkeys **know** that the time had come to switch into jeeps.'

The examples in (40) and (41) exhibit the use of Cz *dát* 'put'. The verbs P *dať* 'give' and R *dat'* 'give' do not show the same extension to PUT, but, together with Czech

constructions such as Cz *dát vědět/znát* ‘let know’, Polish and Russian do show a grammatical extension to a causative construction in (42) and (43), where P *dać poznać* and R *dat’ ponjat’* mean ‘let know; have know’, an extension of the natural semantics of the concept GIVE.¹⁶ Czech also uses Cz *dát* ‘give; put’ with the DAT enclitic of the reflexive pronoun in the construction Cz *dát si* ‘to order (food)’.

Russian cannot use this network concept for ordering food, but rather uses the opposite network concept TAKE, R *vzjat’* ‘take’, just as English uses Engl *take* or Engl *have* in this context (and we also find other uses of Engl *have* with eating as in Engl *I had some soup and some iced tea.*). Thus we find R *Ja voz’mu boršč* [I-NOM take-1SG borscht-ACC] ‘I’ll have/take borscht’, but Cz *Dám si guláš* [Give-1SG self-DAT goulash-ACC] ‘I’ll have/take goulash’ (Isačenko 1974: 69). The specific expressions vary, but they all use network concepts to express the same idea.

Each of these network concepts would warrant a complete and thorough study with their own focus, much as the present study focuses on BE and HAVE. They each have quite a story to tell, both in their own right, and in their relationship to other network concepts. Network concepts also parallel BE and HAVE in their development as grammaticalized words and in their development as modals. In the following two sections, I give some attention to the use of network concepts in these grammatical and modal contexts.

2.6.3 Grammaticalization and the network

The processes of polysemization and suppletization involve not only new developments within the semantic territory of the network, but, like BE and HAVE expressions themselves, extend network concepts to grammatical and modal functions (NETWORK). For instance, the concept GO is frequently grammaticalized as a future construction as in the English and French GO-futures. This extension of meaning also takes place in Slovak as in Slk *Idem sa ženit* [Go-1SG R/P marry] ‘I’m going to get married’ and Slk *Išlo mi srdce puknúť* [Went-N-3SG me-DAT heart burst] ‘My heart was about to burst’ (Short 1993b: 554). The first of these roles is usually

NETWORK

In Hindi-Urdu, an auxiliary construction known as the compound verb has cast a broad net to encompass a wide range of verbal concepts associated with EXISTENCE and MOTION. The compound verb construction combines the root of a main verb with the conjugated form of an auxiliary verb (the vector verb), resulting in a verbal phrase that is often an expression of

16. In Middle English, we find the network associations of PUT with a root from PIE **dheh₁-* ‘put’. In English, the PUT meaning has been lost in favor of DO in Engl *do*. It is important to

perfective aspect. The verbs used in this construction are well suited for membership in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. Hook (1978) identifies the 22 most common vector verbs participating in the compound verb construction in Hindi-Urdu, among them verbs of motion (COME, GO, MOVE, FALL, THROW), verbs of possession or exchange (TAKE, GIVE, HOLD), verbs of position (RISE, STAND UP, SIT DOWN, PUT, STAY), and some others (DIE, BEAT).¹

Each of these vector verbs has a range of meanings that adds to the meaning of the main verb. The vector verb HU *jānā* 'go' 'conveys a sense of completeness, finality, or change of state' Snell (1992: 139).

keep separate the forms of Slavic 'give' which have developed from the PIE root **deh₃*- 'give' from the forms in Engl *do*. Despite the similarities in form and meaning for these two Indo-European roots, Engl *do* and Cz *dát* 'give' are not etymologically related. However, contemporary Cz *dát* 'give; put' represents a fusion of both PIE **deh₃*- 'give' and PIE **dheh₁*- 'put'. For network purposes, we would not be surprised to see the same types of uses of PUT as we find with GIVE, even without the close phonological ties of these roots.

- (F-1) ME ...*diden him ealle hersumnesse swa swa hi scolden don*
[...gave him all obedience as as they should give
here abbot...
their abbot...]
'...they gave him complete obedience, just as they should give their abbot...'

- (F-2) ME *Sume hi diden in cruceþur, þat is, in an ceste þat*
[Some they put in torture-box, that is, in a chest that
was scort and nareu and undeþ; and dide scærpe stanes
was short and narrow and shallow; and put sharp stones
þerinne, and þrengde þe man þærinne, þat him bræcon alle
therein, and crushed the man therein, that him broke all
þe limes.
the limbs.]
'Some they put in a torture box, that is, in a chest that was short and narrow and shallow, and put sharp stones inside and crushed the man therein so that all of his limbs were broken.'

- (F-3) ME *Oc se ilce Heanri dide þone king to understandene þet he*
[But the same Henry did the king to understand that he
hæfde læten his abbotrice...
had lost his abbotry]
'But the very same Henry let the king know that he had lost his abbotry...'

In (F-1), ME *do(n)* 'do; put; give' has the meaning 'give', in (F-2), it shows the meaning 'put, place', and in (F-3), it is used as P *dač* 'give' in (37). This usage in (F-3) shows an extension of the verb to a causative role meaning 'cause to understand, let understand'. All three meanings of the ME verb *do(n)* are available for this extension.

- (1) HU *is laṛke ne miṭhāi khāyī.*
 [This boy ERG sweets ate.]
 (simple verb construction)
 'The boy ate the sweets.'

HU *is laṛke ne miṭhāi khā gai.*
 [This boy ERG sweets eat WENT.]
 (compound verb construction)
 'The boy ate up the sweets.'

- (2) HU *is mahinē ratē garam hotī hai.*
 [This month nights hot be are.]
 (simple verb construction)
 'The nights are hot this month.'

(Snell 1992: 140)

HU *is mahinē ratē garam ho jāti hai.*
 [This month nights hot be GO are.]
 (compound verb construction)
 'The nights become hot this month.'

(Snell 1992: 140)

In (1) HU *jānā* 'go' signifies a completed action and in (2) it indicates a change of state. Two other vector verbs, HU *lenā* 'take' and HU *denā* 'give', represent complementary meanings. When HU *lenā* 'take' is used as an auxiliary, it refers the "action to the performer of the action, typically indicating that it is done for the performer's benefit" whereas HU *denā* 'give' "refers the action *away from* the performer" (Snell 1992: 140). These meanings are consonant with the semantics of the verbs TAKE and GIVE.

- (3) HU *vah apnī kitāb paṛhtā hai.*
 [He own book reads is.]
 (simple verb construction)
 'He reads his book.'

(Snell 1992: 140)

- (4) HU *vah apnī kitāb paṛh letā hai.*
 [He own book read TAKES is.]
 (compound verb construction)
 'He reads his book to himself.'

(Snell 1992: 140)

- (5) HU *vah apnī kitāb paṛh detā hai.*
 [He own book read GIVES is.]
 (compound verb construction)
 'He reads his book aloud.'

(Snell 1992: 140)

The sentence in (3) signifies the simple act of reading, whereas (4) and (5) use compound verbs to express reading to oneself as opposed to reading aloud. Using TAKE as an auxiliary refers the action of the verbal phrase back to the subject whereas the use of GIVE involves other experiencers (in this case, those who hear the reading). The use of these auxiliaries may have been motivated by a metaphorical understanding of these verbs. If one can take an object for one's own use, why not a verbal action? If one can give a present to a friend, then one can give a reading to others. The use of GO likely represents a metaphorical view of life as a journey, so to have eaten all the sweets is to have completed a journey to a certain destination or goal.

Of the more than sixty vector verbs mentioned by various linguists, Hook identifies eight on which there is near universal agreement. These are the verbs HU *ānā* 'come', HU *uṭhnā* 'get

up, rise', HU *jānā* 'go', HU *ḍālānā* 'pour, put, throw', HU *denā* 'give', HU *paṛmā* 'fall', HU *baithnā* 'sit down', and HU *lenā* 'take' (Hook 1974: 43). The semantics of these eight verbs suggests a loose system of complementary or opposing notions: COME/GO, RISE/SIT DOWN, GIVE/TAKE, all of which have their place in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. Hook (1991: 59–60) begins to hint at these sorts of relationships in his more recent work, noting that all of the vector verbs "express a change in location or posture, or an action that entails such a change". Hook's wider list of vector verb notions has been arranged in Figure C-2 according to the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. The circle at the top of the figure represents the concept EXISTENCE and the circle on the bottom represents the concept MOTION. These two concepts serve as the organizing principles for the set of vector verbs. The verbal concepts between EXISTENCE and MOTION form a transitional belt of verbs of position, either being in or entering a certain position, and all these concepts are part of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING framework. Such a representation of the vector verbs provides a possible explanation for why these verbs have come into service as auxiliaries. Once a common verb such as 'go', 'give', or 'take' came to be used in the compound verb construction, it is conceivable that these verbs motivated the use of their semantic neighbors in such a construction as well, thereby extending the range of vectors to new verbs. This type of analogical extension is common in languages throughout the world, cf. the extension of the use of the dative case from verbs of giving to verbs of taking as in Czech, German, and other European languages (Janda 1993a). This model provides a useful synchronic structure for understanding the vector verbs, but a thorough historical analysis would be necessary in order to reveal how these semantic extensions took place. Which verbs occurred first in this construction? What extensions were made? Which verbs were the main bearers of the construction? Have those prototypical verbs changed over time? Have the number of verbs available to the construction increased or diminished over time and have the vector verbs become more grammaticalized and therefore more semantically bleached (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993: 114)? Synchronically, the organizational principles behind the construction can be viewed as EXISTENCE and MOTION, but do these core concepts accurately represent the historical development of this Hindi-Urdu compound verb construction and, more broadly, can the concepts EXISTENCE and MOTION be considered the universal source of all auxiliary verbs across languages?² If the case can be made for the organization of the compound verb auxiliaries as presented here, this would provide further data regarding the impact of the BECOMING–BEING–UNBECOMING network on language structure and development and would shed considerable light on our understanding of BE and HAVE constructions and of the grammaticalization of auxiliaries.

Simply based on the collection of vector verbs, the Hindi-Urdu compound verb construction corresponds well to the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. Almost all of the possible verbs from this interrelated network have been employed in the auxiliary functions of Hindi-Urdu. Verbs of position, verbs of motion, and various ways of dealing with forces have been grammaticalized in this construction as well as in other auxiliary functions in Hindi-Urdu.³ The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network provides a framework in which verbs may be grouped together semantically and then serves as a source for the extension of various constructions to other verbal notions. It remains to be identified which notions besides BE and HAVE are the most salient and productive ideas in the network, but GIVE and GO would likely yield interesting results. In the case of the Hindi-Urdu compound verb, conceptual items from the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network have been grammaticalized in an auxiliary construction

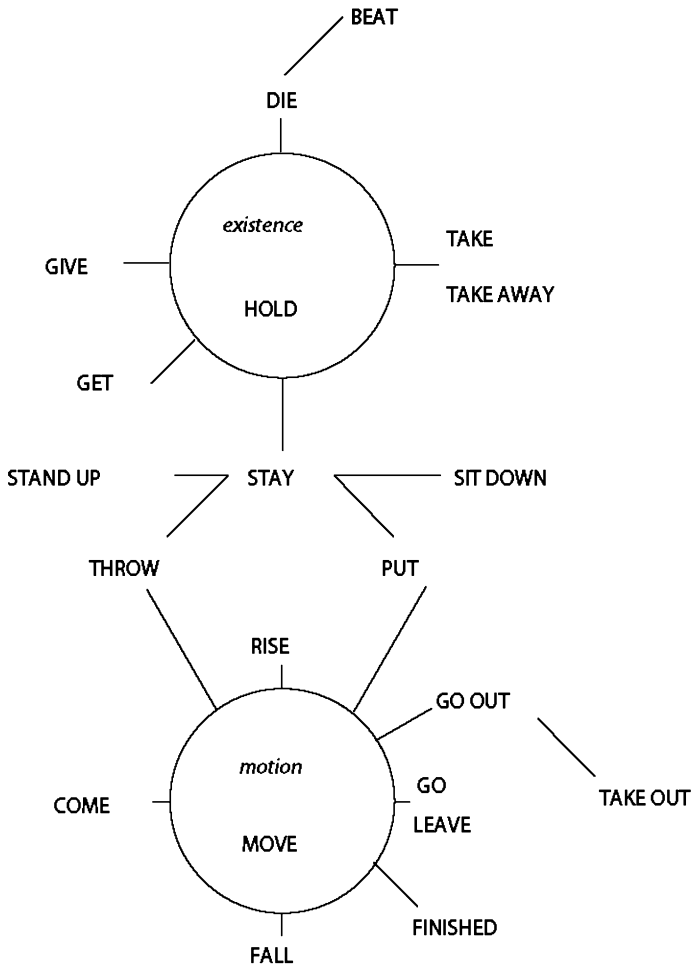


Figure C-2. A Verbal Network of Hindi-Urdu Compound Verbs

and the construction itself has reached up to the verbal network and spread to semantically similar concepts through metaphor and analogy.

¹Hook's list of 22 vector verbs is as follows: HU *ānā* 'come'; HU *uṭhnā* 'get up, rise'; HU *kharā honā* 'stand up'; HU *calnā* 'move'; HU *cuknā* 'be finished, used up'; HU *chornā* 'leave'; HU *choṛ denā* 'leave'; HU *jānā* 'go'; HU *ḍālnā* 'pour, put, throw'; HU *denā* 'give'; HU *dharnā* 'hold'; HU *nikalnā* 'go out'; HU *nikālnā* 'take out'; HU *paṛnā* 'fall'; HU *baṭhnā* 'sit down'; HU *marnā* 'die'; HU *mārnā* 'strike, beat'; HU *rakhnā* 'put'; HU *rakh denā* 'put'; HU *rahnā* 'stay'; HU *lenā* 'take'; HU *le jānā* 'take away'. These verbs are represented conceptually in Figure C-2 by the following labels: COME, RISE, STAND UP, MOVE, FINISHED, LEAVE, GO, THROW, GIVE, HOLD, GO OUT, TAKE OUT, FALL, SIT DOWN, DIE, BEAT, PUT, STAY, TAKE, TAKE AWAY. For semantic purposes, the verbs HU *chornā* 'leave' and HU *choṛ denā* 'leave' and HU *rakhnā* 'put' and HU *rakh denā* 'put' are represented only once in the models as LEAVE and PUT, respectively. The verbs HU *nikalnā* 'go out' and HU *nikālnā* 'take out' and HU *marnā* 'die' and HU *mārnā* 'strike, beat' are related pairs of a verb and its causative form; it is assumed that the use of the causative verb is semantically related to the use of the non-causative form.

² MOTION and the verbs indicating change of position have much in common with BE and HAVE and may be used as auxiliary notions. Compare the British English use of Engl *fall pregnant* compared to Engl *get pregnant* (an Americanism?) or the expression of state, Engl *be pregnant*.

- (F-1) Engl *Britain has the highest rate of teenage pregnancies in western Europe – although lower than the U.S. and Canada. More than 4,000 under-16 girls have abortions in Britain every year, a little over half of the total number of under-age girls falling pregnant.*

³ In addition to the compound verb construction, Hindi-Urdu uses the verbs HU *honā* 'be' and HU *rahnā* 'stay, live' as tense auxiliaries, HU *jānā* 'go' in the expression of the passive, and HU *karnā* 'do' with other parts of speech to derive new verbs.

played by the periphrastic BE future in most Slavic languages and the second expresses a similar notion to the Russian use of R *bylo* discussed in 5.3. Certain syntactic constructions involved with BE and HAVE may also come to be used with other verbs in the network. The new perfect in Polish (5.1.2.3) with P *mieć* 'have' + PPP can also be used with the verb P *trzymać* 'keep' which adds a nuance of durativity to the perfect construction.

- (44) P *Kiedy ich nie ma w domu, mają*
 [When them-GEN not have-3SG in house-LOC, have-3PL
wyłączony gaz.
 turned-off gas-ACC.]
 'When they are not home, they have the gas turned off.' (Lempp 1986: 130)
- (45) P *Kiedy ich nie ma w domu, trzymają gaz*
 [When them-GEN not have-3SG in house-LOC, keep-3PL gas
wyłączony.
 turned-off-ACC.]
 'When they are not home, they keep the gas turned off.' (Lempp 1986: 130)
- (46) P *Kiedy Wojtek choruje, trzyma*
 [When Wojtek-NOM is-sick-3SG, keeps-3SG
zamknięte okna.
 closed windows-ACC.]
 'When Wojtek is sick, he keeps his windows closed.' (Lempp 1986: 130)

The example in (44) exhibits one of the uses of the Polish new perfect and (45) represents the same construction with a slightly different meaning. The examples in (45) and (46) illustrate an extension of a grammatical construction to a new context. The meaning added by P *trzymać* 'keep' is not too different from the meaning of 'have' in the new perfect, but the extension could branch out on a different semantic path from this starting point, it could remain just as a synonymous alternative, or it could give way completely to 'have' as the new perfect becomes increasingly grammaticalized.

Grammaticalization may also occur through suppletization within a definite context in the partial replacement of BEGIN by BECOME in the past tense in Russian.

- (47) R *Ja umylsja i stal odevat'sja.*
[I-NOM washed-MSG-R/P and became-MSG get-dressed-INF.]
'I washed up and began to get dressed.'
- (48) R *On vypil ešče nemnogo i stal zvonit' dispetčeru.*
[He-NOM drank-3SG still little-bit and became-MSG call-INF dispatcher-DAT.]
'He drank a little bit more and began to call the dispatcher.'
- (49) R *Zatem otorvala listok kalendarja, stala čitat' vnimatel'no i medlenno, tak, slovno ot ètogo zaviselo množego...*
[Then tore-PSG sheet-ACC calendar-GEN, became-PSG read-INF attentively and slowly, so, like from this-GEN depended-NSG much-NOM...]
'Then she tore off a page from the calendar, began to read it attentively and slowly, just as if a great deal depended on it...'
- (50) R *Ja načal dumat' o sebe v trečem lice.*
[I-NOM began-MSG think-INF about self-LOC in third person-LOC.]
'I began to think about myself in the third person.'
- (51) R *Buš načal pereskažyvat' stat'ju o kapitane Rudi.*
[Bush-NOM began-3SG retell-INF article-ACC about captain Rudy-LOC.]
'Bush began to retell the article about Captain Rudy.'
- (52) R *Brat, verojatno, budet professorom, on vse ravno ne stanet žit' zdes'.*
[Brother-NOM, probably, will-be-3SG professor-INST, he-NOM all equal not become-3SG live-INF here.]
'Brother, probably, will be a professor, all the same he won't live here.'

The use of R *stat'* 'become' in (47)–(49) is identical with the use of R *načat'* 'begin' in (50)–(51). This construction with R *stat'* is well established in Russian. This construction can occur in the non-past, but is mostly found in the past tense. The verb OR *stati* + INF was a possible future auxiliary (FUTURE) and still appears in this use in some instances as in (52), but is not a common construction (Vlasto 1986: 165).

The R *stat* 'become' + INF BEGIN construction rivals R *načat* 'begin' in the past tense and in this context, it could conceivably lead to a supplet paradigm for BEGIN in Russian with a form of R *načínat*/'*načat*' 'begin' in the non-past and the L-participle forms of R *stat* 'become' in the past tense. The closely related semantics of BECOME and BEGIN account for this natural association in Russian.

The examples in this section reveal some of the ways in which other network concepts are like BE and HAVE. The semantic relationships in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network provide further motivation and a structure for grammaticalization of these central semantic concepts.

2.6.4 Seeming, thinking, and the conceptual network

The concept SEEM is another closely related concept that can involve BE constructions or exhibit the traits of BE constructions. Although the concepts BE and SEEM are kept apart lexically in the Slavic languages, the use of a verb 'be' with the word 'like, as' expresses a synonym for SEEM.

- (53) R *Ty kak rebenok.*
[You-NOM like child-NOM.]
'You're like a child.'
- (54) Cz *Kdybych se narodil jako Palestinec....*
[If-COND-AUX-1SG R/P born-MSG as Palestinian-NOM...]
'If I had been born a Palestinian...'
- (55) P *Nasza epoka zdaje się zdezorientowaną i zagubioną;*
[Our epoch-NOM seems R/P disoriented-INST and lost-INST;
czasem można wręcz odnieść wrażenie, że
sometimes possible plainly take-away-INF impression-ACC, that
nie zna granicy między dobrem i złem...
not knows-3SG borders-ACC between good-INST and evil-INST...]
'Our epoch seems disoriented and lost, sometimes it is possible simply to go away with the impression that it does not know the borders between good and evil...'
- (56) R *Lingvistika mne kažetsja naukoj.*
[Linguistics-NOM me-DAT seems-3SG science-INST.]
'Linguistics seems like a science to me.'

The examples in (53)–(54) express 'is like' or 'as' using R *kak* 'like, as' and Cz *jako* 'like, as' to express similarity but not identity. The person in (53) is behaving like a child but is not one. The Czech example in (54) uses the verb 'be born' and the word Cz *jako* 'like, as' to express a possible identity in a hypothetical sentence. Specific verbs for the concept SEEM often exhibit the syntax of BE

constructions, e.g., the use of a predicate instrumental in (55) and (56).¹⁷ These expressions touch on the difference between truth (what is), and illusion (what merely appears to be).

The domains of WHAT SEEMS TO BE and WHAT OUGHT TO BE discussed above in 2.5 and presented in Figure 2-5 are involved with our perceptions of and reasoning about the world around us. In relation to ideas in the semantic network, this means that we often find network concepts used to express THINKING.

- (57) P *Mam cię za geniusza.* (Lempp 1986: xiv)
 [Have-1SG you-ACC for genius-ACC.]
 'I consider you a genius.'
- (58) P *Żegnanie epoki brałeś za
 [Farewell-ACC epoch-GEN took-MSG-AUX-2SG for
 początek nowej...
 beginning-ACC new-GEN...]
 'One epoch's farewell, you took as the beginning of a new one...'*
- (59) R *Ego mogli by prinjać za
 [Him-ACC could-3PL be-COND-AUX-3PL receive-INF for
 opasnego sumaszedśego.
 dangerous crazy-ACC.]
 'They might take him for a dangerous wacko.'*
- (60) R *Ja ścitam lingwistiku naukoj.* (Chvany 1975: 52)
 [I-NOM consider-1SG linguistics-ACC science-INST.]
 'I consider linguistics to be a science.'

The existence of THINK constructions with P *mieć* 'have' makes it ripe for development in the conceptual network. In (57), 'have' establishes a stative construction of expressing thought or opinion and can be extended to the concept TAKE, as in (58) with P *brać/wziąć* 'take': 'have X-ACC for Y-ACC' and 'take X-ACC for Y-ACC'.

17. Despite the similarity of the Czech and Polish verbs for SEEM, Cz *zdát se* 'seem' and P *zdawać się* 'seem' are formed with the same prefix meaning 'from', P and Cz *z-*, but different verbs P *dawać/dać* 'give', but Czech from the root OCz *dějati* 'put' discussed above in Note 15. Polish also uses P *wydawać się* 'seem' with the prefix P *wy-* 'out' and P *dawać/dać* 'give'. In Russian, the verb R *kazať'sja* 'seem' is from the root *kaz-* 'indicate, show' which means 'tell, say' when combined with the Russian prefix, R *s-* 'from'. Perhaps the connections between SEEM, SAY/TELL, and modality are also seen in the English use of Engl *tell* as in Engl *I can't tell*. This construction may express a type of epistemic modal meaning 'I don't know, can't see, don't have the information, therefore I cannot say', a meaning extrapolated from the potential semantics of speaking and indicating.

Russian expresses this notion of 'consider' with the verb R *sčitat'* X-ACC Y-INST 'consider X Y', but a similar expression to the Polish in (58) is possible in Russian as in (59), where the verb R *prinimat'/prinjat'* 'receive, take' is used with the prepositions R *za* + ACC, just as in Polish.¹⁸ In (60), the Russian expression for 'consider, think', shares the use of an instrumental complement with SEEM and BE and further links the instrumental case with BEING. Another example of network concepts in the realm of thinking is with the concept FIND as in the English expression Engl *I find the food here excellent* which can be equated with BE in Engl *The food here is excellent (in my opinion)* or with THINK in Engl *I think the food here is excellent*. German also makes use of this network concept for thinking as in Gm *Wie findest du dieses Restaurant?* 'How do you find this restaurant?/What do you think of this restaurant?'¹⁹ More research needs to be done into how frequently network concepts cross over into the domain of THINKING.

2.6.5 Modality and the conceptual network

The semantic behavior and development of modal constructions, particularly verbs, is very much like what we have seen with the polysemization and suppletization of modal concepts in the network. Modal constructions frequently cross over to other concepts and may take on their semantics or subsume them. This process may be seen in the existence of modals for MAY and CAN in English, German, and Czech. In all of these languages the modal MAY is still used, but its functions have been subsumed by the expression for CAN. Thus Engl *may* may be expressed by Engl *can*, Gm *dürfen* 'may' can be expressed by Gm *können* 'can', and Cz *smět* 'may' is frequently expressed by Cz *moci* 'can'. English *can* is used to express the three modal notions: KNOW HOW, BE ABLE, and BE ALLOWED. There is also great overlap between the modal expressions discussed in 5.2. The concept WANT may take on the semantics of NEED and NEED TO may be expressed by HAVE TO or MUST. English provides some interesting examples of this type of crossover.

(61) Engl *I was watching the boys getting in sticks for the bonfire – and it wants plenty of sticks.*

(62) Engl *Should you find yourself in Inuvik, you shall not be wanting for a meal.*

Both of these examples illustrate the possible use of Engl *want* to express NEED. The bonfire spoken of in (61) needs lots of wood and the addressee in (62) is

18. This Russian verb is frequently used where English uses Engl *take* as in R *prinimat' duš* 'take a shower' and R *prinimat' lekarstvo* 'take medicine' (see also 6.1).

19. See also the discussion of the INST in IDENTITY. Verbs meaning 'consider', 'think', 'seem', and 'find' can take INST complements expressing the notion BE.

TAKE BELIEF

In OCS we find an early attested auxiliary construction with the notion TAKE in the construction OCS *eti věrq* [take-INF belief/faith-ACC] ‘believe’, somewhat like ‘come to believe’ as in (1).

- (1) OCS *otvēštavъ že glagola věrq mi*
[having-answered that said-AOR-3SG belief-ACC me-DAT
imi čstěnъi otčę jako nęstъ
have-IMPER-2SG, honorable father-VOC, as not-is-AUX-3SG
ostala ni edina zlatica vъ riznici...
remained-FSG not one gold-piece-NOM in money-box-LOC...]
‘Then having answered, he said, believe me, honorable father, there is no gold remaining in the money box...’

We also find the Czech reflex of this verb for TAKE used as an auxiliary for begin in an Old Czech construction as in (2).

- (2) OCz *Když se jest psalo léta*
[When REFL/PASS is-AUX-3SG written-NSG years-ACC
od narozenie syna Božieho 1410, povstal
from birth-GEN son of-God-GEN 1410, rose-up-MSG
jest tehdy mistr Jan Hus i jal
is-AUX-3SG then master Jan Hus-NOM and took-MSG
se kázati a lid tuze z
REFL/PASS preach-INF and people-ACC very from
hřiechuov trestati.
sins-GEN punish-INST.]
‘In the year of our Lord 1410, when this was written, then master Jan Hus rose up and began preaching (lit. took to preaching) and punishing the people greatly for their sins.’

This construction corresponds to the colloquial expression in contemporary Engl *took to preaching* ‘began preaching’ and is also reflected in Middle English in (3).

- (3) ME *And David king of Scotland toc to uerrien him...*
[And David king of Scotland took to fight him...]
And David, king of Scotland, began fighting him...

All three examples show the potential for the extension of the natural inceptive qualities of lexical items for TAKE to express the semantics of BEGIN.

assured that his nutritional needs will be met. While these examples may be considered to exhibit network-like behavior among modal constructions proper, the concepts in the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network also transfer into modal uses, as seen by the development of ‘have’ discussed in 5.2.2 for Czech and Polish. The following English example shows how the concept TAKE may cross over into modal territory.

- (63) Engl *It takes me ten minutes to drive to work.*

In (63), Engl *take* expresses the time required for a trip to work, thus performing the function of the modal concept NECESSITY (see also TAKE BELIEF). As another example of the conceptual network providing fertile ground for modal constructions, Czech and Polish use GIVE in the construction Cz *dát se/P dać się* 'give' + the R/P particle as modal verbs with loosely defined meanings.

- (64) Cz *Ocituju svého oblíbeného autora Williama Jamese, ale*
 [Quote-1SG own favorite author William James-ACC, but
mám obavu, že do češtiny se to
 have-1SG concern-ACC, that to Czech-GEN R/P that-NOM
nedá přeložit.
 not-give-3SG translate-INF.]
 'I'll quote my favorite author, William James, but I have some concerns that it won't translate into Czech.'
- (65) Cz *Cítíš, že žiješ, a to se nedá s*
 [Sense-2SG, that live-2SG, and that-NOM R/P not-give-3SG with
ničím srovnat.
 nothing-INST compare-INF.]
 'You feel that you are living and you can't compare that to anything.'
- (66) Cz *Nedá se nic dělat.*
 [Not-gives-3SG R/P nothing-NOM do-INF.]
 'There isn't anything to do (about it).'/ 'You can't do anything (about it).'
- (67) Cz *Jeden scénář se dá natočit mnoha způsoby*
 [One script-NOM R/P gives-3SG film-INF many ways-INST
a jenom jeden je správný.
 and only one-NOM is correct-NOM.]
 A single script may be filmed in many ways and only one of them is correct.
- (68) P *Bo jeżeli ma sens – tutaj Pascal się*
 [Because if has-3SG sense-ACC – here Pascal-NOM R/P
kłania to jesteśmy szczęśliwymi zwycięzcami, a
 bows – then are-AUX-1PL happy victors-INST, and
jeżeli nie, to nie musimy mieć do siebie pretensji,
 if not, then not must-1PL have-INF to self-GEN grudge-GEN,
bo zrobiliśmy, co się dało.
 because did-AUX-1PL, what-ACC R/P gave-NSG.]
 'Because if it makes sense – here Pascal bows – then we are happy victors, and if not, then we don't have to hold a grudge against ourselves, because we have done what we could.'

- (69) P *Da się jednak wykazać teoretycznie, że takie zachowania mogą wyewoluować także u zwierząt drogą doboru naturalnego, co więcej – znaleziono odpowiednie przykłady!*
 [Gives-3sg R/P yet show-INF theoretically, that such behaviors-NOM can-3PL evolve-INF also at animals-GEN path-INST selection natural-GEN, what more – found suitable examples-ACC!]
 'And yet it is possible to show theoretically, that such behaviors can also evolve in animals by the path of natural selection, what's more – suitable examples are found.'

This construction expresses the modal notions CAN and MAY. These modal developments are likely connected with the notion of PERMISSION entailed in giving. A giver freely grants a gift to another person and one possible gift is PERMISSION. The presence or absence of PERMISSION removes or creates boundaries to further action (see discussion of modals in 5.2). Linguistic differences may prevent the translation of a phrase from English into Czech in (64) and the feeling of living is so great that it cannot be compared with anything else in (65). The example in (66) shows a barrier to possible action and also has nuances of crossing over into the EXISTENCE meaning of BE. The examples in (67)–(69) express the possibility of carrying out various actions. In (67) the filming can be done in a number of ways, in (68) we have done what was possible to do, and in (69) we understand what is possible to prove theoretically. Given that this modal construction is used in conjunction with the reflexive/passive particle, *Cz se* and *P się*, there may also be a passive notion in this modal expression in addition to the semantics of transfer and permission entailed in GIVE.²⁰

The examples in this section illustrate some of the ways in which network concepts can be involved in our thinking and reasoning processes and the ways in which they can act as modal verbs similar to the development of modals from HAVE. Also, the expression of both root and epistemic modality in single lexemes is another indicator that modal verbs exhibit similar behavior to the concepts in the network, perhaps forming a network of their own along the lines of WHAT IS – WHAT SEEMS TO BE – WHAT OUGHT TO BE. Modal expressions exhibit the

20. Compare also the English expression *Engl See if it gives* with its connections to physical forces, supports, and barriers. We also see a passive notion with modal nuances in *Engl It lends itself to...* expressing POSSIBILITY or ABILITY. We may also look to the expression of the passive in Mandarin Chinese with the verb 'give' (Craig Melchert, p.c.).

same processes of polysemization and suppletization and often employ network concepts in their development.

2.7 Conclusion

It is my hope that the structure of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING conceptual network and the interactions examined here will add to our understanding of “the general character of conceptual structure in human cognition” (Talmy 1988a: 166). An identification of network concepts and their interactions in a given language can provide the type of tool for understanding language and human cognition which Rude (1978) was searching for in his cross-linguistic study of BE. The ultimate unifying concept behind BE and HAVE constructions and all of their semantic neighbors (and even every utterance in language) is the concept EXISTENCE. This feature is inherent and assumed in everything we do or say or think, but it is especially prominent in BE and HAVE expressions and their synonyms. The network concepts presented here in Tables 2-2 and 2-3 do not represent every idea which might conceivably find its way into the network or into expressions of BE and HAVE, but the information in these tables does provide a fairly comprehensive point of departure for further studies into the ways languages build up higher concepts from an important core of fundamental ideas.

Constructions for BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors are complex in the sense that they are composed of multiple lexical roots (suppletion) and multiple meanings (polysemy). It is often difficult if not impossible to separate these concepts from the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network because of historical polysemies and suppletion drawn from network ideas. The processes of polysemization and suppletization are important in their own right. Suppletion is frequently looked upon as little more than a designation for a language phenomenon. In this chapter, the development of BE and HAVE shows that suppletization is a dynamic process of lexical renewal and replacement for these concepts. Polysemy and suppletion are responsible for the complexity and innovation of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network. BE and HAVE are complex in their own structure, combining two major ideas: BE:EXISTENCE and BE:COPULA, HAVE:POSSESSION and HAVE:RELATIONSHIP. Other concepts in the network are also often polysemous. The concept GIVE, for instance, primarily means ‘the transfer of an object from one possessor to another’, but in Czech the verb for GIVE, *Cz dát* ‘give’ also means ‘put’ and takes on modal functions as well and is in a relationship with its UNBECOMING antonym, TAKE (cf. the use of the dative with verbs of GIVING and TAKING in Czech and other European languages, Janda 1993a).

The details of polysemy and suppletion are worked out differently in different languages. We must be aware that the presentation of the conceptual network

here is based primarily on four Slavic languages and general data from several other Indo-European languages. To some extent, I am basing a universal system on the evidence of a small sample of related languages. However, I have not come across any examples that have contradicted the structure of the network presented in this chapter. The meanings associated with BE and HAVE in certain languages might include or exclude the meanings in Figures 2-2 and 2-3 or might add other meanings. Although the models for BE and HAVE presented in these figures would work well for most Indo-European languages, these figures should be considered specific to the Slavic languages examined in this book and might not hold up well under cross-linguistic comparison. However, it is my view that the potential concepts expressed by BE and HAVE constructions would likely be quite similar across languages, as discovered in Rude's (1978) tour of BE in over 30 languages. Likewise, the various POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP notions of HAVE are universal, but there is no reason that all of these notions must be included in a single construction. The network concepts and the interactions between them are "wired" differently in different languages, but we are dealing with the same, rather limited, "grab bag" of ideas.

The structure, specific features, and individual history of a given language or language family will affect the way the network concepts are structured, but the key to understanding the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network cross-linguistically is to understand the distinctions and meanings of the individual concepts involved (FIELD OF SEMES) and then look for polysemies, suppletion, and syncretisms particular to that language. The complex of ideas associated with BE in the Indo-European languages is widely established and preserves an ancient notion of the concept BE. Several individual notions from the semantic network have been used to augment the concept BE as a macro-concept. The similarity between the syncretisms and shared polysemies of BE discussed in Rude (1978) reveals a high degree of coherence in the concept BE. What does this mean for the structure of language? The coherence of the macro-concept BE perhaps indicates a kind of complementary distribution, that one lexeme can perform two or more tasks mostly unambiguously. The structure of BE cross-linguistically also reveals the natural semantic associations between network concepts, some of which are capable of subsuming others and some of which are assimilated in the historical processes of suppletization and polysemization. To study the synchronic state of a language in relation to the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network is to attempt to unravel knotty linguistic changes and semantic connections that have developed over thousands of years. The situation in the modern Slavic languages represents centuries of independent developments and a shared prehistory from Common Slavic, which has and will continue to involve network concepts.

Some new connections between network concepts may be only spontaneous leaps (see 6.1) of short duration and with narrow influence on the language. However, even the creative leaps of individual speakers do seem to find their inspiration within the confines of the conceptual network and there is much room for creativity and mutual understanding in such constrained metaphorical leaps. There is likely a great deal of fluidity in these concepts over time. How closely they interact with each other changes in phases and may be connected to various phonological or syntactic changes in the language at large. Based solely on data considered here from the Slavic languages, we may ask how long can these constructions last? For whatever reason, BE has remained fairly stable over the centuries, incorporating new ideas without radically changing its composition. The concept HAVE, on the other hand, seems to develop in successive waves, whereby a new construction will arise, become dominant, overtake a previous expression, and subsequently decline in the presence of a new challenger. Despite the semantic similarities between BE and HAVE, the behavior of these two concepts is quite different. The existence of a transitive verb 'have' instead of a HAVE construction with an expression of BE, may serve as a catalyst for network development in a language. With its origin in the ACTION source domain, a transitive verb 'have' can connect the concepts BE and HAVE with a much broader field of verbal concepts. The links between BE-HAVE-BECOME-GET are much more developed in English and Czech than in Russian, likely because of the lack of a verb 'have' in Russian.

The structure of the network may have much to say about the verbal structure of language. The notion of the "semantic paradigm" discussed in Chvany (1995: 77) is especially intriguing. If we understand the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network as a semantic paradigm, then how far can we push the analysis and how powerful is the network for explaining linguistic structure? Could we fill in the most neutral expressions of the network concepts for a given language, then go further into synonyms for an individual concept? Thus, GIVE might yield a field of synonyms such as Engl *give: confer, award, bestow, donate, grant, impart, provide, offer, convey, present, introduce, say*, and so forth, drawing on a range of metaphorical interpretations of GIVING. If such an analysis were conducted for all of the network concepts, how many total verbal lexemes would be accounted for in that language? Would the structure of the network then provide an organizational system for almost all the verbs in a language? Would such an organizing principle express the same sorts of relationships that case systems express in language? And would we see formal correspondences between the network verbs and the case system, e.g., GIVING correlates with the dative case? Or would this verbal network with extended synonyms be nothing more than saying that some verbs are stative, some inchoative, and so forth? Even without such an extension of the network, is the network already too broad and vague to provide a useful analytical tool? I think not. The network has prototypes in BE and HAVE, and their BECOMING and

UNBECOMING counterparts and the connections with all of the other concepts flow from these prototypes. Overly specific concepts such as *JOUST* or actions such as *WIDEN* or *DANCE* would not be included in the network because they are not associated with the ideas included in *BE* and *HAVE*: *EXISTENCE*, *PRESENCE/ABSENCE*, *AVAILABILITY*, *LOCATION*, *ATTAINMENT*, *MOTION*, *SENSIBILITY/VISIBILITY*, and so forth. Verbal notions which are not good candidates for inclusion in the network are also not likely candidates for auxiliary, modal, causative, or other grammatical uses. The network items may be grouped together because of the natural semantic connections between these concepts and because of further links motivated by metaphorical understandings of these concepts.

This chapter serves only as an introduction to the conceptual network, but the examples illustrate the types of developments that take place and the implications network concepts have for historical language change and synchronic language structure. Network concepts restlessly change and adapt over time and spur the development of new constructions and categories as they teeter somewhere on the brink between lexical and grammatical items. Whatever the precise semantic qualities of these two concepts, *BE* and *HAVE* are highly productive devices in language. Constructions for *BE* and *HAVE* are so ubiquitous in language that they frequently go unnoticed in linguistic research, in spite of the challenging problems they pose. Much fruitful analysis can be accomplished if the two concepts are examined not only together, but as a wider set of related semantic ideas. The *BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING* network provides motivation for the development of polysemous lexical items and suppletive paradigms and provides a unifying structure for understanding *BE*, *HAVE*, and a host of semantically related concepts. The network also motivates the extension of grammatical categories or syntactic structures from one verb to another through analogy. The languages examined in this chapter have developed elaborate systems involving the ideas in this conceptual network. The verbs ‘be’ and ‘have’ in these languages have multiple meanings and fill many different roles. These lexical items in the network represent foundational concepts and maintain close ties with their semantic neighbors in the *BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING* network. The continual process of replacement and renewal by other items in the verbal network makes for extremely rich constructions and the option for development of new grammatical categories in language.

BE in the modern Slavic languages

To be can mean either of two things. It may mean the act of essence, or it may mean the composition of a proposition effected by the mind in joining a predicate to a subject.

– St. Thomas Aquinas
Summa Theologiae (I,3,4)

3.0 General comments: The facets of BE

Already at the Proto-Indo-European stage, the verb ‘be’ was polysemous, joining at a minimum the two concepts **EXISTENCE** and **COPULA** in one lexeme (**COPULA - EXISTENCE - TRUTH**). The distinction between **EXISTENCE** and **COPULA** within a coherent concept of **BE** may or may not be maintained in a given language, but for the Indo-European languages, this ancient, dual role is inherited and maintained in the descendant languages. The various meanings and functions of ‘be’ in the Slavic languages cannot be further simplified beyond these two core concepts of **EXISTENCE** and **COPULA**, which serve as the prototypes for all other related meanings and uses of the **BE** constructions in the languages considered here. As we have seen in Chapter 2, **BE** and **HAVE** combine these dual prototypes into a single, complex concept. Structurally, **BE** and **HAVE** have much in common, as exhibited in their conceptual structure and in semantic crossovers from **HAVE** to **BE** in certain expressions of **EXISTENCE**.

In Slavic and many other branches of Indo-European, the concept **BE** is made up, not only of many meanings, but of multiple roots, a phenomenon referred to as suppletion. The forms of the Slavic verb ‘be’ are genetically related to the Proto-Indo-European roots **h₁es* ‘be, exist’ and **bhuh_s* ‘become’. The motivation behind the extension of one of the meanings of **BE** to include others is not difficult to understand. The notion of **EXISTENCE** implies space and time, and it is likely that the involvement of existential expressions in various locational constructions and verbs of position results from this existential meaning. Once **EXISTENCE** and **LOCATION** have been established, ‘be’ expressions may spread to encompass the notion of availability exhibited in **PRESENCE/ABSENCE** constructions. The historical development of these polysemies remains unknown for the Indo-European

COPULA - EXISTENCE - TRUTH

When I have discussed the lack of regular verbal expression of BE and HAVE in Russian with non-linguists and non-Russian speakers, I have received several quizzical looks and been asked many questions. To speakers of HAVE-languages, where 'have' and 'be' are ever-present as grammaticalized auxiliaries, the question of their absence is almost unthinkable. One person was comforted by the fact that Hamlet's question translates faithfully into Russian (*R Byt' ili ne byt'?* [Be-INF or not be-INF ?] 'To be or not to be?') Another was puzzled about Russian translations of Greek philosophy. Whether in questions of translation or in discussions of being, philosophical questions inevitably arise when the discussion turns to BE and HAVE. The birth of Greek philosophy may be in great debt to the maintenance of the Proto-Indo-European understanding of BE as a threefold expression of COPULA - EXISTENCE - TRUTH. The many meanings of BE provided the perfect soil for the flourishing of Ancient Greek philosophy. The concepts EXISTENCE and COPULA are prominent in the Slavic understanding of BE, but we also find traces of the third concept TRUTH in various Slavic lexemes.

The linguistic origins of Ancient Greek ontology is taken up by Kahn in several extensive works (Kahn 1966, 1973, 1978). He examines how the Greek conceptions of BEING arose from the polysemous nature of the verb 'be' as inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Since Russian is an Indo-European language, distantly related to Greek, we might expect Kahn's analysis to hold up for Slavic based solely on the shared genesis of 'be' in Greek and Slavic. Furthermore, even though Slavic does not share in the rich philosophical tradition of Ancient Greek, it may still be possible that some Greek philosophical ideas about BEING sifted into the Russian language through its reception of Byzantine Christianity. Starting with the expression of TRUTH, 'what is, what is real, actual,' as the central concept for Indo-European 'be,' Kahn motivates the extension of 'be' to cover concepts of EXISTENCE and COPULA. In the resulting concept of BEING for Ancient Greek, the three distinct notions, predication, existence, and truth, are brought together to answer the question: "How must the world be structured in order for inquiry, knowledge, science, and true discourse or, for that matter, false discourse to be possible?" (Kahn 1978: 32).

By copula Kahn means the use of the "verb with a predicate adjective (Engl *I am tall*), a predicate noun (Engl *I am a man*), or a prepositional phrase (Engl *I am in the conference room*)" (Kahn 1978: 34). He also includes statements of identity: Engl *I am Steven Clancy*. There are two main features of the copula, the locative aspect and the durative aspect. Kahn tells us that the locational sense was so central to the Greek concept of being, that Greek common sense held that "whatever is, is somewhere" (Kahn 1978: 34). Besides the copula use, Greek 'be' is used as an existential verb, expressing MERE EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE.

An intriguing usage of 'be' in Greek is referred to by Kahn as the "veridical" use, where 'be' expresses neither predication nor existence but the truth of a statement or a belief (Kahn 1978: 35). In English, this concept is seen in sentences such as Engl *Things are as you say* and Engl *Tell it like it is* (Kahn 1978: 35). Kahn mentions that forms of 'be,' particularly the participial form PIE **h₁sont*, become words meaning truth. This is the case in Sanskrit and Greek and in Engl *sooth* 'truth' (Kahn 1978: 35). For Russian (via OCS), PIE **h₁sont* yields the noun *R suščestvo* 'being' and the verb *R suščestvovat'* 'exist'. More revealing, yet also more uncertain, are the etymologies of *R istina* 'truth' and *R istyj* 'true, genuine', *Cz jistý* 'certain, sure', and *P istniec* 'exist', which may come from the root PIE **h₁es-*. The veridical use of 'be' states that truth is 'that which exists in reality,' or 'that which is.' Perhaps the etymologies of the Slavic words in *(j)ist-* do ultimately rest on this ancient means of expressing truth, despite the decline of this meaning in contemporary uses of BE constructions.

languages. The collection of concepts associated with BE may vary somewhat from language to language, but there does seem to be a core set of ideas that participate in the expression of BE. In their COPULA functions BE expressions establish relationships between various items and serve to organize items into categories. Likely stemming from the characteristics of both the EXISTENCE and COPULA meanings, we often find AUXILIARY and IMPERSONAL uses of BE constructions. All of these aspects of BE are schematized below in Figure 3-1. A particular BE construction may have originated at any branch of the model and later taken on the other meanings, but these developments took place too long ago to be revealed by linguistic research. In order to understand the polysemies and suppletion of BE constructions, we must remember that we are never starting anew in any extant language. Rather we are always studying concepts which have grown more complex over time, but whose complexity is ancient (for more on the role of polysemization and suppletization with BE and related concepts, see Chapter 2). In addition, verbal roots meaning ‘be’ are often augmented by prefixes and suffixes in the Slavic languages, so some attention is given to these further semantic extensions of ‘be’. All of these facets of BE and their specific linguistic manifestations in the Slavic languages are explored in this chapter.

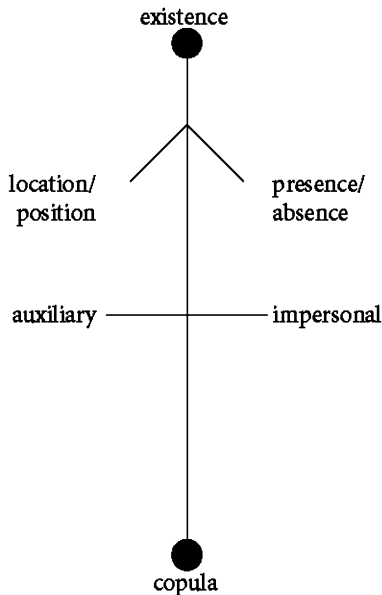


Figure 3-1. BE

The model for BE presented in Figure 3-1 organizes the various meanings of BE in relation to the two irreducible prototypes, EXISTENCE and COPULA. The model is based upon the uses of 'be' verbs in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian and serves as the organizing principle of this chapter. The two poles of the model represent prototypical ideas which have been inseparably blended into the macro-concept BE (see description and comparison with HAVE in 2.3). EXISTENCE and COPULA occupy these two positions, each appearing to different degrees in all expressions of BE. Under EXISTENCE (3.1) are the related concepts MERE EXISTENCE (3.1.1), LOCATION/POSITION (3.1.2), and PRESENCE/ABSENCE (3.1.3). The various lexical manifestations of the copula are discussed in 3.2. The prototypes EXISTENCE and COPULA make a semantic contribution to the grammaticalization of BE in AUXILIARY (3.3) and IMPERSONAL (3.4) constructions.

This presentation reveals many of the differences and similarities between these four languages from the East, West, and South Slavic branches. Generally speaking, Czech and Polish are most alike, both being West Slavic languages. Regarding the categories of tense and mood, Russian, Czech, and Polish are quite similar to each other. Markedly different is Bulgarian, as a South Slavic language that has preserved more of the Common Slavic tense system and even expanded on it (see Chapter 5). As HAVE-languages with transitive verbs derived by Heine's (1997) ACTION source domain, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian share similarities, including the functions and forms of the verb 'be', whereas the Russian paradigms for 'be' have lost paradigmatic cohesiveness and the remaining forms of 'be' have often taken on special grammatical roles (see Chapter 5). In the process of identifying the uses and meanings of BE constructions, the considerable overlap between constructions for BE and HAVE becomes apparent. For instance, contiguously related concepts of BECOMING and UNBECOMING often approach the semantics of the stative verb 'be'. By comparing these change-of-state constructions with stative concepts, one notices the similarities between constructions for BE and HAVE. Manifestations of the verb 'have' turn up in expressions of PRESENCE/ABSENCE and, likewise, the verb 'be' may serve as a source for the development of HAVE expressions (see Chapter 4). This chapter focuses exclusively on the meanings of BE constructions and the following chapter deals with the semantic range of constructions for HAVE, thereby laying a firmer foundation for the previous discussion in Chapter 2 of the relationships and interactions between the two concepts.

As in English and many other Indo-European languages, the verb 'be' in the Slavic languages serves multiple roles in its use as a verb of EXISTENCE and as a COPULA. The verb 'be' in these languages is among a set of relatively few irregularly conjugated verbs and is historically part of the athematic conjugation (ATHEMATIC). The irregularities of 'be' verbs are due to polysemies and suppletion and are compounded by phonological changes. In Czech and Polish, the present-tense forms

of Cz *být* ‘be’ (*jsem, jsi, je, jsme, jste, jsou*) and P *być* ‘be’ (*jestem, jesteś, jest, jesteśmy, jesteście, są*) have full stress and behave syntactically like other verbs. In Bulgarian, the present-tense forms of B *săm* ‘be’ (*săm, si, e, sme, ste, sa*) are used like other verbs, but syntactically are sentential enclitics occurring in the familiar second position (Wackernagel’s Law). Russian is unique among the Slavic languages in its lack of an explicit copula in the present tense and reduction of the inherited present tense forms of ‘be’ to the single form R *est’* ‘(there) is’. The use of the zero-copula is prevalent in most Russian contexts, but is also possible in some contexts in Polish. In addition to the zero-copula, Russian has managed to fill in for the absence of R *byť* ‘be’ in the present tense by the development of other copula-like verbs.

3.1 EXISTENCE

By EXISTENCE, it should be stated that I am referring to something more than merely ‘there is’ constructions (i.e., “nuclear existence” in Heine (1997: 57)), although these types of expressions are what is typically intended in linguistic discussions of “existential constructions”. In addition to the usual technical senses of EXISTENCE, I am also referring to a fundamental state of being. In this study, I use the term MERE EXISTENCE to refer to this fundamental ontological status, having life or substance in the world in very broad terms. MERE EXISTENCE is often closely tied linguistically to having a physical location or to being present, sensible, or available in the world. Chvany indicates the relationship between MERE EXISTENCE and LOCATION by stating that “the existence of a physical object *invites an inference* that the object is located in some existent place” (1975: 55–6). Kahn asserts that if “existence and location are not *identical* in Greek thought, they are at least logically equivalent, for they imply one another” (1966: 258). “The locative connotation, suggesting as it does a concretely spatial and even bodily view of *what* is inclines Greek philosophy towards a conception of reality as corporeal” (Kahn 1966: 260). The concepts MERE EXISTENCE, LOCATION, and PRESENCE/ABSENCE are closely related as ideas and as lexical items. Section 3.1 breaks EXISTENCE down into these three notions: MERE EXISTENCE (3.1.1), LOCATION and POSITION (3.1.2), and PRESENCE and ABSENCE (3.1.3).

3.1.1 MERE EXISTENCE

The verb ‘be’ in the Slavic languages and in many Indo-European languages can be used as an expression of MERE EXISTENCE, as an expression of having basic reality in the world. To some extent, linguistic expression of this MERE EXISTENCE

is redundant and taken for granted, yet we do find the expression of this concept with general 'be' verbs and with other, more specialized, verbs of EXISTENCE. Often, these verbs are used to question or deny the existence of something, rather than to affirm existence. Verbs meaning 'have' are also used to signify EXISTENCE, as we find in Russian, Polish, and Bulgarian.

3.1.1.1 'Be' as expression of MERE EXISTENCE

The verb 'be' in Russian and Czech may be used for the expression of MERE EXISTENCE. In Polish and Bulgarian, however, this meaning has been partially taken over by an expression with 'have' (see 3.1.4), although 'be' can sometimes be found in this sense.

- (1) R *Kak ty думаеš. Бог ест'?*
[How you-NOM think-2sg. God-NOM is?]
'What do you think...is there a God?/does God exist?'
- (2) R *Razumeetsja, существует врожденное*
[Understandable-3sg-R/P, exists-3sg inborn
предрасположение к добру и злу. Более того,
predisposition-NOM to good-DAT and evil-DAT. More that-GEN,
ест' на свете ангелы и монстры.
is on world-LOC angels-NOM and monsters-NOM.]
'Understandably, there exists an inborn predisposition towards good and evil. More than that, there are angels and monsters in the world.'
- (3) R *...когда она окончательно перестанет в нее верить,*
[...when she-NOM finally stops-3sg in it-ACC believe-INF,
никакой вечности больше не будет, потому что
no-kind-of eternity-GEN more not will-be-3sg, because that
где ей тогда быть?
where it-DAT then be-INF?]
'...when she finally stops believing in it, then there won't be any more eternity, because where is there for it to be?'
- (4) R *...злых людей нет на свете.*
[...evil people-GEN not on world-LOC.]
'...there aren't any evil people in the world.'

In these Russian examples, we already see the close connection between MERE EXISTENCE and a physical LOCATION. Example (1) asks a question about MERE EXISTENCE without reference to a place and the first use of 'be' in (3) negates existence without reference to location. However, the second use of 'be' in (3) refers to an unspecified location with R *где* 'where' and the uses of R *ест'* '(there) is' and R *нет* '(there) is not' in (2) and (4) make broad reference to MERE EXISTENCE in a

defined location, *R na svete* ‘in the world’. In expressions of EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE, *R est* ‘(there) is’ alternates with negative *R net* ‘(there) is not’. For all practical purposes, *R est* ‘(there) is’ is the only remaining form of the inherited present tense of ‘be’ from PIE **h₁es*.¹

Czech uses its verb ‘be’ in expressions of MERE EXISTENCE, a use which is also occasionally found in Polish. The following examples exhibit some of the possibilities.

- (5) Cz *Myslím, tedy jsem.*
[Think-1SG, therefore am-1SG.]
‘I think, therefore I am.’
- (6) Cz *Chtěl jsem jim nabídnout, ať si všechno vezmou, jen ať mě nechají být.*
[Wanted-MSG am-AUX-1SG them-DAT offer-INF, let self-DAT everything-ACC take-3PL, only let me-ACC allow-3PL be-INF.]
‘I wanted to offer them to take everything if they would just let me be.’
- (7) Cz *Nový Werich ze mne být nemůže.*
[New Werich-NOM from me-GEN be-INF cannot-3SG.]
Nemůže ze mne být ani nový Menšík, jak se začalo říkat.
[Cannot-3SG from me-GEN be-INF even new Menšík-NOM, as R/P began-NSG say-INF.]
‘I can’t become a new Werich. I can’t even become a new Menšík, as people were beginning to say.’
- (8) Cz *Strašidla nejsou.*
[Ghosts-NOM not-are-3PL.]
‘Ghosts don’t exist.’
- (9) Cz *Byl jednou jeden král...*
[Was-MSG once one king-NOM...]
‘Once upon a time there was a king...’
- (10) P *Uważał, że wszystko to gdzieś jest, że spełni się w jego życiu.*
[Thought-MSG, that all-NOM that-NOM somewhere is-3SG, that fulfills-3SG R/P in his life-LOC.]
‘He thought that everything that is somewhere, would be fulfilled in his life.’

1. The use of the root of Russian ‘be’ is also evident in the title of the *Book of Genesis*, *R Kniga Bytija* [book existence-GEN]. The Old Testament book explaining beginnings and origins is understood in terms expressed by the root of the verb ‘be’.

The Czech version of the familiar quotation in (5) and the examples of 'be' in (6) and (9) are well matched with their English counterparts, but a literal translation of (7) or (8) via Engl *be* would be forced. However, there is the understanding in both languages that 'be' can often be equivalent in meaning to 'live' or 'exist'. In (7) a better English translation would be 'You can't get a new Werich out of me...', demonstrating the close relationship between, BE, HAVE, GET, and BECOME. Examples (5), (7), (8), and (9) express MERE EXISTENCE and (6) expresses the desire to be left alone, to be allowed to go on existing. In the Polish sentence in (10), we again see the ties between MERE EXISTENCE and LOCATION, particularly the idea that something which exists, exists somewhere. These expressions in Russian, Czech, and Polish correspond to certain uses of Engl *be* as an expression of MERE EXISTENCE, but also to the English existential expression Engl *there is*. The reinforcement of MERE EXISTENCE by the word Engl *there* and the frequent use of explicit location in sentences expressing MERE EXISTENCE serve as further reminders of the close connections between MERE EXISTENCE, LOCATION, and PRESENCE/ABSENCE.

3.1.1.2 Verbs of MERE EXISTENCE other than 'be'

Languages may express MERE EXISTENCE through more specific existential verbs. R *sušestvovat* 'exist' and B *sāstestvuvam* 'exist' are formed from the old present active participle stem of 'be'. Cz *existovat* 'exist' employs a borrowing from Lat *existere*, while the etymology of P *istnieć* 'exist' is less certain.²

- (11) P *Istniał przecież koło mnie.*
[Existed-MSG after-all around me-GEN.]
'After all, he existed around me.'
- (12) P *Istnieje sporo rzeczy między rozpaczą*
[Exists-3SG quite-a-few things-GEN between despair-INST
a szczęściem, i stosunkowo są
and happiness-INST, and comparatively are-3PL
one dostępne.
they-NOM easy-to-reach-NOM.]
'There exist quite a few things between despair and happiness, and, comparatively, they are easy to reach.'
- (13) Cz *Existuje psychokineze, nebo jde o trik?*
[Exists-3SG psychokinesis-NOM, or goes-3SG about trick-ACC?]
'Does psychokinesis exist or is it just a hoax?'

2. The root of Polish *istnieć* 'exist', Cz *jistý* 'certain, sure', R *istina* 'truth', and so forth may be related to the root of 'be', see Vasmer 1986. Even if this is not directly related to the root of 'be', the semantics are clearly very close.

- (14) Cz Vy *nemáte* *pracovní knížku?* *Jak vůbec*
 [You-NOM not-have-2PL work book-ACC? How in-general
můžete existovat?
 can-2PL exist-INF?]
 ‘You don’t have an appointment book? Well, how are you able to exist?’
- (15) B – *Blгодарja, že sáštěstvuvaš – pomisli momičeto.*
 [– Thank-1SG, that exist-2SG – thought-AOR-3SG girl-DEF.]
 ‘“Thank you for existing,” thought the girl.’

In the Polish examples, the speaker in (11) assumes that another entity’s existence revolves around the speaker himself and in (12), the sentence discusses the existence of a wide spectrum of things and ideas ranging from despair to happiness. For Czech, we see a specialized verb of existence used to inquire about the existence of a supernatural phenomenon in (13) and to question the possibility of living without one’s daily planner in (14), itself already an extended meaning of the verb ‘exist’. The Bulgarian sentence in (15) expresses simple gratitude for another entity’s MERE EXISTENCE.

Since the Russian concept of BE is paradigmatically diffuse and disjointed it is useful to examine the use of R *suščestvovat’* ‘exist’ in light of the lack of a verb ‘be’ in Russian. Other verbal expressions play into this complication, filling in for the lack of ‘be’. Among the possibilities are R *suščestvovat’* ‘exist’ discussed here, R *javljaťsja* ‘be’ discussed in 3.2.3, and a host of near-copula verbs discussed in 2.6.1. R *suščestvovat’* ‘exist’ is used primarily to express the presence or existence of something in a location or the mere fact of its existence. When this verb is used to state that something exists, it is synonymous with the present tense form R *est’* ‘(there) is’: *Bog suščestvuet = Bog est’* ‘God exists, is’, with past and future forms of both R *suščestvovat’* ‘exist’ and R *byt’* ‘be’ also synonymous. (Pande 1983: 272). There may be some question about the reality of existence in these types of sentences, so we commonly find additional markers for real and unreal situations. For real situations, we find markers such as R *v dejstviteľnosti* ‘in reality, in fact’, R *voistinu* ‘truly, indeed’, R *v samom dele* ‘really, in fact’, and R *na samom dele* ‘actually’.

- (16) R V *dejstviteľnosti, Bog suščestvuet.* (Pande 1983: 273)
 [In fact-LOC, God-NOM exists-3SG.]
 ‘In fact, God does exist.’

Such markers stress the reality of the statement. On the other hand, if doubt is involved, R *suščestvovat’* ‘exist’ may be accompanied by markers such as R *esli* ‘if’ or R *možet byt’* ‘perhaps, maybe’.

- ‘He said, appealing to God, “If you exist, do that which will heal this man.”’

ABSENCE, as discussed below.

The expression of MERE EXISTENCE, of being in its most basic and broad context, is the main task of individual verbs 'exist' and is an important component of 'be' verbs. However, as we have seen, these expressions are somewhat rare in speech, MERE EXISTENCE being assumed for speakers or objects of discussion. The use of 'be' expressions and verbs for 'exist' is much more common in contexts of negation or of questioning existence. In positive contexts the use of existential constructions tends to be a strong affirmation of MERE EXISTENCE

or emphasizes the location of the existing entity, a usage which fades into the meanings of LOCATION (3.1.2) and PRESENCE/ABSENCE (3.1.3). For these BE constructions, EXISTENCE is built into the concept, just as POSSESSION is built into certain HAVE expressions with body parts or kinship relations (see 4.2). These specific verbs of MERE EXISTENCE also show polysemization, parallel to the development of BE constructions, and come to participate in LOCATION and PRESENCE/ABSENCE constructions.

3.1.2 LOCATION and POSITION

The presence of multi-layered meaning in existential sentences often facilitates a reading of MERE EXISTENCE plus physical LOCATION. However, the use of 'be' with specific locations can be a much more mundane expression of a container, whether space or time, in which something exists. Verbs meaning 'be' and 'exist' may be used to specify a location in the physical world for an entity. In addition to these BE expressions, we also find specific verbs of location such as R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' and verbs of position such as 'sit', 'stand', and 'lie'.

3.1.2.1 Locational constructions with 'be'

The verb 'be' in Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian may express existence in space or time. In Russian, there is most often a zero verb in such uses, a mere joining of subject with a locative phrase being sufficient to express EXISTENCE in a LOCATION.

- (19) Cz *V září však bude premiéra nového českého filmu...*
 [In September-LOC however will-be-3SG premier-NOM new Czech film-GEN...]
 'However, in September there will be a premier of a new Czech film...'
- (20) Cz *To bylo v roce 1918.*
 [That-NOM was-NSG in year-LOC 1918-NOM.]
 'That was in the year 1918.'
- (21) Cz *V knize jsou chyby.*
 [In book-LOC are-3PL mistakes-NOM.]
 'There are mistakes in the book.'
- (22) Cz *Lampa je na stole.*
 [Lamp-NOM is-3SG on table-LOC.]
 'The lamp is on the table.'

- (23) Cz *Člověk si jen říkal: "Co pro ně*
 [Man-NOM self-DAT only said-MSG: "What-ACC for them-ACC
můžu udělat? Mají mámu? Mají tátu?
 can-1SG do-INF? Have-3PL mom-ACC? Have-3PL dad-ACC?
Proč tady jsou? Co všechno viděli? A co
 Why here are-3PL? What-ACC all-ACC seen-PL? And what-NOM
s nima bude?"
 with them-INST will-be-3SG?"]
 'The man just said to himself: "What can I do for them? Do they have a
 mom? Do they have a dad? Why are they here? What all have they seen?
 And what will become of them?"'

These Czech examples show the sorts of containers that may serve as locations with the verb 'be'. In (19) the container is the month of September, in (20) the year 1918, in (21) a book, in (22) a table, and in (23) the indefinite adverb *Cz tady* 'here'.

- (24) P ...*tam* *nedaleko* *jest* *park* *wyłysiałym*
 [...there not-far is-3SG park-NOM with bald
boiskiem sportowym...
 field sports-INST...]
 '...not far from there there is a park with a beaten-down sports field..'
- (25) R *Istina* *prežde* *vsego* *v tom,* *čto u tebj*
 [Truth-NOM before all-GEN in that-LOC, that at you-GEN
bolit *golova.*
 hurts-3SG head-NOM.]
 'First and foremost the truth is in the fact that your head hurts.'
- (26) B *Az ne* *săm* *ot* *Bolivija,* *a* *ot* *Bălgarija,* *kojato e*
 [I not am-1SG from Bolivia, but from Bulgaria, which is-3SG
v Evropa, *v* *neinata* *jugoiztočna* *čast,* *na* *Balkanskija*
 in Europe, in its-DEF southeast part, on Balkan-DEF
poluostrov.
 peninsula.]
 'I'm not from Bolivia, but from Bulgaria, which is in Europe, in its
 southeast part, on the Balkan peninsula.'

The Polish example in (24) uses 'be' with a location that is not far away. The Russian example in (25) demonstrates the typical use of the zero form of 'be' with LOCATION expressions in Russian. The Bulgarian sentence in (26) shows that the location with 'be' may be a source location 'from Bolivia', 'from Bulgaria' as well as the location of a subject 'in Europe'. These locative expressions are a common use of BE

constructions. The verb 'be' in example (22) could just as easily be replaced with a verb of position such as 'stand'. Verbs that specifically describe the position of an object or which require a specific location are discussed in the following section.

Verbs meaning 'exist' may also express EXISTENCE in a specific LOCATION. Pande identifies two types of qualifying phrases used in sentences with R *suščestvovat'* 'exist' and R *est'* '(there) is'. "Universal" qualifiers, such as R *na svete/v mire* 'in the world', R *na zemle* 'in the land', R *večno* 'eternally', do not limit the existence of the object, whereas "limiting" qualifiers constrain the existent object to a certain space or time or highlight some quality (Pande 1983: 74). "Universal" qualifiers are present in (27) and (28).

- (27) R *Na zemle suščestvuet spravedlivost'.* Pande 1983: 274
 [On land-LOC exists-3SG justice-NOM.]
 'There is justice in the land.'
- (28) R *Materija suščestvuet večno.* (Pande 1983: 274)
 [Matter-NOM exists-3SG eternally.]
 'Matter exists eternally.'

In examples (27) and (28), the existence of the object is not limited in time and space. Even the qualifier *na zemle* 'in the land' is more a statement about the reality of justice in the world, rather than a statement delimiting where justice is and where it is not. "Limiting" qualifiers can be seen in (29)–(31).

- (29) R *Na Marse suščestvuet žizn'.* (Pande 1983: 275)
 [On Mars-LOC exists-3SG life-NOM.]
 'There is life on Mars.'
- (30) R *Na Lune vody ne suščestvuet.* (Pande 1983: 275)
 [On moon-LOC water-GEN not exists-3SG.]
 'There is no water on the moon.'
- (31) R *Suščestvujut dve točki zrenija po*
 [Exist-3PL two-NOM points-GEN view-GEN along
ètomu voprosu. (Pande 1983: 275)
 this question-DAT.]
 'There are two points of view on this question.'

In these cases, the *existence* of the object is not questioned. Rather, we are interested in stating *where* we might find the object or in specifying a quantity. The Russian verb R *suščestvovat'* 'exist' is used to affirm MERE EXISTENCE, but may also be used to state the presence of something in time and space. In this respect, these types of sentences are more appropriately identified as LOCATION or PRESENCE/ABSENCE expressions.

3.1.2.2 *Verbs of POSITION and LOCATION*

Verbs of POSITION and LOCATION share many common features with 'be' verbs and frequently develop into full fledged BE constructions.

- (32) Cz *Plášť visí na věšáku.*
 [Coat-NOM hangs-3SG on hook-LOC.]
 'The coat is hanging on the hook.'

- (33) Cz *Plášť je na věšáku.*
 [Coat-NOM is-3SG on hook-LOC.]
 'The coat is on the hook.'

The Czech verb 'hang' in (32) provides a synonym for 'be' in (33). In Russian such verbs of position are quite frequently used, likely due to the absence of an explicit verb 'be'.

- (34) R *Mašina stojí na ulice.*
 [Car-NOM stands-3SG on street-LOC.]
 'The car is/is parked on the street.'

- (35) R *Na kovre ležali rukopisi, oni že
 [On rug-LOC lay-PL manuscripts-NOM, they-NOM EMPH
 byli i na divane.
 were-PL and on couch-LOC.]
 'The manuscripts were lying on the rug, they were even on the couch.'*

In (34), the car "stands" on the street, meaning it is parked there. In (35), both a verb of position and the verb 'be' are used to describe the situation: papers were *lying* on the rug, they *were* even on the couch. These verbs can also be used with abstract subjects as in the following Polish example.

- (36) P *Przyczyna leży gdzie indziej.*
 [Reason-NOM lies-3SG where else.]
 'The reason lies somewhere else.'

In (36) the verb 'lie' closely approximates the verb 'be'. These verbs of position specify whether or not the objects STAND in upright positions, LIE horizontally, SIT on a surface, or HANG vertically. From the perspective of the Indo-European languages, the concept STAND has been particularly productive in forming BE expressions in many of the descendant languages.

Russian can also deal with its lack of a verb 'be' by using the specialized verb of location, R *naxodit'sja* 'be located'. This verb may imply a more or less permanent position, so that we would find R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' with inanimate, stable subjects, but a form of 'be', including the zero form, with animate, mobile subjects as in the following sentences.

- (37) R *Pamjatnik naxodit'sja v parke.*
 [Monument-NOM is-located-3SG in park-LOC.]
 'The monument is in the park.'

- (38) R *Katja v parke.*
 [Katja-NOM in park-LOC.]
 'Katya is in the park.'

The monument in (37) is in a fixed location and can reliably be found there time and again, whereas Katya in (38) may only be in the park for a short while. However, R *naxodit'sja* 'be located' can be used with animate subjects if the notion of freedom of motion is not present as with the prisoner in (39). This verb can also refer to specific, even if momentary, locations for animate subjects as in (40) without regard to stability of position.

- (39) R *Paul' Rudi naxoditsja v tjur'me.*
 [Paul Rudy-NOM is-located-3SG in prison-LOC.]
 'Paul Rudy is in prison.'

- (40) R *...gipnotizierami, moguščimi pokazyvat' sebja ne*
 [...hypnotists-INST, able-INST show-INF self-ACC not
v tom meste, gde oni na samom dele
 in that place-LOC, where they-NOM in actual fact-LOC
naxodilis', a na pozicijax
 were-located-PL-R/P, but on positions
mnimyx, smeščennyx.
 imaginary-LOC, displaced-LOC.]
 '...hypnotists who were able to make themselves appear not in the place where they actually were located, but in imaginary and displaced locations.'

These specific verbs of position and location often provide source material for new BE constructions and are quite active within the network of synonymous concepts discussed in Chapter 2. The general verb 'be' is often interchangeable with these specialized verbs. As a domain of BE, the notion LOCATION confirms that the object under discussion can be identified as existing in a certain place.

3.1.3 PRESENCE and ABSENCE

The concepts MERE EXISTENCE and LOCATION contribute to the notion PRESENCE/ABSENCE. In such expressions, the MERE EXISTENCE of the object in question is assumed, but the important question is whether or not the object is accessible in the LOCATION under discussion. The Czech and Russian examples below provide a sense of this usage of BE.

- (41) R *Est' v vospominanijax vsjakogo čeloveka takie vešči,*
 [There-is in memories-LOC each man-GEN such things-NOM,
kotorye on otkryvaet ne vse, a razve
 which-ACC he-NOM opens-3SG not all-DAT, but really
tol'ko druž'jam.
 only friends-DAT.]
 'There are such things in each man's memories that he does not reveal to
 all, but actually only to his friends.'
- (42) R *Est' v Peterburge sil'nyj vrag vsex,*
 [There-is in Petersburg-LOC strong enemy-NOM all-GEN,
polučajuščix četyresta rublej v god
 receiving-GEN four-hundred-ACC rubles-GEN in year-ACC
žalovan'ja ili okolo togo.
 income-GEN or around that-GEN.]
 'There is a strong enemy in Petersburg of everyone who receives a salary of
 400 rubles a year or about that much.'
- (43) R *V ètoj povesti net angelov i net*
 [In this story-LOC there-is-not angels-GEN and there-is-not
zlodeev... Net grešnikov i
 villains-GEN... There-is-not sinners-GEN and
pravednikov net.
 righteous-GEN there-is-not.]
 'In this story there are no angels and no villains... There are no sinners and
 no righteous people.'

In all of these utterances a domain is established and then the PRESENCE OR ABSENCE of the object is stated. In (41), the domain is memory: in everyone's reminiscences, one may find certain private thoughts. In (42) the domain is a city, specifically the lives of a certain income group in St. Petersburg, and the object is a present enemy. The example in (43) does not deny the MERE EXISTENCE of angels, villains, sinners, or righteous people, but they are absent from the domain of the story under discussion. All of these Russian examples use R *est'* '(there) is' + NOM to express PRESENCE and R *net* '(there) is not' + GEN to express ABSENCE.

In Czech PRESENCE and ABSENCE sentences, a LOCATION is established and a positive or negative form of the verb 'be' is used to determine PRESENCE OR ABSENCE. The negative particle Cz *ne-* is added directly to forms of the verb in Czech. Usually, this is merely an addition which attracts the first syllable stress, but does not change the form of the verb. The same is true for the verb 'be' with the exception of the 3sg form Cz *je* 'is' which has the irregular negative form Cz *není* 'is not'.

- (44) Cz *Do Ruska opravdu nepojedu: je tam zima,*
 [To Russia-GEN really not-go-1sg: is-3sg there cold,
medvědi a bolševici.
 bears-NOM and bolsheviks-NOM.]
 'I'm really not going to Russia: it's cold there, there are bears and bolsheviks.'
- (45) Cz *V bytě není telefon...*
 [In apartment-LOC not-is-3sg telephone-NOM...]
 'There is no phone in the apartment...'
- (46) Cz *U nás nejsou tak velké sociální rozdíly.*
 [At us-GEN not-are-3pl so large social differences-NOM.]
 'There are not such great social differences in our country.'
- (47) Cz *Není dost peněz.*
 [Not-is-3sg enough money-GEN.]
 'There isn't enough money.'

Just as with the Russian sentences, MERE EXISTENCE is neither categorically denied nor is it specifically defined and limited only to a particular place. Cold, bears, and bolsheviks may be found in Russia in (44), but also may be found elsewhere. For the negative examples, a phone is absent in the apartment in (45) so it will not be available for use, another one somewhere else will have to be found. Great social differences may be encountered elsewhere but are not problems for "us" in (46). Example (47) establishes a lack of money for an unspecified domain. These PRESENCE/ABSENCE expressions deal with very practical, concrete situations, frequently referring to the availability of certain items. It is no surprise that lexical items meaning 'have' sometimes cross over into these uses.

3.1.4 'Have' as a construction for EXISTENCE

In Polish and Bulgarian the 3sg form of 'have' may be used as an existential construction. In Russian the verb 'have' adds the reflexive/passive particle R *-sja* and becomes an expression of availability, R *imet'sja* 'there is'. In Polish, this construction in the present tense uses P *jest* 'is' for PRESENCE, but P *nie ma* [not has] 'there is not' for ABSENCE. However, the verb 'be' is used for both positive and negative contexts in the past (P *było* 'there was', P *nie było* 'there was not') and future (P *będzie* 'there will be', P *nie będzie* 'there will not be'). In Bulgarian, this function is predominately filled by the 'have' forms, B *ima* [(it) has] 'there is' and B *njama* [(it) not-has] 'there is not', as well as the other tense forms of B *imam* 'have', although

'be' may also be found sometimes.³ Examples (48)–(50) show some basic forms of these constructions.

- (48) P *Jest jeszcze czas.* (Lempp 1986: 55)
 [Is-3SG still time-NOM.]
 'There still is time.'
- P *Nie ma czasu.* (Lempp 1986: 55)
 [Not has-3SG time-GEN.]
 'There is no time.'
- P *Nie było/będzie czasu.* (Lempp 1986: 55)
 [Not was-NSG/will-be-3SG time-GEN.]
 'There was no/will not be time.'
- (49) B *Naistina ima xora, rodeni s kăsmet.*
 [Truly has-3SG people, born with luck.]
 'Truly there are people born with luck.'
- (50) B *Sjakaš ne be imalo nošt. Sjakaš njamaše da ima.*
 [As-if not was-AUX had night. As-if had-IMPFF to have.]
 'As if there was not night. As if it were not to be.'

Presumably, the verb 'be' once expressed these notions in Slavic, and 'have' has come to replace 'be' in these meanings, only partially in Polish, but completely in Bulgarian. The constructions in both languages use a singular, neuter, impersonal form of the verb in all tenses. Polish uses the nominative for the predicate in positive contexts and the genitive for the object in negative ones.⁴

These constructions may be used to express two of the subtypes of EXISTENCE: MERE EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE. In (51) and (52), the Polish constructions express death or non-existence. In (53) the Bulgarian construction is used to inquire about the MERE EXISTENCE of God.

- (51) P *Aż i nie ma, ni nas ni Maryli.*
 [Until and not has-3SG, not us-GEN not Maryla-GEN.]
 'Until there is neither us nor Maryla.'

3. Note the special form of the negative of 'have' in Bulgarian. Negated verbs in Bulgarian typically use the negative particle B *ne* 'not' unattached to the verb. However, with 'have', the negative presents the morphophonemic alternation B *ima* 'there is' vs. *njama* 'there is not'.

4. One may speculate on the motivation behind the development of P *nie ma* (*czego*) 'there is not something' as rooted in the Polish need for a genitive of negation. Perhaps the use of P *nie jest* (*co*) was not a strong enough negative expression and the genitive of negation was better suited to use with a transitive verb like P *mieć* 'have'. The expression of negation is another possible factor in the reasons behind the development of this Polish PRESENCE/ABSENCE construction.

- (52) P *Ogromnie się zdziwił, że nie ma*
 [Immensely R/P surprised-MSG, that not has-3SG
już kozy.
 already goat-GEN.]
 'He was immensely surprised that the goat was no more.'
- (53) B *Učitelkata govori, če njama Bog.*
 [Teacher-DEF says-3SG, that not-has-3SG God.]
 'The teacher says that there is no God.'

These constructions may also express PRESENCE and ABSENCE as in (54)–(58).

- (54) P *Nie ma go w pracy.*
 [Not has him-GEN in work-LOC.]
 'He is not at work.' (Lempp1986: 58)
- (55) P *Ale pewnego razu nie było go*
 [But certain time-GEN not was-NSG him-GEN
półtora dnia.
 one-and-a-half days-GEN.]
 'But on a certain occasion, he was gone for a day and a half.'
- (56) P *Tutaj nie ma wcześniej i nie ma później, wszystkie*
 [Here not has-3SG earlier and not has-3SG later, all
pory dnia i roku trwają równocześnie.
 times-NOM day-GEN and year-GEN go-on-3PL simultaneously.]
 'There is no earlier and no later here, all times of the day and year go on at the same time.'
- (57) B *Na gornite etaži sa spalnite i rabotnite*
 [On upper-DEF floors are-3PL bedrooms-DEF and work-DEF
pomeštenija, a v podzemnija etaž ima kinosalon.
 rooms, and in basement-DEF floor has-3SG movie-theater.]
 'The bedrooms and work areas are on the upper floors, and in the basement there is a movie theater.'
- (58) B *Vsāštnost, ako ima nešto, koeto naj-mnogo da*
 [Indeed, if has-3SG something, which most-of-all that
običam na sveta, to e pečena tikva...
 love-1SG on world, that is-3SG baked pumpkin...]
 'Indeed, if there is one thing I like most of all in the world, it is baked pumpkin.'

Examples (54) and (55) establish the ABSENCE but not the non-existence of the entities in question. The sentence in (56) establishes a domain in which the distinctions between past, present, and future are not important. The 'have' verb in

(57) establishes the location where bedrooms, workspace, and a movie theater may be found. In (58), the presence of a personal favorite food is established. All of these examples display the ability of 'have' verbs to mean BE.

In Russian, the bookish HAVE construction with the verb *R imet'* 'have' (see 4.3.2) may form an equally bookish PRESENCE/ABSENCE expression. Pande states that the verb *R imet'sja* 'there is' is used mainly in an academic or official style of writing. While *R byt'* 'be' is a general 'be' verb and *R suščestvovat'* 'exist' focuses on EXISTENCE, *R imet'sja* 'there is' has to do with 'being present, available, on hand' (Pande 1988: 129). The verb is also strongly connected to being somewhere, either a physical location in the world or a more metaphorical concept of space. In the following pair of nearly synonymous statements, one can see the slight semantic differences between *R est'* '(there) is' and *R imet'sja* 'there is'.

- (59) R V *biblioteke est' knigi po medicine.*
 [In library-LOC there-is books-NOM on medicine-DAT.]
 'There are books on medicine in the library.' (Pande 1988: 131)
- (60) R V *biblioteke imejutsja knigi po medicine.*
 [In library-LOC have-3PL-R/P books-NOM on medicine-DAT.]
 'There are books on medicine in the library.' (Pande 1988: 129)

Example (59) expresses the existence of medical books in the library. Sentence (60), on the other hand, conveys the additional notion of accessibility, that one may go to the library and check out or read medical books (Pande 1988: 131). The nuances of availability, accessibility, and usefulness are carried by the concept HAVE here acting as a BE construction. Accessibility is also implied in examples such as:

- (61) R V *ètom magazine imejutsja novye knigi.*
 [In this store-LOC have-3PL-R/P new books-NOM.]
 'There are new books in this store.' (Pande 1988: 129)
- (62) R U *voditelja imejutsja v prodaže abonementnye knižki.*
 [At driver-GEN have-3PL-R/P in sale-LOC ticket books-NOM.]
 'Ticket books are available for sale from the driver.' (Pande 1988: 129)

Accessibility does not necessarily accompany all uses of *R imet'sja* 'there is'; as when the verb is used to express the LOCATION of something or to express that one thing is present as a part of something else.

- (63) R *Sobranija proizvedenij xudožnika imejutsja v*
 [Collections-NOM works-GEN artist-GEN have-3PL-R/P in
Leningrade, Moskve, Rige... i mnogix
 Leningrad-LOC, Moscow-LOC, Riga-LOC... and many

drugix gorodax.
other cities-LOC.]

'Collections of the artist's works are in Leningrad, Moscow, Riga...and many other cities.'
(Pande 1988: 129)

- (64) R *V morskoi vode imejutsja soli.*
[In sea water-LOC have-3pl-R/P salts-NOM.]
'There are salts in sea water.'
(Pande 1988: 130)

Example (63) underscores the location of the works of art, not their accessibility to the general public and (64) does not imply that the salt is easily removable from sea water. However, there is the accessibility inherent in a HAVE construction. Ownership does not imply that everyone has access to the possessed item, but the paintings must be cared for and maintained by someone, the owner at least, can see them and enjoy them. Similarly, (64) expresses an inalienable relationship between the water and its salt. The presence of the salt affects the sea water which has it. In these instances, R *imet'sja* 'there is' approaches a 'there is' construction but the possessive connections of R *imet* 'have' still hold and are present in the meaning and usage of the verb. These connections with possession are also maintained in the Bulgarian and Polish BE constructions with 'have'.

This Russian verb also has a defining or concretizing effect. Pande states that one would not say R **V biblioteke imejutsja knigi* 'In the library there are books'. However, when a certain type of book is identified, then a construction with R *imet'sja* 'there is' is possible, as in sentences (60) and (61) above, where the prepositional phrase R *po medicine* 'on medicine' and the adjective R *novye* 'new' further delineate the types of books. The non-occurrence of the unqualified sentence might simply be due to a desire to avoid stating the obvious. Similarly, we may rarely find expressions of inalienable possession such as *John has a nose/father* without some further qualification (see 4.2). Similar examples are:

- (65) R *Nikakix vozraženij s moej storony*
[No-kind-of objections-GEN from my side-GEN
ne imejutsja.
not has-3sg-R/P.]
'There are no objections on my part.'
(Birnbbaum 1978: 31)

- (66) R *...i xot' kakie-nibud' mozgi u vas v*
[...and even some-kind-of brains-NOM at you-GEN in
golove imejutsja...
head-LOC have-3pl-R/P...]
'...and if there are any brains in your head at all...'

In these examples, the adjectives R *nikakoj* ‘no (kind of)’ and R *kakie-nibud’* ‘any (kind of)’ further describe the objections and brains. Russian *imet’sja* ‘there is’ rarely turns up in fiction texts or colloquial speech, a confirmation of Pande’s assertion that R *imet’sja* firmly belongs to the realm of academic or official prose, a fact which is consonant with the bookish flair of R *imet’* ‘have’ without the reflexive/passive suffix.

3.1.5 Summary of existential uses of BE

All of these EXISTENCE functions comprise a major semantic idea for BE constructions. The flexibility displayed in the polysemies of BE lexemes and the inclusion of HAVE constructions by suppletion is not limited to the expression of EXISTENCE. Constructions for BE display a remarkable capacity for expressing multiple concepts and including multiple roots while still maintaining a semantic coherence. The fluidity of such constructions is shown throughout the rest of this chapter and in the following chapter on HAVE. The great productivity and potential of BE and HAVE are seen well enough in isolation, but are even more apparent once the full range of their uses is understood.

3.2 COPULA

The other primary meaning of BE constructions is the COPULA. Forms of the verb ‘be’ are expressed and mandatory in the Czech and Bulgarian copula functions. In Polish, the verb ‘be’ is used in the majority of contexts, but a zero copula is also possible in the present tense. In Russian, the copula most often finds no explicit expression in the present tense. This lack of an explicit lexical manifestation in some languages has led certain linguists to argue that copula verbs have no semantic value. Swan states that ‘be’ “is a zero verb, semantically null, an empty bearer of tense and person” (1993: 146). Dik (1987) also asserts that the copula is semantically empty. In sentences such as those in (67), the lack of a copula verb suggests that it has no significant meaning.

- (67) Engl *I want John (to be) in the garden by ten.*
 I consider John (to be) the winner.
 I mean the chairs (which are) in the garden.
 John was a boy (who was) extremely intelligent for his age. (Dik 1987: 56)

These and many, if not all, sentences have BE built in. Specifically, the notion of EXISTENCE, whether it be existence in the real world or existence in thought, is a necessary condition for any utterance and especially copula “sentences always

presuppose the existence of their surface subjects” (Chvany 1975: 46).⁵ Contrary to Dik, I argue that the copula, and moreover, the verb ‘be’, is not semantically empty, rather it is the most basic verb in a language, but the notion of MERE EXISTENCE may simply be taken for granted. ‘Be’ may be viewed as “a proto-verb... as the most primitive example of a verb” (Swan 1993: 147) or as the “lightest” of verbs (Yokoyama 1985: 193). Such conceptions of ‘be’ as primitive or light may be somewhat misleading, particularly since zero forms of BE are restricted to the present tense. The desire to characterize ‘be’ as a basic verb or a proto-verb is strong. However, if by “primitive” we mean “lacking in development” and by “light” we mean semantically reduced, then ‘be’ is neither of these things. The polysemies and suppletion of ‘be’ represent centuries of development and change and the multiple roles and meanings render BE constructions semantically overloaded, thus characterizing BE constructions as the “heaviest” of verbs. Dik wishes to suggest that, because some languages make do without an explicit copula, there is no difference between sentences in various languages, some of which use an explicit copula and some of which do not. I would argue that the presence of a copula does matter and does make a semantic difference, even if only to connect the meanings of the copula verb with the rest of the verbal system in a language. Verbal copulas often remain linked to their non-copula meanings (cf. R *javljat’sja* ‘appear’ vs. ‘be’) and to a wider network of related concepts (see Chapter 2). Dik does not claim that “full verbs might not develop into copulas”, however he wishes to maintain that once they have become fully grammaticalized in this role, they have already become desemanticized (Dik 1987: 56). I do agree with Dik that auxiliary uses of copula verbs are not so different from their copula uses. The transition from copula to auxiliary is a natural extension (see Chapters 2 and 5). Throughout this book, however, I maintain that constructions for BE and HAVE remain motivated and constrained by their former meanings in all subsequent semantic developments.

In Czech and Bulgarian, as well as in English, the copula is expressed in a straightforward fashion by the verb ‘be’. This is mostly the case in Polish, but here we see some similarities to the zero copula dominant in Russian. The following sections provide discussion and examples for the zero copula (3.2.1), the expressed copula (3.2.2), and special verbs of categorization (3.2.3). As was the case with EXISTENCE, the concept HAVE also plays a role in the expression of the COPULA (3.2.4).

5. We also find a built in BE for the COPULA meaning in appositive uses, where we can understand a zero copula as in *CzPraha, (která je) hlavní město České Republiky, je moc krásná* [Prague-NOM, (which-NOM is-3SG) capital city-NOM Czech Republic-GEN, is-3SG very pretty-NOM] ‘Prague, (which is) the capital of the Czech Republic, is very pretty’.

3.2.1 The zero copula

Cross-linguistically, a zero form copula is not unusual. As indicated by Benveniste, the most common means of copula expression is the juxtaposition of two items (Benveniste 1971/1960: 164). In the older Indo-European languages, including OCS, we find occurrences of this zero copula. However, the zero form is not utilized by contemporary Czech or Bulgarian and is limited to certain contexts in Polish. Russian stands out among the Slavic languages for its lack of an explicit copula in the present tense. As with the expression of an assumed MERE EXISTENCE, there is also an element of the obvious in the expression of the copula. The verbal form, in the present tense, where it exists explicitly, serves merely to join the two expressions. However, in the past, the future, or in conditional statements, some further marker is needed to define the time and reality in which the relationship between the two items is in effect. Such is the case in the following Russian examples.

- (68) R *Moja familija Poplavskij.*
 [My last-name-NOM Poplavsky-NOM.]
 'My last name is Poplavsky.'
- (69) R *Galina byla vdovoj znamenitogo*
 [Galina-NOM was-FSG widow-INST well-known
èstonskogo revoljucionera...
 Estonian revolutionary-GEN...]
 'Galina was the widow of a well-known Estonian revolutionary..'

The Russian short adjective has also been generalized with copula constructions. The usage of zero + short adjective is, in effect, an explicit copula construction.

- (70) R *Ona sčastliva.*
 [She-NOM happy-NOM-FSG]
 'She is happy.'
- (71) R *On bolen.*
 [He-NOM sick-NOM-MSG.]
 'He is sick.'

The use of the zero copula in Polish occurs with the demonstrative pronoun *P to* 'that', however the construction may appear with both the zero copula or the explicit copula (*P To Y* 'That is Y' or *P To jest Y* 'That is Y'). Swan states that this copula expression with the demonstrative pronoun *P to* depends on referentiality, with the use of a generic noun requiring the BE construction with *P to* (1993: 156–8). These sentences have a defining and categorizing nature as show in (72)–(74) below.

- (72) P *Wróbel to jest ptak.*
 [Sparrow-NOM that-NOM is-3SG bird-NOM.]
 'A sparrow is a bird.'

(Swan 1993: 156)

- (73) P *Łódź* *to* *jest* *przemysłowe miasto.*
 [Łódź-NOM that-NOM is-3SG industrial city-NOM.]
 ‘Łódź is an industrial city.’ (Swan 1993: 156)
- (74) P *Wałęsa* *to* *jest* *prezydent.*
 [Wałęsa-NOM that-NOM is-3SG president-NOM.]
 ‘Wałęsa is president.’ (Swan 1993: 156)

Without a qualifying adjective, we are more likely to encounter an explicit copula as in P *To jest rzeka* ‘That is a river’ (in answer to the question ‘What is it?’), whereas the copula is more likely to be omitted in a sentence such as P *To bardzo głęboka rzeka* ‘That is a very deep river’ (in answer to the question ‘What kind of river is it?’) (Corbridge-Patkaniowska 1992: 58). Similarly, there is some variation in sentences of the type P *To (są) nasze okna* ‘Those are our windows’ or P *Czyje to (są) zadania?* ‘Whose exercises are these?’ (Corbridge-Patkaniowska 1992: 58). In these types of sentences, the verbal agreement is with the predicate and not with P *to* ‘that’, a neuter singular, cf. R *Éto byli moi den’gi* [This-NEUT was-PL my money-NOM-PL.] ‘That was my money’, also with predicate agreement. Although the instrumental is commonly used with predicate nouns in copula sentences, it is not used with these P *to* ‘that’ sentences. Perhaps this indicates that this type of BE expression is more of a naming function, labeling an identity, rather than a real copula as in P *Ja jestem studentem* [I-NOM am-1SG student-INST] ‘I am a student’, where the instrumental case is used for the predicate noun. The zero copula can also be used with interrogative pronouns and the infinitive as in (75).

- (75) P *Co* *robić?*
 [What-ACC do-INF?]
 ‘What is there to do?’

Perhaps the zero form is possible in these contexts with demonstrative and interrogative pronouns because of deixis. Another factor may be the lack of questioning the EXISTENCE of the identifying noun or the quality expressed by the adjective. These types of pronouns point to other objects and this deictic meaning is sufficient to join two items in a copula construction.

It is unclear why the zero copula is so prevalent in Russian, whereas the other Slavic languages all make use of the conjugated forms of ‘be’. The general tendency in R has been to reduce the forms of ‘be’ to a single form in contexts where ‘be’ is still expressed explicitly as a main verb (R *est’* ‘(there) is’) and where it is used as an auxiliary in the conditional (R *by* ‘would’). The other tendency has been simply to eliminate the forms of ‘be’, as in most present tense copula sentences and in the expression of the past tense with no auxiliary verb (see 5.1.1.1 for auxiliary functions). Jakobson (1935/1971) suggests that the loss of the forms of ‘be’ is connected with the general loss of clitics in Russian. Just as

Russian has lost its short-form, unstressed personal pronouns and has suffixed the formerly enclitic reflexive R *-sja* directly to the verb, so it has lost its present tense forms of 'be', not only in the auxiliary use of the Old Russian present perfect, now the past tense, but also in the use of 'be' as a main verb. Some also suggest that Russian lost its copula forms due to language contact with Finno-Ugric groups (see 6.3). Since both the zero copula and the explicit forms of 'be' were available in Common Slavic, we might further suggest that the central Slavic languages generalized the copula expression with 'be', whereas the most peripheral Slavic language, Russian, failed to make this generalization, moving in the direction of a zero copula in most uses (with some transition between Russian and other East Slavic languages stretching into Polish speech territory). The use of the zero copula in Polish is interesting in light of Isačenko's comments on Polish as a transitional language between the BE-languages and HAVE-languages of Europe (1974: 44). Is the use of a zero copula connected to the use of 'be' as HAVE in Russian? The geographical contiguity of Polish to the East Slavic languages may have made it subject to the same developments regarding the use of the zero copula. Whereas most of the Slavic languages outside of Russian have regularized the expression of BE and HAVE verbally, Russian still utilizes a syntactic construction which juxtaposes two items in the COPULA and a HAVE construction which makes use of a metaphorical understanding of the relationship between objects and their location. Perhaps Polish has been under the influence of these Russian constructions.

Polish has also demonstrated a partial loss of the forms of 'be'. The present tense forms of 'be' underwent increased phonetic reduction to the point of becoming suffixed personal endings in the past tense (see 5.1.1.1). This phonetic reduction had consequences for the copula forms as well, leading to the reformation of 'be' with the stem of the 3SG form P *jest*- 'is' + the reduced forms of 'be' in the 1st and 2nd SG and PL forms: P 1SG *jestem*, 2SG *jesteś*; 1PL *jesteśmy*, 2PL *jesteście*, but the retention of the original forms 3SG *jest* and 3PL *są*. The loss of the 3rd person forms with the past tense could also be connected with the loss of the copula in P *to* 'that' expressions of BE. Perhaps this reshuffling of 'be' regarding auxiliary and copula provides further evidence that the auxiliary uses were not considered entirely separate from the copula use, therefore the forms of 'be', whether auxiliary, copula, or verb of existence, were sufficiently linked to undergo the same phonetic developments. As Andersen (1987) argues, the 3SG form of 'be', P *jest*, had become an emphatic marker. Russian shows both loss of auxiliary and copula 'be' and Bulgarian has the same treatment of both main verb and auxiliary 'be' as sentential enclitics. Despite these different treatments of the explicit forms, all of the other languages besides Russian, and even Russian in some contexts, make use of an explicit copula, as discussed in the following section.

3.2.2 The expressed COPULA

The expressed COPULA is used to link two elements in a sentence of the type 'X is Y' or 'X=Y'. Some simple examples of these sentences are:

- (76) Cz *Kočka je savec.*
 [Cat-NOM is-3SG mammal-NOM.]
 'The cat is a mammal.'
- (77) Cz *Otec je moudrý.*
 [Father-NOM is-3SG wise-NOM.]
 'Father is wise.'
- (78) Cz *Praha je hlavní město České Republiky.*
 [Prague-NOM is-3SG main city-NOM Czech Republic-GEN.]
 'Prague is the capital of the Czech Republic.'

These copula sentences are analogous to their English translations, where 'be' is used for equation or categorization. In (76) the COPULA identifies a specific item X as a member of a category Y (cf. use of R *javljat'sja* 'be' for this meaning), in (77) it attributes a quality to a person, and in (78) it equates the identity 'capital' with the specific name of a city. These COPULA examples from Czech are quite similar to the uses of 'be' in Polish and Bulgarian and the use of 'be' in all three languages is quite similar to the use of the COPULA in English. The following examples exhibit some traits of the copula in these three languages.

- (79) Cz *To je dar.*
 [That-NOM is-3SG gift-NOM.]
 'It's a gift.'
- (80) Cz *To je skvělý, Miládko.*
 [That-NOM is-3SG splendid-NOM, Miládka-voc.]
 'That's splendid, Miládka.'
- (81) Cz *Hodně lidí je bez práce.*
 [Lot people-GEN is-3SG without work-GEN.]
 'Lots of people are without work.'
- (82) B *Az sám student.*
 [I am-1SG student.]
 B *Student sám.*
 [Student am-1SG.]
 'I'm a student.'
- (83) B *Inače az ne sám suetna i ne dārža na drevite.*
 [On-the-other-hand I not am-1SG vain and not hold-1SG on clothes-DEF.]
 'On the other hand, I'm not vain and don't focus on clothes.'

- (84) B *A skāp li e životāt u vas v Bolivija?*
 [But expensive QUEST is life-DEF at you in Bolivia?]
 'But is life expensive back home in Bolivia?'
- (85) B *Koj e prezidentāt na Bālgarija?*
 [Who is-3SG president-DEF of Bulgaria?]
 'Who is the president of Bulgaria?'
- (86) B *Nie sme bratja!*
 [We are-1PL brothers!]
 'We are brothers!'
- (87) P *Cena edukacji w Stanach Zjednoczonych jest*
 [Price-NOM education-GEN in States United-LOC is-3SG
wymierna, ale również wymiennie są
 considerable-NOM, but equally considerable-NOM are-3PL
efekty, jakie ona daje.
 effects-NOM, which-NOM it-NOM gives-3SG.]
 'The cost of education in the United States is considerable, but the effects it provides are also considerable.'
- (88) P *Wszystkie argumenty były przeciw mnie.*
 [All arguments-NOM were-PL against me-GEN.]
 'All the arguments were against me.'
- (89) P *Po roku był już jednym z większych*
 [After year-LOC was-MSG already one-INST from bigger
psów w Warszawie.
 dogs-GEN in Warsaw-LOC.]
 'After a year he was already one of the biggest dogs in Warsaw.'
- (90) P *Nie był przywódcą. Był zabląkanym romantykiem.*
 [Not was-MSG leader-INST. Was-MSG misguided romantic-INST.]
 'He wasn't a leader. He was a misguided romantic.'

The copula is used with predicate nouns in (79), (82), (85), (86), and (90) and with adjectives in (80), (83), (84), (87), and (89). The predicate of the copula sentence can even be an absent quality as in (81) *Cz bez práce* 'without work' and (88) *P przeciw mnie* 'against me'. In Bulgarian the copula verb is a clitic and cannot occur in the first position in a sentence. The word order is straightforward in the first sentence in (82), but if the personal pronoun is omitted and the verb form alone serves to indicate person, then the predicate comes in first position followed by the enclitic copula form. In Czech, the auxiliary uses of 'be' are treated as clitics, but COPULA and EXISTENTIAL uses are treated as full verbs. Despite these different prosodic features, the copula verb behaves quite similarly in these Slavic languages.

In Russian however, the situation is quite different. In 3.2.1 the use of the Russian zero copula was discussed. Russian may also utilize the form *R est* 'is' in COPULA functions. Vlasto (1986: 189) lists examples such as *R X est* 'Y' 'X is Y' for mathematical and philosophical statements. Puľkina and Zaxava-Nekrasova (1980) also provide an example of a mathematical definition with *R est* 'is' as a copula: *R Prjamaja est* 'kratčajšee rastojanie meždu dvumja točkami' 'A straight line is the shortest distance between two points' (Puľkina and Nekrasova 1980: 467). Isačenko (1974) and Chvany (1975) discuss the Russian COPULA forms in detail. Chvany and Isačenko list the following sentences with various means of expressing the copula in Russian.

- (91) R *Lingvistika nauka.* (Chvany 1975: 46)
 [Linguistics-NOM science-NOM.]
 R *Lingvistika est nauka.*
 [Linguistics-NOM is science-NOM.]
 'Linguistics is a science.'
- (92) R *Kit ryba.*
 [Whale-NOM fish-NOM.]
 R *Kit est ryba.*
 [Whale-NOM is fish-NOM.]
 R *Kit javljaetsja ryboj.*
 [Whale-NOM appears-3SG-R/P fish-INST.]
 'The whale is a fish.' (Isačenko 1974: 55)

In (91) and (92), we see that both the zero form and the expressed copula can be used in Russian. In written use of the zero copula, the two items may be written one after the other as in (91) or separated by a dash as in (92). The explicit form *R est* 'is' may also be used as an expressed copula and the verb *R javljaťsja* 'appear' may be used with a predicate instrumental as a copula form (see 3.2.3). Examples with *R javljaťsja* 'appear' are seen frequently in academic writing, but the zero form (see 3.2.1) is by far the most common way of expressing the copula relation in Russian. In negative sentences, the particle *R ne* 'not' is added.

- (93) R *Lingvistika ne nauka.*
 [Linguistics-NOM not science-NOM.]
 R *Lingvistika ne est nauka.*
 [Linguistics-NOM not is science-NOM.]
 R **Lingvistiki net nauka.*
 [Linguistics-GEN there-is-not science-NOM.]
 'Linguistics is not a science.' (Chvany 1975: 46)

In the first two sentences in (93), the particle *R ne* 'not' is added between the two joined items or before *R est* 'not', the usual position and use for this Russian negative particle. However, we might expect to find the use of *R net* 'there is not; no' as the opposite of *R est* 'there is'. Chvany (1975) demonstrates that the opposition *R est/net* 'there is/there is not' only functions for the EXISTENTIAL use of BE and not for COPULA functions which negate a predicate and not existence. The third example in (93) is not grammatically possible in Russian.

- (94) R *Lingvistika byla/budet naukoj.*
 [Linguistics-NOM was-FSG/will-be-3SG science-INST.]
 'Linguistics was/will be a science.' (Chvany 1975: 46)

In the past and future, an explicit form of the COPULA is necessary. The past and future forms of *R byl* 'be' are used in these contexts as in (94). The examples in (91)–(94) may seem somewhat contrived, but the Russian expressed copula does occur in more normal contexts as in (95) and (96).

- (95) R *Sovetskaja vlast' est' obraz žizni*
 [Soviet authority-NOM is form-NOM life-GEN
našego gosudarstva.
 our state-GEN.]
 'The Soviet authority is the form of life of our state.'

- (96) R *A takoj brak ne est' podlost'...*
 [But such marriage-NOM not is baseness-NOM...]
 'But such a marriage is not base...'

Vlasto (1986: 189) also lists the use of *R sut* 'are' (formerly the 3PL form, but this connection has been lost) to introduce lists as in *R Glavnye reki Rossii sut': Volga, Dnepr, Don...* 'The main rivers of Russia are: the Volga, the Dnepr, the Don...'. Another example of the use of *R sut* 'are' is provided in (97).

- (97) R *...voprosy o ee čuvstvax i tak dalee –*
 [...questions-NOM about her feelings-LOC and so forth –
sut' voprosy ee sovesti, do kotoroj
 are questions-NOM her conscience-GEN, to which-GEN
mne ne mozet byt' dela.
 me-DAT not can-3SG be-INF matter-GEN.]
 '...questions about her feelings and so forth—these are questions of her conscience, which can't possibly have anything to do with me.'

Besides *R est* 'is' and *R sut* 'are', archaic forms of the present tense of *R byl* 'be' may also turn up from time to time in standard translations or quotes from philosophical, poetic, or biblical sources.

- (98) R *U menja est' korni i est' rostki.*
 [By me-GEN there-is roots-NOM and there-is sprouts-NOM.
Značit, ja esm'.
 Means-3SG, I-NOM am-1SG.]
 'I have roots and I have sprouts. That means, I am.'
- (99) R *Ja – ja esm' čast' toj časti celogo,*
 [I-NOM – I-NOM am-1SG part-NOM that part-GEN whole-GEN,
kotoraja xočet delat' zlo, a
 which-NOM wants-3SG do-INF evil-ACC, but
tvorit dobro...
 creates-3SG good-ACC...]
 I...I am a part of that part of the whole, which wants to do evil, yet
 does good...
- (100) R *Ja – čast' toj sily, čto večno xočet*
 [I-NOM part-NOM that force-GEN, that eternally wants-3SG
zla i večno soveršaet blago.
 evil-GEN and eternally brings-about-3SG good-ACC.]
 I am a part of that force, that eternally wants evil and eternally brings
 about good.

In (98), R *esm'* 'am' is used as an expression of MERE EXISTENCE. In (99) and (100), we find copula uses of 'be' in a quote from Goethe's *Faust*. In (99) from Dostoevsky's "A Gentle Creature" (1876) the 1SG form of R *byt'* 'be' is used as an explicit copula, whereas the same passage from *Faust* serves as the epigraph to Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* (1930s) with a zero copula in (100). It is clear that Bulgakov's version with the zero copula has long been the standard expression in Russian. It is difficult to say when exactly the copula was lost, but the form R *esm'* 'am' used by Dostoevsky had long been archaic and is used here for stylistic effect.

In examples (91)–(94) and (95)–(97), the COPULA expressions all use the nominative case in the predicate. However, the use of the past or future tense triggers the instrumental case in the predicate as in the Russian sentences in (69) and (94). This use of the instrumental in past and future contexts is prevalent in Czech and Polish as well, but the instrumental case is also common in the present tense in these languages. In instances where BE deals with BECOMING or temporary conditions, then the instrumental is possible in some Czech sentences, whereas the instrumental is predominantly used, without regard to the permanence of the quality in the statement, with noun phrases in Polish BE sentences (IDENTITY). The following examples show some typical uses of the instrumental with predicates in Russian and Czech.

IDENTITY

It is unclear why the instrumental case should have become an option in the predicate with BE sentences, but it is found in connection with the notions BEING and BECOMING. The use of the predicate instrumental vs. predicate nominative with BE is difficult to define precisely and is conditioned differently in individual Slavic languages. The use of the predicate instrumental is stronger in Polish and Russian than in Czech, where the use of the instrumental is associated with the literary language but infrequent in speech. The predicate instrumental is expected with noun phrases in Polish BE sentences, but not with adjectives. In Russian, the instrumental is more common with the past and future tenses than in the present tense. In Czech, there may be a connection between noun phrase predicates expressing temporary qualities (INST) and those expressing permanent or inherent qualities (NOM). In all three languages, the use of the instrumental is required in expressions of BECOME, but there is some freedom regarding the use of the nominative and the instrumental in expressions of BE. A full account of the use of the predicate instrumental is beyond the scope of the current study, however it is useful to look at a few examples.

- (1) Cz *Hermes je mým dobrým patronem.*
 [Hermes-NOM is-3SG my good patron-INST.]
 'Hermes is my good patron.'
- (2) Cz *Blair je autoritativní politik, ostrý jako břitva.*
 [Blair-NOM is authoritative politician-NOM, sharp-NOM like razor-NOM.]
 'Blair is an authoritative politician, sharp as a razor.'
- (3) Cz *Peníze nejsou jen ekonomickým nástrojem, jsou také symbolem.*
 [Money-NOM not-are-3PL only economic tool-INST, are-3PL also symbol-INST.]
 'Money is not only an economic tool, but also a symbol.'

Example (1) uses the instrumental to express an acquired quality, not an inherent one, exhibiting the general norm for the use of the instrumental with Cz *byť* 'be'. In (2), however, we find a use of the nominative where we would expect the instrumental, since designations for professions usually occur in the instrumental. The nominative is simply far more common in contemporary Czech and the use of the instrumental is mostly a feature of the literary language as in (3) which has a very formal ring to it.

In Russian, the instrumental is quite common with the past tense of R *быť* 'be' as in (4) and with the future forms as in (5).

- (4) R *Kogda ja byl malen'kim, ja xotel stat' pisatelem.*
 [When I-NOM was-MSG boy-INST, I-NOM wanted-MSG become-INF writer-INST.]
 'When I was a boy, I wanted to become a writer.'
- (5) R *V ljuboj kompanii budet želannym gostem...*
 [In any company-LOC will-be-3SG desired guest...]
 'In any group he would be a much-sought-after guest...'

In the expression of BECOME, we also find the instrumental in all of these languages as in (6) for Russian. Russian also demonstrates the use of the instrumental with verbs which are synonymous with BECOME, including 'elect' and 'make' as in (7). We also find the instrumental expressing BEING in a related concept 'find' in (8).

- (6) R *On stal vračom.*
 [He-NOM became-MSG doctor-INST.]
 'He became a doctor.'
- (7) R *Oni vybrali/sdelali ego prezidentom.*
 [They-NOM elected/made-PL him-ACC president-INST.]
 'They elected/made him president.'
- (8) R *Odnosel'čane našli ego mertvym.*
 [Fellow-villagers-NOM found-PL him-ACC dead-INST.]
 'His fellow villagers found him dead.'

The situation in Polish, where the use of the instrumental is more widespread, is quite different. The instrumental is not used with BE:LOCATION as in (9) or in PRESENCE/ABSENCE expressions as in (10), but is regularly used, even in the present tense with noun phrases and BE:COPULA expressions as in (11) in the present tense and (12) in the past tense.

- (9) P *Tam jest student.*
 [There is student-NOM.]
 'There is a student there./A student is there.'
- (10) P *Jest herbata.*
 [Is-3SG tea-NOM.]
 'There is tea.'
- (11) P *Jest studentem.*
 [Is-3SG student-INST]
 'He is a student.'
- (12) P *Po roku był już jednym z większych*
 [After year-LOC was-MSG already one-INST from biggest
psów w Warszawie.
 dogs-GEN in Warsaw-LOC.]
 'After a year he was already one of the biggest dogs in Warsaw.'

The general rule in Polish regarding the use of the instrumental with 'be' is that predicate adjectives appear in the nominative case and predicate nouns in the instrumental. Swan (1993: 155) proposes that the real distinction in case occurs on a spectrum of referentiality from UNIQUE to SPECIFIC to SET to GENERIC. Adjectives usually express traits and fall on the GENERIC side of the spectrum, whereas nouns often express identity and are more specific. However, what is formally an adjective may behave more like a noun and what is formally a noun may express the traits of an adjective as in examples (13)–(15).

- (13) P *Jan jest geniuszem.*
 [Jan-NOM is-3SG genius-INST.]
 'Jan is a genius.'
- P *Jan jest geniusz.*
 [Jan-NOM is-3SG genius-NOM.]
 'Jan is brilliant.'
- (14) P *Jesteś świnia.*
 [Are-2SG swine-NOM.]
 'You are a swine.'

(Swan 1993: 155)

(Swan 1993: 155)

- (15) P *Chcę być zawsze piękna.*
 [Want-1SG be-INF always beautiful-NOM.]
 'I want to be forever beautiful.'

P *Chciałabym być piękną.*
 [Wanted-FSG-COND-AUX-1SG be-INF beautiful-INST.]
 'I would like to be beautiful.'

(Swan 1993: 155–6)

In (13), Swan indicates that the Instrumental identifies Jan as a genius whereas the nominative identifies him as having the traits of a genius (Swan 1993: 155). We also find a noun in the nominative in (14) where the insult expresses an aspect of one's character rather than an identity (Swan 1993: 155). In (15), Swan states that the adjective in the Instrumental has taken on enough specific qualities, objectifying "beauty as a transitory feature", so that it may be used with the instrumental case (Swan 1993: 156). Thus we find that Polish makes the distinction between BE + NOM for a QUALITY (usually expressed by an adjective) and BE + INST to express IDENTITY (usually a noun).

- (101) R *Čerez mnoho let, vy govoríte, žizn' na*
 [Through many years-GEN, you-NOM say-2PL, life-NOM on
zemle budet prekrasnoj, izumitel'noj.
 earth-LOC will-be-3SG wonderful-INST, astounding-INST.]
 'After many years, you are saying, life on earth will be wonderful, astounding.'

- (102) Cz *Pokud se rozhodne, že pro něho budete moudrý*
 [When R/P decides-3SG, that for him-ACC will-be-2PL wise
a vtipný člověk, budete moudrým a
 and witty person-NOM, will-be-2PL wise and
vtipným člověkem.
 witty person-INST.]
 'Once it is decided that you will be a wise and witty person, you will become a wise and witty person.'

- (103) Cz *Čím byste chtěla být,*
 [What-INST be-COND-AUX-2PL wanted-FSG be-INF,
kdybyste nebyla houslistkou?
 if-be-COND-AUX-2PL not-was-FSG violinist-INST?]
 'What would you like to be if you weren't a violinist?'

- (104) R *On byl liberal'no mysljaščim intelligentom.*
 [He-NOM was-MSG liberally thinking intellectual-INST.]
 'He was a liberally minded intellectual.'

- (105) Cz *Jan Halík byl Tylovým mecenášem...*
 [Jan Halík-NOM was-MSG Tyl sponsor-INST...]
 'Jan Halík was Tyl's sponsor...'

The use of the future tense of BE implies a time to come in which the statement will become true. In this sense the use of the instrumental is similar to the

use of the instrumental with specific verbs for become. This BECOME meaning of 'be' in the future is seen for Russian in (101) and for Cz in (102). In (102), the nominative is used first, as a mere copula in the future tense, but the second use implies BECOMING and calls for the instrumental. The sense of BECOMING is also present in (103) where the conditional indicates a potential identity that the subject could take on. Examples (104) and (105) use the instrumental with the past tense, identifying a situation that was true in the past. In this context, the instrumental labels an identity that was valid during a certain time period.

The use of the expressed copula is not problematic in Czech and Bulgarian. An explicit form of the copula is required in these languages. In Polish and Russian, however, the use of the copula is complicated by the existence of multiple constructions, some with an explicitly expressed copula and others with zero forms. Russian, Czech and Polish all make use of case distinctions and these play a role in copula sentences. The use of the instrumental case with BE is quite strong in Czech and Polish and weaker in Russian. Czech may have predicate instrumentals for both noun phrases and adjectives, whereas Polish generally makes use of the instrumental for predicate nouns. However, the use of the instrumental with BE is the rule in certain Polish contexts, whereas the use of the instrumental is conditioned differently in Czech and is somewhat associated with the Czech literary standard language. What Bulgarian lacks in case complexities with BE, it makes up for with the special clitic treatment of sentences with 'be'. The use of the zero copula and expressed copula cover all the uses of the copula verb 'be' in Slavic, but Russian has developed another copula verb, specifically a categorizing copula discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 The categorizing copula

Although R *javljať'sja* 'be' is a bookish expression, it is the most common means of explicitly expressing the copula in the present tense (Birnbaum 1978: 31). Grammatically speaking, R *javljať'sja* 'appear, is' governs the instrumental case: R X-NOM + *javljať'sja* + Y-INST 'X is Y'. This verb most often expresses a relationship between a category in the instrumental and a specific member of that category in the nominative as in (106) and (107).

- (106) R *Solnce javljaetsja zvezdoj.*
 [Sun-NOM appears star-INST.]
 'The sun is a star.'

- (107) R *Koška javljaetsja mlekopitajuščim.*
 [Cat-NOM appears-3SG-R/P mammal-INST.]
 'The cat is a mammal.'

In such sentences, the cases mark relationships which cannot be reversed. Since relationships are established by case endings, word order in most Russian sentences is free and may be altered as in (108) where the order is predicate instrumental-verb-nominative subject and in (109) where the order is nominative subject-predicate instrumental-verb.

- (108) R ...čto v drevnerusskom jazyke normoj
 [...that in old-Russian language-LOC norm-INST
 javljalos' sostavnoe skazuemoe bez svjazki...
 appeared-NSG-R/P compound predicate-NOM without copula-GEN...]
 '...that in Old Russian the compound predicate without a copula was
 the norm...'
- (109) R Delo v tom, čto moja rukopis'
 [Matter-NOM in that-LOC, that my manuscript-NOM
 zakončennym proizvedeniem ne javljaetsja.
 finished work-INST not appears-3SG-R/P]
 'The thing is that my manuscript is not a finished work.'

The original meaning of R *javljať'sja* was 'appear' and this meaning remains the primary meaning, as in (110) and (111).

- (110) R ...Azazello uže ne poxodil na togo
 [...Azazello-NOM already not resembled-MSG to that
 razbojnika, v vide kotorogo javljalsja
 robber-ACC, in form-LOC which-GEN appeared-MSG-R/P
 Margarite v Aleksandrovskom sadu...
 Margarita-DAT in Alexandrovsky garden-LOC...]
 '...Azazello no longer resembled the robber in whose guise he had
 appeared to Margarita in the Alexandrovsky garden...'
- (111) R Slovom, ona javljalas' mne
 [Word-INST, she-NOM appeared-FSG-R/P me-DAT
 poluzagadočnym suščestvom.
 half-enigmatic entity-INST.]
 'In a word, she appeared to me to be a somewhat enigmatic entity.'
- (112) R Poët, dlja kotorogo vse, soobščаемoe
 [Poet-NOM, for whom-GEN everything-NOM, related-NOM
 redaktorom, javljalos' novost'ju, vnimatel'no
 editor-INST, appeared-NSG-R/P news-INST, attentively
 slušal Mixaila Aleksandroviča...
 listened-3SG Mikhail Alexandrovich-ACC...]
 'The poet, for whom everything the editor said was news, attentively listed
 to Mikhail Alexandrovich.'

The R *javljaťsja* ‘be’ construction is not completely grammaticalized as a copula. Although the ‘appear’ reading is particularly strong in (110) and dominates in (111), example (112) is somewhat ambiguous in a crossover context between ‘appear’ and ‘be’. Example (110) bears a strong connotation of taking on a form, whereas (111) has a connection to ‘be’ through a ‘seems’ reading that the ‘somewhat enigmatic’ nature impressed upon the speaker (cf. 2.6.4 for BE vs. SEEM). The ambiguity in (112) lies in the interpretation of a stative or an inchoative verb. If the editor’s words are news and all subsequent words are news, then we may interpret a ‘be’ reading here. However, if we conceive of the words as taking on the role of news whenever they are spoken, then ‘appear’ serves as a better understanding. As might be expected from the stative nature of BE, only the imperfective form of the verb has been grammaticalized as a copula, while the ‘appear’ meaning remains part of the aspect pair R *javljaťsja/javít’sja* ‘appear’ and without the reflexive/passive particle R *-sja* in R *javljať/javít* ‘show’.

Despite the interplay of the original semantics of the verb in some sentences, the following examples with R *javljaťsja* ‘be’ contain clear-cut copula uses of this verb.

- (113) R *Publičnaja èlektronnaja biblioteka... javljaetsja častnym
[Public electronic library-NOM... appears-3SG-R/P private
literaturnym sobraním...
literary collection-INST...]
‘The Public Electronic Library... is a private literary collection...’*
- (114) R *Poètomu vsjakoe sxodstvo meždu gerojami knigi
[Therefore any resemblance-NOM between heroes-INST book-GEN
i živymi ljud’mi javljaetsja zlonamerennym.
and living people-INST appears-3SG-R/P ill-intentioned-INST.]
‘Therefore any resemblances between the heroes of this book and living
persons are ill-intentioned.’*
- (115) R *I voobščë, on javljaetsja cel’ju, a
[And in-general, it-NOM appears-3SG-R/P end-INST, and
ne sredstvom.
not means-INST.]
‘And in general, it is an end and not a means.’*
- (116) R *– Ja, – gor’ko zagovoril bufetčik, –
[– I-NOM, – bitterly said-MSG buffet-manager-NOM, –
javljajus’ zavedujuščim bufetom teatra varëte...
appear-1SG-R/P manager-INST buffet-INST theater-GEN variety-NOM...]
“I,” bitterly said the buffet manager, “am the manager of the buffet in of the
Varieté theater.”*

- (117) R *On* *tvorit* *iskusstvennyj mir,* *v*
 [He-NOM creates-3sg artificial world-ACC, in
 kotorom blagorodstvo, čestnost', sostradanie
 which-LOC nobility-NOM, honesty-NOM, compassion-NOM
 javljajutsja normoj.
 appear-3PL-R/P norm-INST.]
 ‘He creates an artificial world in which nobility, honesty, and compassion
 are the norm.’

The copula construction with R *javljat'sja* ‘be’ is not a common feature of colloquial, spoken Russian, but is quite common in written contexts. The bookish nature of the construction is attested to by the legal nature of the sentences in (113) and (114). The expression is not limited to a single form without person agreement as with R *est'* ‘is’. The 1sg form of the verb appears in (116) and the 3PL in (117). We might also expect to find this new construction only in the present tense since the expressed copula still uses the past and future of R *byt'* ‘be’. However, the copula use of R *javljat'sja* ‘is’ is found in both the present and the past in examples (106)–(117). The use of R *javljat'sja* ‘be’ as a device for putting things into categories may also account for its use in the past tense.

Although this verb acts as a specialized categorizing copula, it has taken on the traits of a general copula in many contexts. However, the origins of the construction and the original semantics of the verb continue to affect the grammaticalization of this Russian expression. The use of ‘be’ as an equating copula allows for a reversal of the terms. Cz *Praha je hlavní město České Republiky* ‘Prague is the capital of the Czech Republic’ can just as easily be expressed Cz *Hlavní město České Republiky je Praha* ‘The capital of the Czech Republic is Prague’. The use of the copula to equate two items is a two-way construction involving definiteness and equal but different names of the items joined by the copula. In English, we see reversibility with definite items in subject and predicate position: Engl *Dr. Jones is the professor* is transformable into Engl *The professor is Dr. Jones*. However, Engl *Dr. Jones is a professor* is not transformable into Engl *A professor is Dr. Jones*. The reversal of *Prague* and *capital* above involves different labels for the same thing. So we may well ask: is R *javljat'sja* ‘be’ reversible in contexts of definiteness or equality? The following examples indicate the possibilities in Russian.

- (118) R *Andrej* *Nikolaevič* *javljaetsja* *direktorem.*
 [Andrei Nikolaevich-NOM appears-3sg-R/P director-INST.]

 R *Direktorem* *javljaetsja* *Andrej Nikolaevič.*
 [Director-INST appears-3sg-R/P Andrei Nikolaevich-NOM.]

 R **Direktor* *javljaetsja* *Andreem Nikolaevičem.*
 [Director-NOM appears-3sg-R/P Andrei Nikolaevich-INST.]

- R **Andreem Nikolaevičem javljaetsja direktor.*
 [Andrei Nikolaevich-INST appears-3SG-R/P director-NOM.]
 'Andrei Nikolaevich is the director.'
- (119) R *Dostoevskij javljaetsja avtorom ètogo romana.*
 [Dostoevsky-NOM appears-3SG-R/P author-INST this novel-GEN.]
- R *Avtorom ètogo romana javljaetsja Dostoevskij.*
 [Author-INST this novel-GEN appears-3SG-R/P Dostoevsky-NOM.]
- R **Avtor ètogo romana javljaetsja Dostoevskim.*
 [Author-NOM this novel-GEN appears-3SG-R/P Dostoevsky-INST.]
- R **Dostoevskim javljaetsja avtor ètogo romana.*
 [Dostoevsky-INST appears-3SG-R/P author-NOM this novel-GEN.]
 'Dostoevsky is the author of this novel.'

The use of R *javljaet'sja* 'be' is largely confined to bureaucratic or official writing styles and the nominative and instrumental items cannot be reversed regardless of definiteness or equality of label. Holding the case relationships constant, the nominative subject and predicate instrumental can exchange places, but this merely changes the emphasis of the sentence and does not achieve the reversal 'The director is Andrei Nikolaevich' or 'The author of the novel is Dostoevsky'. Such an exchange of subject and predicate would have to be expressed with the zero copula or the R *est* 'is' expressed copula. This lack of reversibility may possibly indicate that R *javljaet'sja* 'be' is more strongly a categorizing copula and has not (yet?) developed into a general use copula. The different case markings may also play a role in the resistance to reversibility. As a non-reversible, one-way construction, R *javljaet'sja* 'be' and the non-equating uses of BE share this feature in common with 'have' which is also a one-way construction in a non-reversible relationship of possessor to possessed item. All new developments in the concept BE enter the model with certain syntactic and semantic properties and these continue to constrain and affect the meaning of these constructions, even as these new constructions increasingly take on characteristics of BE (see Chapter 5 on grammaticalization and Chapter 2 on semantic concepts related to BE and HAVE). The use of R *javljaet'sja* 'is' as a categorizing and defining verb attests to the possibility that R *est* 'is' no longer adequately fulfills this role. Despite the possibility of using R *est* 'is' as a copula, the many changes that R *byt* 'be' has been through and the use of R *est* 'is' in the HAVE construction render R *est* 'is' both more and less than a copula. Significant grammaticalization has taken place with R *est* '(there) is', but as always in such processes, there is not a complete loss of the original meaning, nor is there an equal exchange of new construction for old (see Hopper & Traugott 1993 and Chapter 5). R *javljaet'sja* 'be' is not the same sort of copula that R *byt* 'be' was at one time. R *byt* 'be' has changed over time in a certain direction and this change may have

motivated the development of the R *javljat'sja* 'be' copula, but this new development is unique. Even despite the lack of reversibility of case markings, the use of R *javljat'sja* 'is' both as a general copula and as a categorizing copula demonstrates that this verb will likely continue to expand towards normal copula use. Despite the prevalence of the zero copula in Russian, R *javljat'sja* 'be', even if primarily limited to literary contexts, has developed to fill in for the absence of R *byt'* 'be' in the present tense.

3.2.4 'Have' as a COPULA construction

In 3.1.3.2, the crossover of 'have' to BE was discussed for EXISTENCE. We also find 'have' crossovers with the COPULA. Whereas R *imet'* 'have' came to mean 'there is' when combined with the reflexive/passive marker R *-sja*, Cz *mít* 'have' and P *mieć* 'have' come to mean 'be' when combined with the reflexive/passive markers Cz *se* and P *się*. The most common use of these verbs is in the expression of 'how are you', Cz *Jak se máš?* and P *Jak się masz?*, literally understood as [How R/P have-2sg] 'How do you have yourself?'. Although this may sound a bit strange to English ears, the synonymous question Engl *How do you do?/How are you doing?* would sound no less strange as an inquiry into one's personal well-being in Czech or Polish. As a phrase of well-wishing Czech and Polish can use the imperative of this construction, Cz *Měj se dobře!* and P *Miej się dobrze!* [Have-IMPER-2sg R/P well!], which compares with Engl *Have a nice day!*. Examples (120) and (121) exhibit the use of this construction in Czech.

- (120) Cz *"Dobrá večer! Jak se máte?" křičí David.*
 ["Good evening!-NOM How R/P have-2PL?" shouts-3sg David-NOM.]
 "Good evening! How are you?" shouts David.'

- (121) Cz *I tak nám ale bylo jasné, že se má*
 [And so us-DAT but was-NSG clear-NOM, that R/P has-3sg
 – *vyjma momentální indispozice* – *skvěle.*
 – *excepting momentary indisposition-GEN* – *splendid.*
 'And so it became clear to us that, except for a momentary indisposition, she was doing splendidly.'

In addition to the 'how are you doing' construction, the use of 'have' with the reflexive/passive particle expresses some normal copula relationships in (122) and (123) and serves as an expression of incipient action as in (124).

- (122) Cz *A má se ku B...*
 [A-NOM has R/P to B-DAT...]
 'A is to B...'

- (123) P 3 *ma się do* 4 *jak* 6 *do* 8.
 [3-NOM has-3SG R/P to 4-GEN as 6-NOM to 8-GEN.]
 '3 is to 4 as 6 is to 8'
- (124) P ...*zobaczył, że noc ma się ku końcowi.*
 [...saw-MSG, that night-NOM has-3SG R/P towards end-DAT.]
 '...he saw that the night was drawing to an end.'

Examples (122) and (123) express formal analogies, but straightforward copula examples are possible such as Cz *věci se mají jinak* [things-NOM R/P have-3PL otherwise] 'things are otherwise' with a meaning similar to Cz *věci jsou jiné* 'are different' (SSČ 1978). The construction in (124) for Polish has a Czech counterpart in a similar form, Cz *mít se k odchodu* [have-INF R/P to departure-DAT] 'about to leave' (SSČ 1978). These constructions are similar in meaning to the Engl *about to* (*do* X) or colloquial Engl *fixin' to* (*do* X). Such productive new uses of BE and HAVE are considered further in the discussion of grammaticalization in Chapter 5 and the verbal network in Chapter 2.

3.3 AUXILIARY

Another common use of the verb 'be' in many languages is as an auxiliary, and we find no shortage of auxiliary meanings for 'be' in the Slavic languages. The future forms of Cz *být* 'be', P *być* 'be', and R *быт'* 'be' are used as future auxiliaries with imperfective infinitives.⁶ In the expression of the conditional mood, reflexes of the Late Common Slavic conditional of 'be' are used as enclitic conditional auxiliaries in Czech, as enclitic conditional particles in Polish, as a conditional auxiliary in Bulgarian, and as a conditional particle in Russian. The present tense conjugation of 'be' serves as an enclitic person marker with the L-participle of the main verb in the formation of the past tense in Czech. In Polish, a similar past tense is formed by suffixing the remains of the old clitic forms of present tense 'be' to the L-participles. The Russian past tense is historically identical to both the Czech and Polish constructions, but the auxiliary forms have been completely lost and only the L-participles remain. Bulgarian retains the aorist and imperfect of the Late Common Slavic tense system, but also makes use of a 'be' auxiliary in the perfect tenses and renarrated forms (for a full discussion of the extensive auxiliary uses of 'be', see Chapter 5).

6. Slavic 'be' is the only single verb in Slavic which is considered to have a present and a future conjugated paradigm. In Russian, Czech, and Polish, imperfective verbs have conjugated present tense forms and form the future with the 'be' auxiliary. Perfective verbs generally have future meaning when conjugated and have no present tense.

3.4 IMPERSONAL

The impersonal uses of BE lie somewhere in between the EXISTENCE and COPULA functions and bear resemblances to the AUXILIARY uses. These constructions are typically used with expressions of emotion and response to external stimuli. In these constructions, the neuter singular form of 'be' combines with a dative experiencer (or the equivalent form in Bulgarian). Czech and Polish also use an impersonal form of 'be' with an infinitive of the verbs 'see' and 'hear' to periphrastically express the notions BE SEEN and BE HEARD.

3.4.1 IMPERSONAL 'be' uses

The Slavic languages all employ 'be' as an auxiliary in a number of impersonal expressions where the copula verb has no expressed subject. These constructions can translate an English sentence of the type 'It is...' or express the particular feelings or experiences of an understood subject in the dative case (EXPERIENCER).

- (125) Cz *Už je pozdě.*
[Already is-3SG too-late]
'It's already too late.'

- (126) P *Maj, było już ciepło.*
[May, was-NSG already warm.]
'May-NOM, it was already warm.'

EXPERIENCER

As an expression of LOCATION, *R u + GEN* may be used to express a spatial relationship meaning 'by, at'. A clear ablative relation can be seen in such verbs as *R ujtí* 'go away, leave', *R unesti* 'take away', and *R ubrat'* 'clean up, clear away', where *u-* is used as a verbal prefix. Historically, *u-* corresponds to PIE **au* 'away', but Isačenko notes that the change from an ablative to an adessive meaning is difficult to trace (Isačenko 1974: 46). The widespread use of the *R u* 'by, at' to mark the possessor in the expression of HAVE also influences experiencer constructions. In most Slavic languages the EXPERIENCER is marked by the dative case. More complex experiencer clauses are included in (1)–(3):

- (1) R *V drake emu slomali rebro.*
[In fight-LOC him-DAT broke-3PL rib-ACC.]
'His rib was broken in a fight.' (Cienki 1993: 76)
- (2) R *Sobaka porvala emu brjuki.*
[Dog-NOM ripped him-DAT pants-ACC.]
'A dog ripped his pants.' (Cienki 1993: 76)
- (3) R *Ona nastupila emu na portfel.*
[She-NOM stepped-on-FSG him-DAT on briefcase-ACC.]
'She went and stepped on his briefcase.' (Janda 1993b:131)

In the above examples, the dative highlights the fact that the action of the sentence has an effect on the experiencer. This usage of the dative is common in other Slavic languages as well. In Russian alone, however, the Slavic preposition *u* 'by, at' is used as an alternative in some situations "to mark an animate being not just as possessor, but also as experiencer" (Cienki 1993: 77).

The process of extension through which *R u + GEN* comes to share experiencer clauses with the dative may be understood if we begin with the prototypical use of the dative case, as the indirect object of the notion GIVE. If we view GIVE as 'cause to HAVE' and HAVE as a stative verb, then we also may view TAKE as the concept which undoes the state of HAVING as in Figure C-2 (see also discussion of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network in chapter 2).



Figure C-3. Relationship Between GIVE, HAVE, and TAKE

Since GIVE, HAVE, and TAKE are all closely related, we might expect a dative experiencer construction to function with the verbs for GIVE and TAKE, and this relationship does hold in many languages including Czech, Polish, and German (cf. Janda 1993a), but Russian does not extend the use of the dative from verbs of GIVING to those of TAKING. Rather, Russian associates TAKE with its own means of expressing HAVE, resulting in the use of *R u + GEN* with such verbs as *R vzjat* 'take' and *R ukrast* 'steal'.

- (4) *R On vzjal u menja knigu.*
 [He-NOM took-MSG by me-GEN book-ACC.]
 'He took a book from me.'
- (5) *R Ljudmila ukrala u nego desjat' dollarov.*
 [Ljudmila-NOM stole-FSG by him-GEN ten-ACC dollars-GEN.]
 'Ljudmila stole ten dollars from him.' (Janda 1993a: 542)

Once established in TAKE contexts, the *R u + GEN* experiencer marker may have blocked the extension of the dative to the concept TAKE. In (4) and (5), *R u + GEN* may retain traces of its original ablative meaning. The dative does not tend to be used in Russian with verbs of removal, loss, or distancing, but in some contexts, we may find the experiencer in the dative or as the genitive object of *R u* 'by, at', depending on animacy and empathy conditions (Cienki 1993: 78–9). Cienki (1993: 79–80) states that "the tendency in Russian is towards use of the dative in this sentence type with reference to humans as well as with animals with which the speaker feels empathy, and toward the use of *R u + GEN* with inanimate entities and animals afforded less or no empathy by the speaker".

- (6) *R U krokodila vyrvali boľnoj zub.*
 [By crocodile-GEN pulled-3PL sick tooth-ACC.]
 'They pulled the crocodile's sore tooth.' (Cienki 1993: 84)
- (7) *R Krokodilu vyrvali boľnoj zub.*
 [Crocodile-DAT pulled-3PL sick tooth-ACC.]
 'They pulled the crocodile's sore tooth.' (Cienki 1993: 84)
- (8) *R Nado sostiř u sobaki šerť.*
 [Necessary cut-off-INF by dog-GEN hair-ACC.]
 '(We) have to cut the dog's hair.' (Cienki 1993: 84)

- (9) R *Nado sostrič sobake šerst.*
 [Necessary cut-off-INF dog-DAT hair-ACC.]
 'We have to cut the dog's hair.'

(Cienki 1993: 84)

In these types of sentences, Cienki explains the differences by factors of empathy and objectivity. The example in (6) is an objective expression, "...and now they can feed it normally". However, empathy is involved in (7), where the goal of the action is to relieve the crocodile's suffering. Similarly, he explains (8) as a matter of perspective, "The dog looks bad as it is", whereas a possible motivation for the dative in (9) may be: "It's hot out; the dog needs it" (Cienki 1993: 84). Cienki also notes that a speaker may choose to use the more standard *Ru + GEN* instead of the more colloquial construction with a dative experiencer if the situation calls for formality. The construction *Ru + GEN* may also be avoided in ambiguous situations where the object of *Ru + GEN* may be interpreted as either experiencer or locational.

- (10) R *Kto-to ispačkal Nina plat'e.*
 [Someone-NOM stained-MSG Nina-DAT dress-ACC.]
 'Someone stained Nina's dress.'

(Cienki 1993: 85)

- (11) R *Kto-to ispačkal u Niny plat'e.*
 [Someone stained-MSG by Nina-GEN dress-ACC.]
 'Someone stained Nina's dress.'

(Cienki 1993: 85)

- (12) R *Kto-to ispačkal sebe u Niny plat'e.*
 [Someone stained-MSG self-DAT by Nina-GEN dress-ACC.]
 'Someone stained her [own] dress at Nina's.'

(Cienki 1993: 85)

Example (10) uses the dative experiencer construction, but the corresponding sentence in (11) with *Ru + GEN* is ambiguous because it may be interpreted as a shortened form of (12) in which *Rsebe* [self-DAT] 'self' is dropped (Cienki 1993: 85). I include here Cienki's summary (Table C-1) as a rough guideline for the use of *Ru + GEN* and the dative as an experiencer marker.

Factors determining 'empathy value'	
favors DAT	favors <i>Ru + GEN</i>
high on animacy hierarchy	low on animacy hierarchy
familiar referent	unfamiliar referent
informal, emotional speech situation	formal speech situation
verb of action/motion toward referent	stative verb
singular (individual possessor)	plural (generalized)
Factor Independent of empathy	
avoids ambiguity with locative interpretation	ablative interpretation (removal or loss)

Table C-1. Dative vs. *Ru + GEN* in Experiencer Constructions

Although Russian does have a wide range of dative experiencer constructions, there is no syntactic connection in Russian, as in Polish and Czech, between GIVE and TAKE. Rather than extending the dative case to TAKE, Russian finds another use for its *Ru + GEN* construction.

- (127) Cz *Je mi smutno/zima/hanba.*
 [Is-3SG me-DAT sad/cold/ashamed.]
 'I'm sad/cold/ashamed.'

- (128) Cz *Je mi do smíchu/pláče.*
 [Is-3SG me-DAT to laughter-GEN/crying-GEN.]
 'I feel like laughing/crying.'
- (129) R – *Nu, što ž, – skazal polkovnik, mne*
 [– Well, what EMPH, – said-MSG colonel-NOM, – me-DAT
vse jasno.
 everything-NOM clear.]
 "Well, well," said the colonel, "everything is clear to me."
- (130) R *No o žurnalistike emu teper' smešno bylo*
 [But about journalism-LOC him-DAT now funny was-NSG
i dumat'...
 and think-INF...]
 'But now it was funny for him to even think about journalism...'
- (131) P *Coraz trudniej bylo mi znieść*
 [More-and-more more-difficult was-NSG me-DAT bear-INF
jego wzrok.
 his gaze-ACC.]
 'It was more and more difficult for me to bear his gaze.'
- (132) B *Ne go popravjam – razbiram, če prosto mu*
 [Not him correct-1SG, – understand-1SG, that simply him
e trudno da zapomni ime, koeto čuva za
 is-3SG difficult to remember-3SG name, which hear-3SG for
pārvi pāt...
 first occasion...]
 'I'm not correcting him, I understand that it is hard for him to remember a name he is hearing for the first time.'

Examples (125) and (126) use IMPERSONAL 3SG forms of 'be' to express a temporal condition and a climatic condition without reference to a specific experiencer. The examples in (127)–(132) are fairly common expressions in the Slavic languages using the dative case to express the experience of external stimuli or emotional states. Example (127) uses IMPERSONAL 'be' with the dative to express the emotion of sadness, an experience of cold, and a feeling of shame and (128) expresses an emotional state on the verge of laughter or tears. This IMPERSONAL construction expresses clarity and understanding in (129), humor in (130), and difficulty in (131). Even though Bulgarian has lost case, the remnants of the dative case can still be found in the personal pronouns and are used with these IMPERSONAL expressions as in (132) with B *mu* 'him' to express difficulty. This type of expression is common and quite uniform across the Slavic languages.

3.4.2 Cz *být* 'be' + INF and P *być* 'be' + INF constructions

Both Czech and Polish make use of an IMPERSONAL expression with 'be' + the INF of verbs of perception. In Czech, the constructions are Cz *být vidět* 'be seen' and Cz *být slyšet* 'be heard', using the infinitives of the usual verbs for 'see' and 'hear'. However, the Polish construction uses infinitive forms of verbs meaning 'see' and 'hear', P *być widać* 'be seen' and P *być słyszać* 'be heard', which are only used in the INF and which are slightly different from the usual verbs P *widzieć* 'see' and P *słyszeć* 'hear'. The infinitive forms of the verbs P *czuć* 'smell' and P *znać* 'know' (here 'notice') are also used in this construction (Bielec 1998: 69). Reiter (1953: 175) lists the Czech construction as a "loan translation" (Lehnübersetzung) from the German construction Gm *zu sehen sein* [be to see] 'be seen', but does not comment on the corresponding Polish construction (see 6.2 for further German influences on Czech BE and HAVE).⁷ In addition to the slight difference in infinitive choice in Czech and Polish, the two constructions differ somewhat in the use of case and the IMPERSONAL form of 'be'. In Polish, the construction uses the accusative case for the thing sensed in positive utterances as in (133) and the genitive in negative utterances as in (134). Usually the form of 'be' is omitted in the present tense in Polish, but the IMPERSONAL neuter past tense form of 'be' is used as in (133)–(135) and the 3SG of the future of 'be' is used as in (136).

- (133) P *Za ścianą było słyszać muzykę.*
 [Beyond wall-INST was-NSG hear-INF music-ACC.]
 'You could hear music beyond the wall.'

- (134) P *Statku nie było widać we mgłę.*
 [Ship-GEN not was-NSG see-INF in fog-LOC.]
 'You couldn't see the ship in the fog.'

7. Reiter also points out the possibility of related Cz *zůstat* + INF as in Cz *zůstat sedět* 'remain sitting' from the model Gm *sitzen bleiben* 'remain sitting'. Such an extension also occurs in Russian:

- (F-1) R *Bokovym zreniem ona otmetila, čto na drugoj dorozhke*
 [Side vision-INST she-NOM noticed-FSG, that on other road-LOC
 ostalis' stojat' oč'en' tolstaja teten'ka, kilogrammov na
 remained-PL-R/P stand-INF very fat lady-NOM, kilograms-GEN to
 sto, i vysokij malčik.
 100-ACC, and tall boy-NOM.]
 'With her peripheral vision she noticed that a very fat lady, up to around 100
 kilograms, and a tall boy remained standing on the other road.'

- (135) P *Wszystko było widać, jak na dłoni.*
 [Everything-NOM was-NSG see-INF, as on palm-LOC.]
 ‘You could see everything, like on the palm of your hand.’

- (136) P *Z naszego mieszkania będzie widać*
 [From our apartment-GEN will-be-3SG see-INF
cały Kraków.
 entire Kraków-ACC.]
 ‘All of Kraków will be visible from our apartment.’

Reiter (1953: 175) mentions that the accusative treatment is the norm for Czech, but that dialectally and colloquially, the nominative has come to be used as shown by the multiple possibilities in (137) and the use of the nominative in (138).

- (137) Cz *Je vidět hora.*
 [Is-3SG see-INF mountain-NOMSG.]
 ‘The mountain is visible.’ (Laura Janda, p.c.)

- Cz *Jsou vidět hory.*
 [Are-3PL see-INF mountains-NOMPL.]
 ‘The mountains are visible’ (Laura Janda, p.c.)

- Cz *Je vidět horu.*
 [Is-3SG see-INF mountain-ACCSG.]
 ‘The mountain is visible.’ (Laura Janda, p.c.)

- Cz *Je vidět hory.*
 [Is-3SG see-INF mountains-ACCPL.]
 ‘The mountains are visible’ (Laura Janda, p.c.)

- (138) Cz *Tu a tam je slyšet čeština...*
 [Here and there is-3SG hear-INF Czech-NOM...]
 ‘Czech is heard here and there...’

When the nominative construction is used, the nominative item triggers verbal agreement, 3SG Cz *je* ‘is’ or 3PL Cz *jsou* ‘are’, but the accusative construction simply uses the IMPERSONAL form of the 3SG. The transition from accusative to nominative in Czech may indicate that this construction has come to be treated as a periphrastically expressed form of BE. The relationship between BE and expressions meaning ‘be visible/seen/sensible’ is discussed in Chapter 2 in terms of the conceptual network surrounding BE and HAVE. It is not unheard of for the notion VISIBILITY to play a role in the formation of BE expressions (SUPPLETION).

3.5 Frequency and events

In addition to the major semantic notions already discussed for BE, BE constructions may also express frequency and events. In the Slavic languages, we find special forms of the verb 'be', marked for frequency by a frequentative suffix. Such verbs are R *byvat'*, Cz *bývat*, P *bywać*, and B *bivam* 'be (frequentative)'. Whereas the uses of BE discussed thus far have all expressed stative meanings, BE constructions can also signify events. In these uses, 'be' expresses the notions HAPPEN, OCCUR, TAKE PLACE. Specialized verbs for these concepts also exist alongside the primary expression of BE.

The Slavic frequentative 'be' verbs may mark a recurring action or may cross over into the semantics of HAPPEN or OCCUR. These meanings are naturally suited to BE expressions, since HAPPEN, OCCUR, and TAKE PLACE all express the notions EXISTENCE and LOCATION, specifically of finding a place in the world.

- (139) Cz *Židle, stůl i postele na dotek*
 [Chairs-NOM, table-NOM and beds-NOM to touch-ACC
nepříjemně studily a v noci, kdy
 unpleasantly be-cold-PL and in night-LOC, when
býval mráz venku největší, se
 was-FREQ-MSG frost-NOM outside greatest-NOM, R/P
lidský dech okamžitě měnil v
 person's breath-NOM immediately changed-MSG to
bělavou páru.
 whitish steam-ACC.]

'The chairs, table, and beds were unpleasantly cold to the touch and at night, when the frost was greatest outside, a person's breath immediately turned into whitish steam.'

- (140) Cz *Pokud měl ranní službu, býval na*
 [While had-MSG early shift-ACC, was-FREQ-MSG at
vrátnici už po páté...
 gate-house-LOC already after five-LOC...]

'While he had the morning shift, he would be at the gate house just after five...'

- (141) R *Ja byvaju bolen vsjakij raz,*
 [I-NOM am-FREQ-1SG sick-NOM-MSG every time-ACC,
kak mne prihoditsja sjuda priezžat'.
 how me-DAT is-necessary-3SG-R/P to-here come-INF.]

'I get sick every time I have to come here.'

- (142) R *Vagin byval tam ežednevno.*
 [Vagin-NOM was-FREQ-MSG there weekly.]
 ‘Vagin frequented there weekly.’/‘Vagin was there every week.’
- (143) R *Kot v sapogax byvaet toľko v skazkax, messir.*
 [Cat-NOM in boots-LOC is-FREQ-3SG only in fairy-tales-LOC, monsieur-NOM.]
 ‘A puss in boots only happens in fairy tales, monsieur.’
- (144) P *Jest faktem bardzo bolesnym, że także dzisiaj ta norma bywa nadal jawnie naruszana przez przemoc, wojnę i korupcję...*
 [Is-3SG fact-INST very grievous-INST, that also today that norm-NOM is-FREQ-3SG still openly violated-NOM by violence-ACC, war-ACC and corruption-ACC...]
 ‘It is a very grievous fact that even today this norm continues to be openly violated by violence, war, and corruption...’
- (145) P *Dzieje się tak często w młodych Kościołach, gdzie jeden kapłan bywa duszpasterzem wiernych rozproszonych na rozległym obszarze.*
 [Happens-3SG R/P so often in young Churches-LOC, where one priest-NOM is-FREQ-3SG pastor-INST faithful-GEN spread-out-GEN on vast area-LOC.]
 ‘It happens quite often in young churches, where one priest is the pastor for the faithful who are spread out over a vast area.’

The sentences in (139)–(141) all employ the frequentative of ‘be’ in the literal meaning ‘be frequently’. The frost would repeatedly be greatest at night in (139), the employee repeatedly showed up for work at a certain time in (140), and the same trip made the speaker in (141) sick every time like clockwork. The Russian example in (142) shows the use of the verb R *byval* ‘be (frequentative)’ with the meaning of ‘frequent, visit often’. The same verb in (143) means ‘happen; occur’. It only occurs in fairy tales that one meets up with a cat wearing boots. The Polish examples in (144) and (145) identify continuing periodic actions and ongoing situations. In addition to expressing ‘be’ with repetition, the frequentative verb ‘be’ takes on special grammatical roles in Czech and Russian (see 5.1.1.4 and 5.3).

The primary verb for BE in the Slavic languages considered here may also be used to express a semelfactive notion, expressing an event that occurred once, without regard to the stative nature of the event.

- (146) Cz *Bylo to v Praze.*
 [Was-NSG that-NOM in Prague-LOC.]
 'It happened in Prague.'
- (147) Cz *Co pro ně můžu udělat? Mají*
 [What-ACC for them-ACC may-1SG do-INF? Have-3PL
mámu? Mají tátu? Proč tady jsou?
 mom-ACC? Have-3PL dad-ACC? Why here are-3PL?
Co všechno viděly? A co s nima bude?
 What all-ACC saw-PL? And what-NOM with them-INST will-be-3SG?]
 'What can I do for them? Do they have a mom? Do they have a dad? Why are they here? What all have they seen? What will happen to them?'
- (148) P *Było to na placu Zamkowym.*
 [Was-NSG that-NOM on square Castle-LOC]
 'It happened on the Castle Square.'
- (149) R *Stoít li podrobno rasskazyvat' o tom,*
 [Worth-3SG QUEST in-detail narrate-INF about that-LOC,
čto bylo dalše?
 that-NOM was-NSG further?]
 'Is it worth telling in detail what happened next?'

Once again with this expression of HAPPEN, the impersonal form of the verb 'be' is used. In examples (146), (148), and (149), 'be' expresses an event that occurred in the past. In (147), 'be' expresses the notion 'what will become of them; what will happen to them'. In addition to the use of the verb 'be' in these contexts, specific verbs meaning 'happen' or 'occur' may be used.

- (150) R – *Čto-nibud' slučilos'?*
 [– Something-NOM happened-NSG-R/P?
 – *Čto moglo slučit'sja?*
 – What-NOM could-NSG happen-INF-R/P?]
 "Did something happen?"
 "What could happen?"
- (151) R *Šest' mesjacev nazad s nim proizošla*
 [Six-ACC months-GEN ago with him-INST happened-FSG
tragičeskaja istorija.
 tragic story-NOM.]
 'A tragic event happened to him six months ago.'
- (152) P *Nikt nie wierzy, że staje się już.*
 [No-one-NOM not believes-3SG, that happens-3SG R/P already.]
 'No one believes that it is already happening.'

In (150), the verb R *slučat'sja/slučit'sja* 'happen, occur' is used and another synonym is used in (151), R *proisxodit'/proizojti* 'happen, occur, take place'. The Polish verb P *stać się* 'become; happen' in (152) is formed with the reflexive/passive particle plus the verb P *stać* 'stand'. Czech uses an identical construction with the verb Cz *stát se* 'become; happen'.

Chvany claims that the presence of these OCCUR meanings with BE demonstrates that R *byť* 'be' "is not specified as [+stative]" (1975: 50–1). I would argue that BE is primarily a stative notion as is usually assumed. Benveniste has called 'be' "the verb of state par excellence" (1971/1960: 172) and, indeed, this corresponds well to the model in Figure 3-1 for BE as a complex concept expressing EXISTENCE and COPULA. However, in the course of development of BE constructions, lexical items expand their meanings into other semantically related domains. The OCCUR meaning is an additional manifestation of polysemy for these particular BE constructions in Slavic, but it is not representative of the prototypical meanings of BE, and thus is not represented in the model in Figure 3-1. The notions WHAT HAPPENED (R *čto slučilos'* 'what happened') vs. WHAT WAS (R *čto bylo* 'what happened') are distinct, but they can converge in the same lexical items. The developmental process and motivation behind such polysemies for BE, HAVE, and related concepts are discussed in Chapter 2.

3.6 Prefixed forms of 'be'

The roots expressing the concept BE in Slavic form a large set of lexemes (see Herman 1975: 30–9, 185–87). The Slavic prefixes also freely combine with the verb 'be'.⁸

Table 3-1 lists some of the verbs formed by adding the Slavic prefixes to the root of 'be' in Russian. Many of these verbs are obsolete or rarely encountered, but there is a wide range of further semantic extensions made possible by prefixation. A few of these possibilities are exhibited in examples (153)–(155).

- (153) R *Učenyje* *vos'mi* *gosudarstv* *pribyli* *v* *Tallim*
 [Scholars-NOM eight-GEN states-GEN to-be-PL in Tallinn-ACC
 na 7-ju Konferenciju *po izučeniju* *Skandinavii*
 to 7th Conference-ACC on study-DAT Scandinavia-GEN
 i *Finlandii*.
 and Finland-GEN.]

'Scholars from eight countries arrived in Tallinn for the 7th Conference for the Study of Scandinavia and Finland.'

8. The variety of prefixed forms of 'be' stands out in comparison to the lack of such forms with 'have' (see also Chapter 5, Note 15).

Table 3-1. Some Prefixed Forms of 'be' in Russian

<i>byť</i>	'be'
<i>zabyvat' / zabyt'</i>	'forget'
<i>zabyt'sja</i>	'doze off; forget oneself, be forgotten'
<i>perebyvat' / perebyt'</i>	'visit (a lot of places)'
<i>prebyvat' / prebyt'</i>	'be, abide, reside'
<i>izbyvat' / izbyt'</i>	'rid oneself of'
<i>pribyvat' / pribyt'</i>	'arrive, get in; increase, grow'
<i>dobyvat' / dobyt'</i>	'get, obtain; extract, mine'
<i>razdobyvat' / razdobyt'</i>	'get, procure, come by'
<i>pobyvat' / pobyt'</i>	'visit, stay'
<i>probyvat' / probyt'</i>	'stay, remain, be (for a time)'
<i>sbyvat' / sbyt'</i>	'sell, get rid of; decrease'
<i>sbyvat'sja / sbyt'sja</i>	'come true, be realized; happen'
<i>otbyvat' / otbyt'</i>	'depart; serve (sentence, military service)'
<i>ubyvat' / ubyt'</i>	'decrease, diminish; go away, leave'
<i>vybyvat' / vybyt'</i>	'leave, quit'

- (154) R U nee vyraženie pticy, kotoroj
 [At her-GEN expression-NOM bird-GEN, which-DAT
xočetsja pit', ej ne dajut, i
 would-like-3SG-R/P drink-INF, her-DAT not give-3PL, and
poxože, ona skoro otbudet iz ètogo mira.
 similar-NSG, she-NOM soon away-be-3SG from this world-GEN.]
 'She has the expression of a bird who would like a drink and they won't
 give it to her, and she looks like she will soon depart from this world.'

- (155) R ...navernjaka gde-to na zvezdolete u nego
 [...probably somewhere on spaceship-LOC at him-GEN
byla ešče iskusstvennaja počka i dve
 was-FSG still artificial kidney-NOM and two-NOM
brigady vračej, i v fil'me, kak
 brigade-GEN doctors-GEN, and in film-LOC, as
Tatarskomu smutno pripomnilos', prisutstvovali
 Tatarsky-DAT sadly remembered-NSG-R/P, were-present-PL
nameki na èto.
 allusions-NOM to this-ACC.]
 '...probably somewhere on the spaceship he had an artificial kidney and
 two brigades of doctors, and in the film, as Tatarsky sadly remembered it,
 there were allusions to this.'

The verbs R *pribyvat'*/*pribyt'* 'arrive' in (153) and R *otbyvat'*/*otbyt'* 'leave' in (154) can be used in place of the usual motion verbs R *prihodit'*/*prijti* 'arrive (walking)', R *priežžat'*/*priexat'* 'arrive (by vehicle)' and R *uxodit'*/*ujti* 'leave (walking)', R *uezžat'*/*uexat'* 'leave (by vehicle)'. Many of these prefixed forms express concepts included in the conceptual network discussed in 2.5, particularly the concept of MOTION. The stem of the present active participle has been used to form the verb R *suščestvovat'* 'exist' and also appears in prefixed forms of BE synonyms, R *prisutstvovat'* 'be present' in (155) and its antonym R *otsutstvovat'* 'be absent'. Many additional verbs have been formed by adding prefixes to the roots of BE. However, there are no such prefixed forms added to the verbal forms of 'have'. This fact may have something to do with the relative chronology of the development of 'have' and the productivity of the Slavic prefixes. Whereas the root LCS *eti* 'seize, take', which has given rise to the root of the Slavic 'have' verbs, is active in prefixation in the Slavic languages, no prefixes are added to R *imet'* 'have', Cz *mít* 'have', P *mieć* 'have', or B *imam* 'have'. The historical development of 'have' expressions is discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 2.

3.7 Further comments

The previous paragraphs outline the basic uses of BE as an EXISTENTIAL and COPULA verb and introduce the ways that 'be' has become grammaticalized as an auxiliary in the expression of past and future tenses and the conditional mood. Grammaticalization is taken up in detail in Chapter 5. While focusing on the specific nature of the concept BE, this chapter inevitably adds to the discussion of the ways in which BE and HAVE interact. The coherent concept BE is polysemous, made up of multiple roots and verbs. Figure 3-2 at the end of this chapter summarizes the BE model for each language considered here and offers a semantic map for BE constructions in these four languages. This chapter demonstrates that BE is a sufficiently complex polysemous concept on its own, even without the consideration of this concept's relationship to HAVE and other concepts. The same will be seen in the discussion of HAVE in the following chapter. The complexities continue to multiply when specifically considering the unity of BE and HAVE expressions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

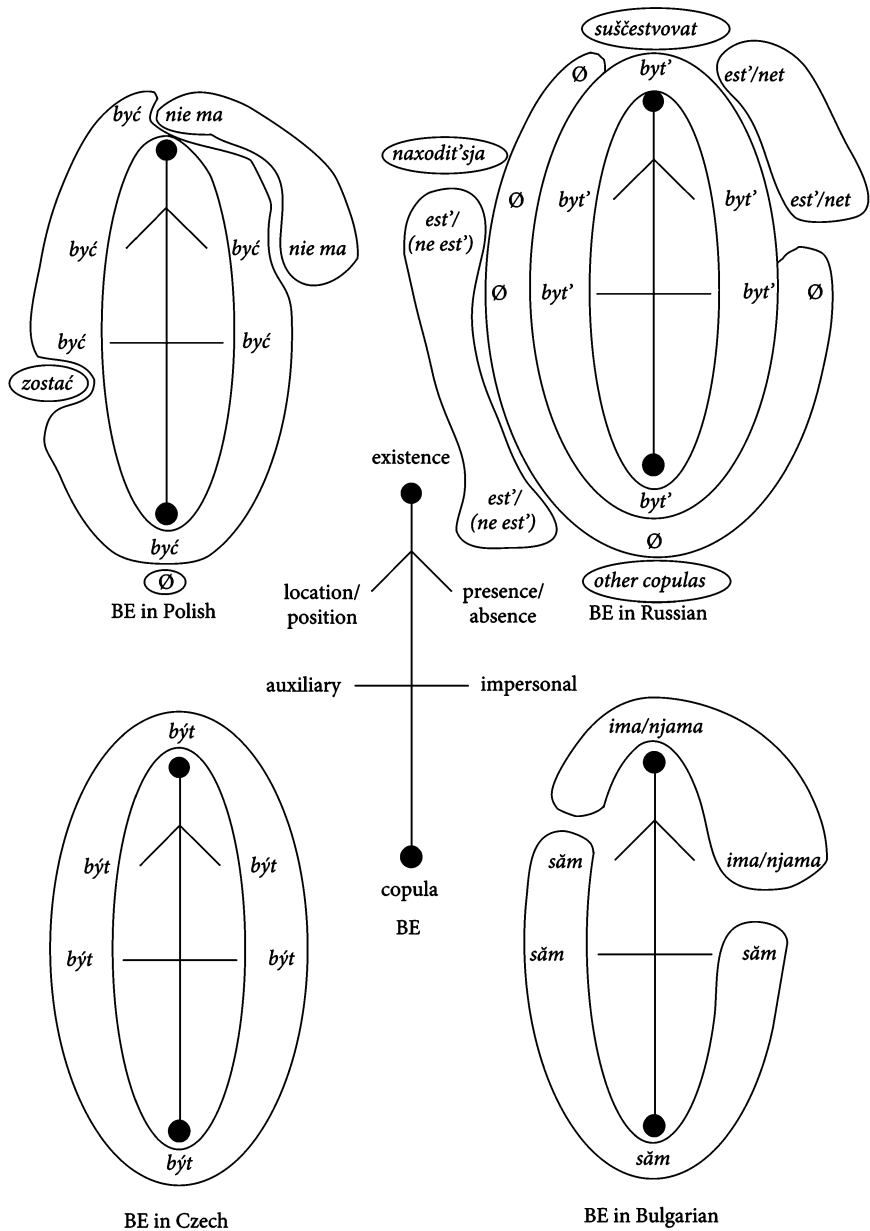


Figure 3-2. The BE Schema in Four Slavic Languages

HAVE in the modern Slavic languages

Olr Boí cú occo.
 [There-was-3sg dog-NOM at-him-DAT.]
 ‘He had a dog.’
 – Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó

4.0 General comments, source domains

As with BE, HAVE is not reducible beyond two basic ideas. For BE, these ideas are EXISTENCE and COPULA. For HAVE, the ideas are POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP. Conceptually, BE and HAVE combine two major concepts into a coherent idea. Structurally, the two notions have much more in common than we might expect at first glance. In Chapter 3 we saw some of the ways in which HAVE crosses over into the semantics of BE as an expression of MERE EXISTENCE and PRESENCE/ABSENCE. However, across the languages of the world, it is far more common for BE constructions to take on the functions of HAVE. Any examination of the concept HAVE must deal with two thorny problems involving the nature of possession and the forms and syntax of HAVE expressions in language. These two complications resemble the difficulties in analyzing BE in Chapter 3, but are even more complex for HAVE. It is difficult to arrive at a complete explanation of possession that is concise enough to be a definition, yet specific enough to avoid being uselessly vague. Possession itself may be the closest term possible for adequately describing what HAVE expressions do in language. Whatever we include in our definition of possession, this concept is clearly at the center of HAVE, but even possession is not broad enough to account for all of the various uses of HAVE constructions. In this chapter, HAVE encompasses possession in its widest sense. However, as with expressions of BE, HAVE constructions lend themselves to auxiliary and modal uses, which are discussed in Chapter 5. The second major problem for an account of HAVE is posed by the many different linguistic means of expressing this concept. HAVE expressions may arise metaphorically from a number of concrete domains. Depending on the source domain, possessors may be subjects of sentences with transitive verbs or may be the locations or recipients of possessed items. The syntax and semantics of the source domain continue to constrain the meaning and contexts of the HAVE construction as it develops. The origins and structure of a

HAVE construction also affect the types of polysemies that may develop. Any analysis of HAVE constructions must offer some way of dealing with these problems of meaning and linguistic form.

Regarding the functions of HAVE constructions Heine (1997: 34–5) does not attempt to identify a single meaning, but rather offers seven distinct possessive notions that HAVE constructions express. In a language such as English, the distinctions are not so important, because a single HAVE construction, Engl *have*, covers all of these notions. The situation is similar for Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. However, in Russian, two HAVE constructions, the transitive verb *R imet'* 'have' and the expression *R u + GEN + (est') + NOM* [at + possessor-GEN + (there is) + possessed-NOM] 'have' cover various parts of these possessive domains in different ways. Heine's seven possessive notions are PHYSICAL, TEMPORARY, PERMANENT, INALIENABLE, ABSTRACT, INANIMATE INALIENABLE, and INANIMATE ALIENABLE. These notions cover the possessive functions of HAVE constructions well, but do not adequately account for the variety of lexical and grammatical roles filled by BE and HAVE constructions. PHYSICAL implies a possessive relationship in which the possessed item is physically present for the possessor for the time of the utterance. TEMPORARY entails a possessive relationship of borrowing, access, or availability. In PERMANENT possession, the primary category is ownership, especially in a legal sense. The INALIENABLE possessive notion typically establishes kinship,

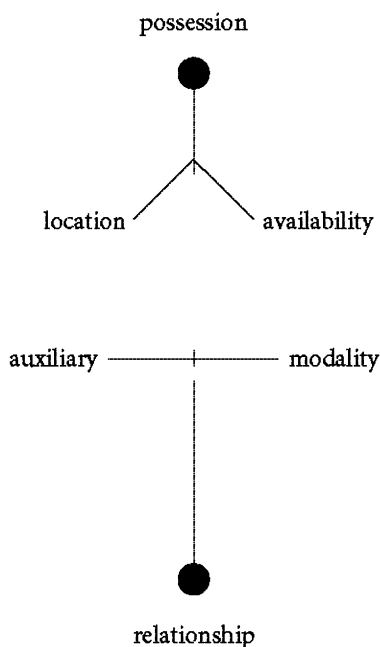


Figure 4-1. HAVE

body part possession, and other types of inalienable possession. ABSTRACT possession involves possession of something “not visible or tangible, like a disease, a feeling, or some other psychological state” (Heine 1997: 34). INANIMATE INALIENABLE establishes a part/whole relationship for inanimate objects and their inalienable parts. INANIMATE ALIENABLE possession involves an inanimate possessor and the temporary items it may be conceived of as possessing. These notions begin to explain the various types of possession covered by HAVE constructions, but they do not adequately account for all of the concepts and functions included in possessive constructions.

In this study, I identify two main concepts covered by possessive constructions, POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP represented by the model for HAVE in Figure 4-1. The structure of the model in Figure 4-1 is parallel to the model for BE presented in Chapter 3. The two poles represent the two prototypes for HAVE: POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP. Under POSSESSION (4.1), we may consider POSSESSION PROPER, LOCATION, and AVAILABILITY to be related possessive notions closely associated with POSSESSION. POSSESSION PROPER (4.1.1) concerns the notions of ownership and control of physical and abstract objects. LOCATION (4.1.2) deals with the possession of objects in a spatial or temporal domain. AVAILABILITY (4.1.3) specifically expresses the accessibility of possessed objects. RELATIONSHIP (4.2) includes all of the various interactions that HAVE expressions deal with which cannot adequately be explained as possessive in nature.

In developing these notions, I have changed and adapted Heine’s (1997) possessive notions to more adequately explain the data from Slavic, English, and the other languages considered here. Table 4-1 lists the correspondences between the terminology in Heine’s analysis and the terminology used here. The categories in the HAVE model in Figure 4-1 make different distinctions and organize the data differently from Heine’s model in an attempt to fill gaps in his analysis of HAVE.

Table 4-1. Correspondences Between Two Studies of Possessive Notions

Heine (1997)	Present Analysis
PHYSICAL	HAVE:LOCATION
TEMPORARY	HAVE:AVAILABILITY
PERMANENT	HAVE:POSSESSION PROPER
INALIENABLE	HAVE:RELATIONSHIP
INANIMATE INALIENABLE	HAVE:RELATIONSHIP
INANIMATE ALIENABLE	(like other possessors)
ABSTRACT	(like other objects)

Rather than PHYSICAL possession, I propose LOCATION, in which a possessor has an item in a location, one of which may be the possessor’s person. Such a use

would be equal to Heine's PHYSICAL possessive notion, which only covers HAVE + physical proximity, but LOCATION accounts for other types of HAVE + LOCATION that cannot be classified under Heine's PHYSICAL category, e.g., Engl *We have money in the bank*. Instead of TEMPORARY possession, I propose the notion AVAILABILITY, which entails having an item at one's disposal without reference to ownership. I use the term POSSESSION PROPER in lieu of Heine's PERMANENT possession. The concept POSSESSION PROPER covers both the legal sense of ownership and the sense of ultimate control over and responsibility for a possessed item (including the option of lending an item to another possessor in a HAVE:AVAILABILITY sentence). In place of INALIENABLE possession and the various and sundry notions included under it (kinship, body parts, etc.), I propose the term RELATIONSHIP, in which a HAVE construction establishes some kind of relationship between two items which have been traditionally understood more or less in terms of possessor and possessed item. The central relationship expressed is that of PART and WHOLE, but the concept RELATIONSHIP is also somewhat broader. Body part possession is easily understood as a PART/WHOLE RELATIONSHIP. Kinship relations share similarities with PART and WHOLE, but also establish notions of source entities (a WHOLE) and the entities which subsequently emerge from them (the PART). Our experience of birth, bloodlines, and family trees contributes to this concept of HAVE. Considering body part possession further, an arm is in a PART/WHOLE relation to the body, but it is also in a relationship of use. To have an arm is to establish a relationship between a possessor and an item, in which the possessor has access to and can manipulate the item in the ways that are consonant with the item's nature and function. To say that a child has a mother and father is not only to establish a family lineage and a life source for the child, but the expression also sets up a complex of interactions, obligations, and expectations between the child and his parents.

I eliminate Heine's category ABSTRACT, because this term does not so much express a different possessive notion as a type of possessed object. Certain HAVE constructions in language may be specifically marked for the possession of abstract or concrete objects (e.g. *Rimet'* 'have' primarily with abstract objects), but the possession of abstract objects is not too far removed from the possession of concrete objects and does not merit a separate possessive notion in the HAVE model of Figure 4-1. The possession of abstract objects can include the possession of verbal actions, leading to AUXILIARY and MODAL constructions (the logic of these connections is discussed in Chapter 5). The combination of HAVE with some abstract nouns contributes to a sort of phrasal verb construction, a periphrastic verbal derivation with a 'have' auxiliary. In these uses the abstract noun is not significantly different from concrete possessions.

Likewise, Heine's two types of inanimate possession, INANIMATE INALIENABLE and INANIMATE ALIENABLE, do not represent other types of possessive constructions, but specify a certain kind of possessor. In a given language, a certain HAVE

construction may be marked specifically for animate or inanimate possessors (e.g., the use of *R u + GEN* 'have' with animate possessors and a locative construction with inanimate possessors in Russian). Even despite the existence of HAVE constructions marked for animacy, if we consider the English sentences Engl *The house has a large garage* and Engl *The child has a big mouth*, we can see that a single HAVE construction is capable of dealing with both kinds of possessors. The notion INANIMATE INALIENABLE falls under the RELATIONSHIP category of this study. The INANIMATE ALIENABLE category belongs under the three notions of POSSESSION: POSSESSION PROPER, LOCATION, and AVAILABILITY.

The RELATIONSHIP qualities of HAVE are important for the POSSESSIVE uses of HAVE. The meaning of a specific HAVE construction depends greatly on what we know about the nature of the possessor and the possessed item. For instance, the sentence Engl *The door has a key* evokes a PART/WHOLE RELATIONSHIP with the multi-faceted concept DOOR: *door, knob, lock, hinges, frame, threshold*, etc. In this respect, we can understand Engl *The door has a key* as [A WHOLE-door has a PART-key of what it is]. Similarly, Engl *America has a population of 300 million* establishes a PART/WHOLE RELATIONSHIP for *America* and one of its parts understood as [A WHOLE-America has a PART-population of what it is] in a complex idea of COUNTRY (*America*): *population, geography, government, law, history, traditions, culture*, etc. In Engl *I have a duty*, modality enters the picture in an understanding [I am the kind of person who will do what he should do in a given situation]. The sentence Engl *We have a nice church* expresses the notion that a subject (*we*) attends, takes sacraments in, supports financially, knows people, etc. in a location-*nice church*. Although frequently referred to as a type of possession, such sentences as this no more express possession than does the noun phrase Engl *our church*.¹ In all uses of HAVE constructions we see a balance which sometimes tilts more strongly towards POSSESSION and sometimes more strongly towards RELATIONSHIP.

The revised possessive notions presented here in Figure 4-1 allow for the simultaneous expression of multiple possessive notions in a single sentence. Within this model there is not a strict requirement that we be able to place every HAVE sentence into a single category. The example in Engl *I have the car out in the Kenan lot* may express LOCATION and AVAILABILITY, but does not necessarily include the ownership of POSSESSION PROPER. The sentence Engl *I have the car in the shop* can express POSSESSION PROPER and LOCATION, but not AVAILABILITY.

1. The RELATIONSHIP notion also extends from predicative into attributive possession, from Engl *We have a nice church* to Engl *our church*. In Engl *My French is not so good* or Engl *My physics class meets in this room*, in what sense are these things *mine*? The notion of the RELATIONSHIP is very much present in such non-possessive uses.

HAVE expressions are frequently ambiguous when taken out of context and may depend greatly on extra-linguistic knowledge of the particular possessors and possessed items even when used in a particular context. Yokoyama (1985) refers to sentences with “light” verbs and “heavy” subjects where our extralinguistic knowledge of the subjects and complements provide more information about the utterance than the verb does. The ambiguity in HAVE sentences adds to the difficulties of finding a discrete definition for HAVE.

The ambiguity is increased in languages which use a single HAVE construction to cover all possessive notions. In languages with multiple HAVE constructions, we may also find ambiguity in constructions that have not been exclusively grammaticalized for the expression of HAVE. This ambiguity lies not in distinguishing between types of possession, but in distinguishing between a HAVE meaning and another meaning, perhaps the original meaning of the construction or a further grammaticalization as in modal uses of ‘have’. For example, the R *u* + GEN HAVE construction may be interpreted as a locational BE sentence as in R *Gde biletŭ? Biletŭ u menja*. [Where tickets? Tickets at me.] ‘Where are the tickets? The tickets are at my place.’ A reversal of the terms yields a HAVE reading R *U menja biletŭ*. [At me tickets.] ‘I have the tickets.’ We may still be able to get a HAVE or a locational BE reading from either word order depending on the wider context of the utterance (see Chvany 1975: 94ff.). Nevertheless, these ambiguities reveal some of the complexities of HAVE constructions. The concept HAVE is polysemous within itself and the lexical items expressing HAVE may also be used in other semantic domains.

Having addressed the meaning of possession, we must still account for the variety of linguistic manifestations for HAVE expressions. It is supposed for PIE that there was not an expression for HAVE with a transitive verb. Rather, an expression with ‘be’ was used with the possessed object along with some marking of the possessor in a locational construction. The earliest Slavic evidence indicates that such a construction was available of the form possessor-DAT + possessed-NOM + ‘be’ (PROTO-HAVE). This construction probably reflects the PIE construction and is exemplified by Lat *mihi liber est* ‘I have a book’ and similar constructions in Greek, Sanskrit, Gothic, and Lithuanian (Mrázek 1963: 243 and Orr 1992: 249). Whereas the forms of the verb ‘be’ are rather conservative across the Indo-European languages and are related to a limited set of Proto-Indo-European roots, we do not find the same archaism and preservation with HAVE constructions. Various HAVE constructions, particularly with transitive verbs appear to have developed independently in various branches of Indo-European and at different times, with relatively frequent renewal and change. The Slavic languages, as a whole, express HAVE primarily through the modern reflexes of LCS **jəmēti* ‘have’. A curious situation occurs in Russian where the LOCATION schema has provided the primary source

of the dominant HAVE expression. This schema is also present to a lesser degree in the transitional belt from Russian into Belarusian, Ukrainian, and Polish.

In this chapter, HAVE is only loosely defined around these core possessive notions. It may not be possible to offer a single definition of possession as attempted by many previous studies (for a summary of the research, see Heine 1997). Rather, there seems to be a tendency for a loose confederacy of concepts which commonly come together in a single HAVE construction. However, the concepts associated with HAVE expressions often extend beyond what can be understood as possession (see Chapter 2 for more on the joining and extension of such concepts). The origin of a particular HAVE construction remains important in further grammaticalization and extension of that construction. HAVE constructions have arisen and continue to arise all the time. These constructions sojourn in a language, sometimes briefly, sometimes for a long while. In the process of development, a HAVE construction may start in a very specific and limited domain and expand from there into other semantic functions. Since HAVE constructions arise according to one of Heine's source domains, HAVE is largely a language-specific phenomenon, and even a construction-specific phenomenon in a given language. The source domains provide a limited set of ideas which give rise to HAVE constructions, but individual languages may employ one, two, or several of these schemas in their HAVE constructions. Depending on the origin of a given construction, one possessive notion such as LOCATION or POSSESSION PROPER may be more dominant and prototypical or the construction might allow only for the expression of kinship relations and body part possession or may be limited to animate possessors.

In this particular chapter, Russian is the most interesting language examined because of its multiple HAVE constructions, the primary one of which uses the concept BE to express HAVE. Russian is the only Slavic language considered here which has any serious competition between its HAVE constructions. Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian express all possessive notions with a single construction for HAVE and pose no serious problems for the analysis.² However, when the discussion turns to the grammaticalization of HAVE (4.3 and Chapter 5), or to the wider relationship between BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors (discussed in Chapter 2), then

2. Heine (1997: 232) states that Bulgarian has multiple HAVE sources. The dominant expression is with Bulgarian *imam* 'have', but Heine states that physical and temporary possession may be expressed by a construction with B *u* 'at' and various types of non-permanent possession with B *s(äs)* 'with', and a BELONG construction with B *na* 'of'. Unfortunately, Heine includes no examples of these additional constructions and only refers to a personal correspondence as a reference, mentioning that the B *s(äs)* 'with' and B *na* 'of' constructions are "not mentioned in relevant studies" (Heine 1997: 232). These constructions need further investigation into their status as HAVE expressions.

PROTO-HAVE

It is surprising that Isačenko places OCS among the BE-languages and states that the “numerous constructions with [OCS] *iměti* which are to be found in OCS texts are without exception loan-translations from Greek constructions with [Grk] *ékhein*”¹ (Isačenko 1974: 50). It seems odd that a verb used only for “loan-translations” would achieve such prominence in all the modern Slavic languages except Russian, yet in those languages we find a transitive verb for ‘have’ formed from LCS **jbměti* ‘have’ (among them WSl: P *mieć*, Cz *mít* ‘have’; SSl: B *imam*, SC *imati* ‘have’; and even in ESl: Ukr *maty*, Bel *mec* ‘have’). Russian, of course, has *Rimet* ‘have’, but its use is rather restricted (see 4.3.2). Given the expansion of LCS **jbměti* ‘have’ in the descendant languages and the fact that the verb appears in OCS as one of five irregular athematic verbs, it would be difficult to believe that OCS *iměti* ‘have’ did not exist before the biblical translators made use of it for rendering Greek expressions. Had OCS *iměti* ‘have’ not existed in Slavic at the time of the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, we might suppose that it was created from Slavic word stock by analogy to the verb Grk *ékhein* ‘have’ (<‘hold’), which in Greek is not among the athematic verbs². Owing to its membership in a non-productive paradigm, I think we must conclude that OCS *iměti* ‘have’ is an archaic part of Slavic. If Isačenko is correct to classify OCS as a BE-language, then what was the semantic role of OCS *iměti* ‘have’ before it was “drafted” into service for HAVE? If Isačenko’s classification is wrong and Common Slavic was already well along in the process of becoming a HAVE-language, then we must still wonder what influences ushered the other Slavic languages into full membership and what influences may have retarded the development of a verb ‘have’ in Russian (see chapter 6), which strongly remains a BE-language up to the present day. Connected with the subsequent developments may be the alternative HAVE constructions we find in OCS texts: the use of the dative case with ‘be’ and the use of *u* + GEN with ‘be’.

Expressions using the Dative

Orr suggests that the earliest reconstructable way of expressing HAVE in Slavic was with the dative case and the verb ‘be’. Similar constructions are found in other Indo-European languages, among them Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Lithuanian (Orr 1992: 249). Orr cites examples from Mrázek (1963) and Mirčev (1971) where HAVE is expressed in OCS as possessor-DAT + ‘be’ as in (1).

- (1) OCS *kaję varn mьzda estъ*
 [which you-DAT reward-NOM is]
 ‘...what reward have you...’ (Matthew 5: 46. Mirčev 1971: 80)

Orr contrasts the example in (1) from Prezviter Kozma (Chapter XXXI) with the same passage in the attested Gospel translations in (2).

- (2) OCS *kaję mьzdo imate*
 [which reward-ACC you-have]
 ‘...what reward have you...’ (as in all attested codices, Mirčev 1971: 80)

Both of these examples reflect a verb for HAVE in the original Greek passage, indicating, in contradiction to Isačenko, that the Slavic translation does not always correspond to the Greek original (Orr 1992: 249). In other examples, however, the possessor-DAT + ‘be’ construction in the OCS text does correspond directly to a Greek dative with ‘be’ as in (3)–(5)³.

- (3) OCS *ne bę ima čęda*
[not was them-two-DAT child-GEN]
‘...they had no child...’ (Luke 1: 7, *Marianus* in Mirčev 1971: 79)
- (4) OCS *dęva dęžnika bęste zaimodavęcu eteru*
[two debtors were creditor-DAT certain-DAT]
‘...a certain creditor had two debtors...’ (Luke 7: 41, *Marianus* in Mirčev 1971: 79)
- (5) OCS *dęšti inočęda bę emou*
[daughter only was him-DAT]
‘...he had an only daughter...’ (Luke 8: 42, *Marianus* in Mirčev 1971: 79)

Examples (3), (4), and (5) may represent imitations of the Greek construction or may be the regular means of expressing possession in Slavic. Mirčev states that this ancient construction was stable between the 9th and 11th centuries, before losing ground (1971: 80). Example (1) may attest to the fact that, even when OCS *imęti* ‘have’ was used to translate Greek, the more natural Slavic form, at least in an earlier period, was with possessor-DAT + ‘be’.

Expressions using *u* ‘by, at’

We also find constructions with *u* ‘by, at’ + possessor-GEN + ‘be’ in OCS texts. Mirčev notes that the presence of this construction, although rare in OCS, provides proof that this usage of *u* was not just a later development, peculiar only to Russian (Mirčev 1971: 81). We find one such example in the *Codex Assemanianus* for which Mirčev notes that Vaillant’s *Manuel du vieux slave* explains as a HAVE-construction.

- (6) OCS *ašte będetę u etera č[ovę]ka r. ovečę*
[if will-be by certain-GEN man-GEN 100 sheep]
‘If a man has a hundred sheep...’ (Matthew 18: 12, Mirčev 1971: 81)

In the other attested gospels, however, we find the dative for this passage as in (7).

- (7) OCS *ašte będetę eteru č[o]v[ę]ku r. ovečę*
[if will-be certain-DAT man-DAT 100 sheep]
‘If a man has a hundred sheep...’ (Matthew 18: 12, Mirčev 1971: 81)

Mirčev goes on to discuss how the *u* + GEN construction enjoyed some further use in Bulgarian but was lost early. The parallel development of *u* in a possessive construction in Russian and Bulgarian adds to the case for the Common Slavic nature of *u* + GEN as a possible means of expressing HAVE. Mirčev raises the perhaps unanswerable question, why does *u* + GEN become widespread in Russian, yet dies out in Bulgarian? (Mirčev 1971: 83). Clearly, this possessive use of *u* + GEN developed out of the locative sense of the preposition, as examples such as (8) and (9) show.

- (8) OCS *kęde u nasę vę pustę męstę xľębę toliko*
[where by us-GEN in empty place bread so-much]
‘Where could we get so much bread in an empty place...’
(Matthew 15: 33, *Savvina Kniga* in Mirčev 1971: 81)
- (9) OCS *u tebe jestę istočęnikę žīvota*
[by you-GEN is source life-GEN]
‘With you is the fountain of life...’
(Psalm 36: 10, *Psalterium Sinaiticum* in Mirčev 1971: 83)

Mirčev considers such examples to be locational with nuances of a possessional relationship (Mirčev 1971: 83). Perhaps when Common Slavic was breaking up, *u* + GEN was expanding its meaning from exclusively locational into something which could be interpreted as HAVE, a meaning which is developed to a greater degree in Russian and to a lesser in other Slavic languages. Vasilev 1973 also confirms that *u* + GEN + 'be' was used in possessive constructions, at least by a part of the Slavs. Complementing Mirčev's examples from Bulgarian, Vasilev provides data from Serbo-Croatian to support the Common Slavic use of *u* in a possessive meaning. Vasilev also cites the work of Veenker and others who suggest that the *u* + GEN HAVE-construction spread in Russian because of Finno-Ugric influences (see 6.3). According to this view, Russian was the only Slavic language to be influenced by Finno-Ugric languages, in which possession is expressed by means similar to *u* + possessor-GEN + 'be'. Although *u* + GEN was probably used to some extent in Common Slavic times for possession, in other Slavic languages, the reflexes of LCS **jbměti* 'have' continued to develop, whereas this development was impeded in Russian.

It is possible that this verb for 'have' was in an infant state before the biblical translations were made and that the verb's role was enhanced by its use in the translations of the New Testament from Greek into Slavic. Often OCS *jbměti* 'have' is used to translate the verb Grk *ékhein* 'have' and the 'be' + dative construction is used to translate the parallel construction in Greek. However, as Mirčev (1971) points out, the correspondence between the constructions does not always hold. Given that there was some free variance in Slavic and some preference of one construction or another in different situations, and not merely a slavish adherence to the Greek original, it is possible that OCS *jbměti* 'have' was already established as a verbal expression for HAVE before the Christian missionaries came to the Slavic territories and conscripted it for translation duty.

Based on the restricted usage of OCS *imet'* 'have' in Russian, three versions of its origin can be posited. Perhaps it is a Slavonicism, with limited and strictly defined parameters, alongside the native Russian development of the *u* + GEN construction. Or perhaps both constructions were available to early Russian speakers and *u* + GEN came to be the preferred means of expressing HAVE. Or *R imet'* 'have' may represent an underdeveloped descendant of LCS **jbměti* 'have', which may or may not be on its way to full usage as in the HAVE-languages of Europe. Orr (1992: 249ff.) also suggests that the development of a transitive verb 'have' is a central Indo-European innovation, while on the periphery of Indo-European, the Celtic languages, the Indo-Iranian languages, and possibly Russian have retained traces of the more archaic construction.

¹ Isačenko is too general on the point of loan-translations. Mirčev 1971 does include examples where Greek and Slavic do not correspond, see 2.1.1.

² Greek athematic verbs include *eimí* 'I am', *phēmí* 'I say', *didōmí* 'I give', *tithēmí* 'I put', *eimí* 'I go', *hístēmí* 'I make stand', *hiēmí* 'I let go; send forth', *dánamai* 'I am able', *epístamai* 'I know', *pímplēmí* 'I fill', *pímprēmí* 'I burn'.

³ Similarly, there are situations in which OCS *iměti* 'have' is used for a corresponding Greek dative:

(F-1) OCS *ne imamъ sъde vęšte pęti xľěbъ*
 [not we-have here more five-GEN loaves-GEN]
 'We do not have here more than five loaves...'

(Luke 9: 13, (Mirčev 1971: 80))

the structural and conceptual unity of Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian serves as an asset in the development of certain grammatical structures and semantic connections. After the brief overview in 4.1 and 4.2 of how the concepts POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP operate in these languages, the distinctions between the uses of

R *imet'* 'have' (4.3) and R *u* + GEN 'have' (4.4) are discussed. Section 4.5 mentions how some auxiliary and modal functions develop from HAVE in Slavic, but a fuller discussion of grammaticalization of HAVE appears in Chapter 5. These grammatical and modal roles grow out of the blended semantics and syntactic qualities of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP.³

4.1 POSSESSION

POSSESSION is here understood in very general terms as the type of control, responsibility, and ownership prototypical to HAVE expressions. Three subnotions of POSSESSION express various uses of HAVE constructions in Slavic. POSSESSION PROPER involves ownership and general possessive notions involving both concrete and abstract possession. LOCATION involves uses of HAVE in which the interaction between the possessor and the possession is specified for a particular place in space or time. The notion of AVAILABILITY implies that a particular possession is accessible and often expresses borrowing or temporary access to a possessed item. The object involved in expressions of POSSESSION may either be concrete or abstract and the possessors may be animate or inanimate. As a function of the language specific nature of HAVE development, certain HAVE constructions may be specified for use with a certain type of possessor or possessed object. The R *u* + GEN construction discussed below is almost exclusively used for animate possessors and there is a strong correlation between R *imet'* 'have' and abstract possessions. Isačenko (1974) notes that the development of a verbal expression for HAVE in Indo-European occurred in attested times. Although we have no exact lexical matches for 'have' in the various branches of Indo-European, all of the verbs for 'have' have developed from roots with a similar range of meanings: 'take, seize, grab, grasp, obtain, etc.' (Isačenko 1974: 44). For the Slavic languages, LCS **jbměti* 'have' and its reflexes in the descendant languages stemmed from a root related to LCS **jēti* 'take, seize, grab'. Setting Russian aside for the moment, the reflexes of LCS **jbměti* 'have' have developed into fully fledged HAVE expressions in Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian stemming from the ACTION source domain. This single transitive verb 'have' in these three languages expresses all four possessive notions in

3. The quantity of possessive notions could conceivably vary from language group to language group or even language to language, depending on the degree of polysemy and suppletion of concepts. The very instability of HAVE constructions and the extent of their domains may account for the failure of linguistic studies to produce a concise and adequate definition of possession.

Figure 4-1. The unification of possessive functions under one lexeme contributes to the ambiguous readings of many HAVE sentences. For a given example, we may not be able to identify a single category of possession without a wider context as in the following vague examples.

- (1) Cz *Mám psa.*
 [Have-1SG dog-ACC.]
 ‘I have a dog.’
- (2) Cz *Mají nové auto.*
 [Have-3PL new car-ACC.]
 ‘They have a new car.’

In the sentence in (1), the verb ‘have’ may express actual, permanent ownership of the dog, or a temporary assignment to care for the dog. Additionally, we cannot tell from this statement whether or not the dog is present with the possessor at the time of the utterance, where the dog may be, or if the dog is easily findable. Likewise, in (2), we do not know whether or not they have a new car with them, whether they own a new car, or whether they merely have access to a new car. Whatever the exact possessive notions expressed in (1) and (2), these two examples reveal that expressions of POSSESSION involve the establishment of an assignment for CARE and RESPONSIBILITY, which seems to be present in any HAVE sentence. There is often a great deal of extra-linguistic information required or assumed in order to properly interpret a particular use of HAVE. In (1), you could assume LOCATION if you saw the speaker standing there with the dog or you saw the dog nearby in the backyard or at the owner’s heels as he opened the door for you. Or you could assume the dog was borrowed in an expression of AVAILABILITY in which the possessor was temporarily taking care of the dog if you know that otherwise the possessor has no dog. Additionally, this could be merely a basic statement of ownership, or POSSESSION PROPER. For the HAVE examples in (1) and (2) we need further information in order to decide between the various possessive notions or whether more than one notion is active at the same time in these sentences. The following three sections provide examples of the different types of POSSESSIVE functions of HAVE for the four Slavic languages considered in this book.

4.1.1 POSSESSION PROPER

The possessive uses of HAVE in Slavic, as we saw with the basic uses of BE in Chapter 3, are similar to the use of HAVE in English. As these examples show, the Slavic HAVE constructions may express POSSESSION PROPER with a variety of possessed objects. All in all, the verb behaves as we might expect an expression of HAVE to behave.

- (3) Cz *“Já jsem teď ten mnich, co má hodně knih a trochu ví, co je v nich,” veršuje Komárek.*
 [‘I-NOM am-1SG now that monk-NOM, that has-3SG lots books-GEN and little-bit-ACC knows-3SG, what is-3SG in them-LOC,’ rhymes-3SG Komárek-NOM.]
 ‘Now I am that monk that has a lot of books and knows a bit of what is in them,’ rhymes Komárek.’
- (4) R *U nas byl cvetnoj televizor.*
 [At us-GEN was-MSG color television-NOM.]
 ‘We had a color television.’
- (5) P *Mieszkanie mamy?*
 [Apartment-ACC have-1PL?]
 ‘Do we have an apartment?’
- (6) Cz *...máme malé platy.*
 [...have-1PL small salaries-ACC.]
 ‘...we have small salaries.’
- (7) B *Avtorăt ima sășto i obrazovanie v oblastta na kompjutărната grafika.*
 [Author-DEF has-3SG also and education in field-DEF of computer-DEF graphics.]
 ‘The author also has education in the field of computer graphics.’

POSSESSION PROPER is the most general possessive notion expressed by HAVE constructions. It may or may not imply legal ownership and may involve concrete or abstract possessions. Example (3) expresses the ownership of an extensive library. In the past tense, as in (4), an expression of POSSESSION PROPER may indicate duration of ownership that has come to an end just as the present tense question in (5) may indicate an ownership that is just beginning. Often the possessive notion is combined with the notions LOCATION, AVAILABILITY, and RELATIONSHIP. For instance, the possession of a small salary in (6) and an education in computer graphics in (7) express types of possession that grant permission or make things possible in the world (e.g., difficulty making ends meet; employment possibilities in technological fields), motivating the transition to the notion of RELATIONSHIP and hinting at the sort of modality that often develops from expressions of HAVE (see 5.2.2).

4.1.2 LOCATION

The expression of LOCATION combines the notion of POSSESSION with an expression of space or time.

- (8) Cz *Má něco v ruce.*
[Has-3SG something-ACC in hand-LOC.]
'He has something in his hand.'
- (9) R *Pojmite, čto u menja boli v grudi!*
[Understand-IMPER, that at me-GEN pains-NOM in chest-LOC!]
'Understand that I have pains in my chest.'
- (10) R *U nego èkzamen v ponedel'nik.*
[At him-GEN exam-NOM on Monday-ACC.]
'He has an exam on Monday.'
- (11) B *Žena si imam v kášti, vjarno, ama taja – žena*
[Wife self have-1SG in home, truly, but she – wife
i polovina...
and half...]
'I have a wife at home, truly, but she's a wife and a half...'

The location may be the person of the possessor as in (8) and (9) or may be a more distant location in time as in (10) or in space as in (11). The LOCATION may be a static place as in (12) and (13) or may involve a SOURCE as in (14) or a GOAL as in (15).

- (12) P *Mamy przed oczyma owoce ideologii takich*
[Have-1PL before eyes-INST fruits-ACC ideologies such-GEN
jak marksizm, nazizm, faszyzm czy także
as marxism-NOM, nazism-NOM, fascism-NOM or also
mity wyższości rasowej, nacjonalizmu czy
myths-NOM superiority racial-GEN, nationalism-GEN or
egoizmu etnicznego.
egotism ethnic-GEN.]
'We have before our eyes the fruits of such ideologies as marxism, nazism, fascism or also the myths of racial superiority, nationalism, or ethnic egotism.'
- (13) Cz *Má na sobě červené šaty.*
[Has-3SG on self-LOC red dress-ACC.]
'She has a red dress on.'
- (14) B *Iz vlaškite zemi imame mnogo rodnini...*
[Throughout Romanian-DEF lands have-1PL many relatives...]
'We have many relatives throughout the Romanian lands...'
- (15) Cz *Co máte na prodej?*
[What-NOM have-2PL for sale-ACC?]
'What do you have for sale?'

Various locational prepositions such as Slavic *v* 'in' in (8)–(11), P *przed* 'in front of' in (12) or Cz *na* 'on' in (13) are used in the HAVE:LOCATION constructions. Prepositions such as B *iz* 'from' in (14) can express a SOURCE with a HAVE:LOCATION construction and prepositions such as Cz *na* 'to, for' can express a GOAL or DESTINATION as in (15). The Czech examples in (13) and (15) reveal a further development of HAVE constructions. The construction Cz *mít na sobě* 'have on self' establishes an article of clothing as the possessed item and the location as the self, thus expressing 'have on, wear' and creating a periphrastic verbal construction comparable to the verb Cz *nosit* 'wear'. In (15), the GOAL construction expresses HAVE with the addition of a further purpose. These extensions of HAVE are discussed below in 4.5 on auxiliary uses of HAVE.

4.1.3 AVAILABILITY

In many possessive statements, ownership or location are not the issues, but rather accessibility or permission to use a possessed item. This type of POSSESSION is referred to in Figure 4-1 as AVAILABILITY, the ability to put one's possessions to use. In the negative, this construction expresses the lack of accessibility to the possessed object. In (16), the possessor simply does not have money and has an apartment which he does not have access to without that money.

- (16) B *Njamam pari, nito kvartira ili, po-točno,*
 [Not-have-1SG money, not-a apartment or, more-precisely,
imam kvartira, v kojato ne moga da vljaza, predi
 have-1SG apartment, in which not can-1SG that enter-1SG, before
da uredja edna malaka smetka...
 that settle-1SG one little bill...]

'I don't have money, not even an apartment, or more precisely, I have an apartment that I can't get into without settling one little bill...'

- (17) B *Namerix pari, šte preskočim tuk prez dve*
 [Found-AOR-1SG money, will jump-over-1PL here through two
ulici i šte imame xubava spokojna staja.
 streets and will have-1PL pretty, quiet room.]

'I found some money, we'll just hop two streets over and will have a nice, quiet room.'

In (17), the availability of money makes possible the HAVE:AVAILABILITY possession of the nice, quiet room. In (18) and (19), the presence or absence of the possessed items implies the ability or inability to perform further actions.

- (18) R *Znaete, Dovlatov, u vas est' pero!*
 [Know-2PL, Dovlatov-NOM, at you-GEN there-is pen-NOM!]
 'You know, Dovlatov, you do have a pen!'

- (19) B *Dori skafandār njamame, a i da imaxme...*
 [Even space-suit not-have-1PL, and even that we-had-AOR...]
 'We don't even have a space suit, and even if we had-AOR...'

The emphatic use of *R est* '(there) is' in (18) implies the availability of the pen and the admonishment to use it. In (19), the lack of a space suit serves as one of the obstacles to further action.

These three understandings of POSSESSION often interact in a single sentence as in (20).

- (20) Cz *To musí vědět každý, kdo má*
 [That-ACC must-3SG know-INF each-NOM, who-NOM has-3SG
doma televizi a čte noviny.
 at-home television-ACC and reads-3SG newspapers-ACC.]
 'Everyone who has a television at home and reads the newspapers
 knows that.'

The HAVE construction in (20) implies access to and use of the possessed item (AVAILABILITY), the ownership of the item (POSSESSION PROPER), and the presence of the item in the home (LOCATION). Furthermore, this example of HAVE expresses a relationship between having the possessed item and having access to sources of information, leading to knowledge. The wider context of the entire sentence combined with extra-linguistic knowledge adds to a polysemous interpretation of a single HAVE construction, invoking some of the aspects of the RELATIONSHIP possessive notion discussed in 4.0 and in the following section.

4.2 RELATIONSHIP

With the concept RELATIONSHIP, we may account for a variety of uses of HAVE that do not strictly involve possession, such as the identification of body parts and kinship relations. The primary relationship set up by HAVE is that of part and whole, a facet of HAVE identified by Lempp (1986: 135): "Relative to the whole, every item is a part; while relative to the subject, some items are possessions, others qualities, and still others (physical) parts." Examples (21)–(23) exhibit typical instances of body part possession.

- (21) Cz *Já mám dobrá játra. Nikdy jsem*
 [I-NOM have-1SG good liver-ACC. Never am-AUX-1SG
totiž nepil.
 thing-is not-drunk-MSG]
 'I have a good liver. The thing is I never drank.'

- (22) B *...ti imaš oči samo za tážni nešta.*
 [...you have-2SG eyes only for sad things.]
 '...you only have eyes for sad things.'
- (23) B *Koj imaše orlovi krile da litne tam?*
 [Who had-IMPF-3SG eagle's wings that fly-3SG there?]
 'Who had eagle's wings to fly there?'

The possession of an intact body with all of its parts in the right place is the unmarked, assumed condition for this type of RELATIONSHIP, so usually we find some other modification of the body part to justify the statement of possession. In (22), the adjective 'good' modifies the liver which has not been damaged by a lifetime of processing alcohol. In (22) and (23) the body part possession is figurative, the possession of eyes that only notice sad things and the lack of possessing eagle's wings for flight. The expression of body part possession is more useful in descriptions of the unique features of those parts, especially where features may differ from person to person as in (24) or when the possessor is an animal or some other form of life as in (25).

- (24) Cz *Měla blond vlasy, velké oči...*
 [Had-PSG blond hair-ACC, large eyes-ACC...]
 'She had blond hair, big eyes...'
- (25) R *U medvedja dobroe, simpatičnoe lico.*
 [At bear-GEN kind, nice face-NOM.]
 'The bear has a kind, cute face.'

Similar to body part possession is the description of PART/WHOLE relationships for inanimate possessors and their constituent parts as in (26)–(28).

- (26) Cz *Lednička má velký mrazicí prostor.*
 [Refrigerator-NOM has-3SG large freezing space-ACC.]
 'The refrigerator has a large freezer.'
- (27) R *Zapomnite, moe terpenie imeet predely...*
 [Remember-IMPER-2PL, my patience-NOM has-3SG limits-ACC...]
 'Remember that my patience has limits...'
- (28) P *W chrześcijaństwie czas ma podstawowe znaczenie.*
 [In Christianity-LOC time-NOM has-3SG fundamental meaning-ACC.]
 'Time has a fundamental meaning in Christianity.'

In (26), the freezer of a refrigerator is directly analogous to body part possession with animate beings. In (27) and (28), the possessors are inanimate and their possessions are qualities which are associated with them. The example in (27) states the existence of boundaries to one's patience and (28) discusses the fundamental

meaning associated with time. The same RELATIONSHIP phenomenon is seen with animate possessors as well.

- (29) R *Znaete, kakaja professija u ètogo vašego Silda?*
 [Know-2PL, what-kind-of profession-NOM at this your Sild-GEN?]
 ‘Do you know what kind of profession this Sild of yours has?’

The person mentioned in (29) has a certain profession and that profession describes a PART of that person’s WHOLE.

Another RELATIONSHIP established by HAVE constructions involves kinship. As mentioned above in 4.0, this RELATIONSHIP may also be seen in terms of PART and WHOLE. As with the possession of basic body parts, the assumption is that a typical person has a mother and father and quite likely may have brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandparents as well. Therefore, these expressions often quantify, qualify, or describe the kinship relations in some way in addition to establishing that they are in effect.

- (30) Cz *Co pro ně můžu udělat? Mají*
 [What-ACC for them-ACC can-1SG do-INF? Have-3PL
 mámu? Mají tátu?
 mom-ACC? Have-3PL dad?]
 ‘What can I do for them? Do they have a mom? Do they have a dad?’
- (31) R – *Čto ja budu dělat? Ved’ u*
 [What-ACC I-NOM will-be-AUX-1SG do-INF? You-know at
 menja dvoe detej, – govorela ona suxim
 me-GEN two-NOM children-GEN, said-FSG she-NOM dry
 izmučennym golosom.
 worn-out voice-INST.]
 ‘“What will I do? You know, I’ve got two children,” she said with a dry and worn-out voice.’

Example (30) expresses uncertainty about the existence of a mother and father for the children concerned and sentence (31) makes it clear that the possessor has two children and that will keep her busy enough with things to do.

These constructions for HAVE:RELATIONSHIP may express extended concepts as well. In (32) and (33), not only is a kinship relation established, but information is provided about the family member as well.

- (32) R *U nego byl otec, provincial’nyj akter*
 [At him-GEN was-MSG father-NOM, provincial actor-NOM
 iz Luganska.
 from Lugansk-GEN.]
 ‘He had a father, a provincial actor from Lugansk.’

- (33) Cz *Mám syna textaře v jedné reklamní*
 [Have-1SG son-ACC copywriter-ACC in one advertising
agentuře, ale vůbec mu nezávidím – dělají
 agency-LOC, but at-all him-DAT not-envy-1SG – do-3PL
denně do osmi, je tam i v sobotu.
 daily to eight-GEN, is-3SG there even on Saturday-ACC.]
 'I have a son, a copywriter in an advertising agency, but I don't envy him at
 all – they work daily until 8, he's there even on Saturday.'

These sentences could be translated in a number of ways such as 'His father was a provincial actor from Lugansk', 'He had a provincial actor from Lugansk for a father', 'He had a father who was a provincial actor from Lugansk' all of which express a RELATIONSHIP between the possessor and another person.

4.3 The LOCATION and ACTION source domains in Russian

In the majority of situations in Russian, HAVE is expressed by the construction *R u + X-GEN + (est')* + *Y-NOM* 'X has Y'. This construction has developed on the basis of Heine's (1997) LOCATION source domain and consists of the possessed item in the nominative case as the grammatical subject of a sentence with the verb 'be' and the locational preposition *R u* 'at, by' marking the possessor. This construction marks a transition of a lexeme for BE into the semantic domain of HAVE. In the present tense the verb 'be' may either appear in the unchanging form *R est'* '(there) is' or in its zero form. In future and past statements, the *R est'* '(there) is' vs. $\emptyset$ 'is' dichotomy gives way to the future and past tense forms of *R byt'* 'be'. In the negative, the unchanging forms *R net'* 'there is not', *R ne budet* 'there will not be', and *R ne bylo* 'there was not' are used with the genitive of the negated possessed item. The entire structure of this HAVE construction is presented in Table 4-2.

The construction with *R u + GEN* 'have' is most often employed for possession of concrete objects by animate possessors. However, it is not limited to this type of possession and it is not unusual to see this construction used with more abstract possessed items. On the other hand, when the verb *R imet'* 'have' is used, it is almost exclusively restricted to possession of abstract objects, a usage which is perhaps connected to the verb's association with Church Slavonic rather than with the Russian vernacular. The ACTION source domain has provided a transitive verb from LCS *jɔmětɨ* 'have' from the root LCS **jɔm-* 'take' as in OCS *ęti* 'take' (Isačenko 1974: 44). *R imet'* is the only possession verb in Russian that governs the accusative case. The verbs *R obladat'* 'possess' and *R vladet'* 'control' both govern the instrumental and *R prínadležat'* 'belong' has a nominative possessed item

Table 4-2. The R *u* + GEN ‘have’ Construction

Tense	Positive	Negative
Past	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>byl</i> + Y-NOMSG <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>byla</i> + Y-NOMSG <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>bylo</i> + Y-NOMSG ‘X had Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>byli</i> + Y-NOMPL ‘X had Y’	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>ne bylo</i> + Y-GENSG ‘X did not have Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>ne bylo</i> + Y-GENPL ‘X did not have Y’
Present	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>est’</i> /Ø + Y-NOMSG ‘X has Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>est’</i> /Ø + Y-NOMPL ‘X has Y’	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>net</i> + Y-GENSG ‘X does not have Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>net</i> + Y-GENPL ‘X does not have Y’
Future	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>budet</i> + Y-NOMSG ‘X will have Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>budut</i> + Y-NOMPL ‘X will have Y’	<i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>ne budet</i> + Y-GENSG ‘X will not have Y’ <i>u</i> + X-GEN + <i>ne budet</i> + Y-GENPL ‘X will not have Y’

belonging to a possessor in the dative (see Clancy 1997 for discussion of these related possessive notions).

4.3.1 The *location* source domain in R *U* + GEN ‘have’

The R *u* + GEN construction is the most general expression for HAVE in Russian. It is used to indicate possession with a variety of objects. Compare the examples:

- (34) R *U nix (est’) dom.*
[At them-GEN (is) house-NOM.]
‘They have a house.’
- (35) R *U vas (est’) karandaš?*
[At you-GEN (is) pencil-NOM?]
‘Do you have a pencil?’
- (36) R *U nee (est’) knigi.*
[At her-GEN (is) books-NOM.]
‘She has some books.’

The above examples demonstrate that R *est’* ‘(there) is’ is used with both singular and plural objects of possession. This lack of agreement in number indicates that the form is no longer understood as the 3sg present tense form of ‘be’ (see also 5.1.2.1). Instead of functioning as a personal form of ‘be’, R *est’* ‘(there) is’ serves to affirm the presence or existence of a possessed object or attribute. This use of R *est’* ‘(there) is’ alternates with negative R *net* ‘there is not’ + GEN of the possessed item and agrees with uses of the BE:PRESENCE/ABSENCE construction discussed in 3.1.3. When the existence of the object is known and the speaker is focusing on the type

or quantity of the object, *R est'* is omitted and the zero forms of 'be' are used. The following sets of questions and answers exhibit this use of *R est'* '(there) is':

- (37) R – *U tebjā est' mašina?*
 [– At you-GEN there-is car-NOM?
 – *Da, est'.*
 – Yes, there-is.]
 'Do you have a car?'
 'Yes, I do.'
- (38) R – *Kakaja u tebjā mašina?*
 [– What-kind-of-NOM at you-GEN car-NOM?
 – *U menja sinjaja mašina.*
 – At me-GEN blue car-NOM.]
 'What kind of car do you have?'
 'I have a blue car.'
- (39) R – *U vas est' deti?*
 [– At you-GEN there-is children-NOM?
 – *Est'.*
 – There-is.]
 'Do you have children?'
 'I do.'
- (40) R – *Skol'ko u vas detej?*
 [– How-many at you-GEN children-GEN?
 – *U nas troje detej.*
 – At us-GEN three-NOM children-GEN.]
 'How many children do you have?'
 'We have three children.'

In examples (37) and (39), the speaker is inquiring about the existence of such things as cars and children, but in (38) and (40), the existence of the objects is not questioned, rather the emphasis is on kind and quantity. The use of the zero-form of 'be' expresses more specificity and definiteness than does *R est'* '(there) is'. When the statement is about children (39) or cars (37) as categories, *R est'* '(there) is' is used, but when we speak of specific examples of cars or children, *R est'* '(there) is' is likely to be omitted: *R U Peti est' mašina* 'Pete has a car' vs. *R U Peti mašina* 'Pete has (the) car' and *R U nego est' deti* 'He has children' vs. *R U nego doč'* 'He has a daughter' (Pande 1981: 292–93). Another set of examples contrasts the likelihood of possession as opposed to a certainty that something is possessed, even if the identity of the object is unknown.

- (41) R *U vas est' čto-nibud' v karmane?*
 [At you-GEN there-is something-NOM in pocket-LOC?]
 'Do you have anything in your pocket?' (Pande 1981: 293)
- (42) R *Čto u tebja v karmane, pokazyvaj!*
 [What-NOM at you-GEN in pocket-LOC, show-IMPER!]
 'What have you got in your pocket, show me!'

In these examples, potential (indefinite) HAVE is expressed by R *est'* '(there) is', while actual (definite) HAVE is expressed by the zero-form. Generally, R *est'* '(there) is' serves to stress the presence of the possession while the zero-form is used to pinpoint what exactly the possession is.

The verb 'be' is always used in the future and past tense HAVE constructions. The possessed object is in the nominative case as expected, but, whereas R *est'* '(there) is' does not alter its form, the future form of R *byt'* 'be' agrees in number with the possessed item since it is the grammatical subject of the sentence as in (43).

- (43) R *Kogda u nas budut den'gi, my kupim novyj dom.*
 [When at us-GEN will-be-3PL money-NOM, we-NOM buy-1PL
 new house-ACC.]
 'When we have the money, we will buy a new house.'

The past tense forms of 'be' must agree with the possessed item in number and gender as exhibited by the feminine noun R *dača* 'dacha' in (44).

- (44) R *U Moskvinyx byla dača.*
 [At Moskvins-GEN was-FSG dacha-NOM.]
 'The Moskvins had a dacha.'

These uses of the copula are in agreement with the uses of the non-present forms of R *byt'* in other types of Russian sentences. In negative sentences with the R *u* + GEN construction, R *est'* is replaced by R *net*, the future forms by R *ne budet*, and the past forms by R *ne bylo*, all neuter singular. Following these forms is the negated possessed object in the genitive case, an example of the genitive of negation:⁴

- (45) R *U Ani ne bylo/net/ne budet knigi.*
 [By Anya-GEN not was-NSG/there-is-not/not will-be-3SG book-GEN.]
 'Anya didn't have/doesn't have/won't have a book.'

4. The genitive case of the object is common with HAVE constructions in Russian. In negative sentences, the genitive object is found with many verbs, but its use is not always obligatory. The use of the genitive in negative sentences is complex and will not be considered in any detail in this work.

The forms of 'be' used in this construction are minimal. Only third person forms of 'be' are used and agreement only takes place in the past and future. In the present singular and in the negative, fixed forms of 'be' are used. *R est* '(there) is' and *R net* 'there is not' have become highly grammaticalized in Russian (see 5.1.2.1) and remain only loosely connected to their origins as 3SG forms of the paradigm of 'be'.⁵ In the negated past and future, the neuter 3SG forms of 'be' are used as in BE:IMPERSONAL constructions (see 3.4.1). The reduction of forms of 'be' is a common feature of BE in Russian and in the grammaticalization of the forms of *R byt'* 'be' (see Chapter 5).

There is a strong tendency for the possessor in the *R u* + GEN 'have' construction to be restricted to animate beings, most often people. Isačenko states that sentences of the type, *R Kniga imeet mnogo illjustracij* 'The book has many illustrations', cannot be converted into *R u* + GEN 'have' sentences (Isačenko 1974: 54). When *u* is used with inanimate nouns, the preposition reflects its original meaning, 'by, at':

- (46) *R Lampa stoit u okna.*
[Lamp-NOM stands-3SG at window-GEN.]
'The lamp stands by the window.' (Isačenko 1974: 46)
- (47) *R Petja žil u vokzala.*
[Pete-NOM lived-MSG at railroad-station-GEN.]
'Pete lived near the railroad station.' (Isačenko 1974: 46)
- (48) *R My vstrečimsja u školy.*
[We-NOM meet-1PL at school-GEN.]
'We shall meet near/at the school.' (Isačenko 1974: 46)

Nevertheless, exceptions are found in which *R u* + GEN 'have' does occur with inanimate possessors as in (49)–(51).

- (49) *R U ukladok vsě takie ključii...*
[At trunks-GEN always such keys-NOM...]
'Trunks always have such keys...'
- (50) *R U ètoj firmy tože est' resursy*
[At this company-GEN also there-is resources-NOM
iz-za rubeža.
from-beyond border-GEN.]
'This company also has resources from abroad.'

5. The usual etymology of *net* is *net* < *něto* < *nětu* < **ne-je-tu-to* (verbal 3SG ending) 'not-is-here', see Vlasto 1986: 151. Note also the variant form *R netu*. This shortened form **je* 'is' is a bit of a mystery, but shows up in the forms of *R nečego* 'there is nothing', *R negde* 'there is nowhere', *R nekogda* 'there is no time', etc. This form may also be present in the verbs like *R belet* 'be white, show white, turn white' and the like (see also Jasanoff 1978 for this type of verb).

- (51) R *U ètoj igry net nazvanija.*
 [At this game-GEN there-is-not name-GEN.]
 'This game has no name.'

Example (49) is taken from Dostoevsky, but (50) is from contemporary journalism and (51) is from a novel published in 1999. Chvany (1975: 250) also provides an example of *R u + GEN* 'have' in the expression of a PART/WHOLE relationship with an inanimate object of the type *R u stola 4 nožki* [at table-GEN 4-NOM legs-GEN] 'the table has four legs'. Whether or not *R u + GEN* 'have' is presently increasing in use with inanimate objects remains to be determined.

The locational meaning of the preposition *R u* 'by, at', is also available when the preposition is used with animate nouns, yielding the contrast between (52) and (53).

- (52) R *U Peti est' mašina.*
 [At Pete-GEN there-is car-NOM.]
 'Pete has a car.' (Isačenko 1974: 45)

- (53) R *Mašina u Peti.*
 [Car-NOM at Pete-GEN.]
 'The car is at Pete's.' (Isačenko 1974: 45)

- (54) R *Studenty zanimajutsja segodnja večerom*
 [Students-NOM study-3PL-R/P today evening-INST
u Maši.
 at Masha-GEN.]
 'The students are studying this evening at Masha's.'

Isačenko interprets sentences of the type in (53) and (54) as "adessive" rather than as locational and states that this usage expresses a "relation of concern or implication" (Isačenko 1974: 46). From a certain point of view, this distinction is justified since the non-HAVE uses of *R u* 'by, at' have different semantic value when used with inanimate objects ('at, by, near') and when used with animate beings ('at X's place', cf. Fr *chez* 'at the home of'). Chvany (1975: 95) states very strongly that while *R u okna* means 'by the window', *R "u Ivana never* means 'by Ivan' or 'next to Ivan'. The conditioning of possible uses of *R u* 'by, at' indicate some of the ways in which the locational flavor of this HAVE construction is still active even in the dominant, most neutral expression of HAVE in Russian.

4.3.2 The ACTION source domain in Russian *imet'* 'have'

Structurally, *R imet'* 'have' can express all of the HAVE functions of the model in Figure 4-1, but is stylistically limited in its use and most often occurs with abstract objects or in set phrases. According to one native informant, *R imet'* 'have' simply does not "sound Russian". Isačenko states that the "domain of the [R] *imet'*

constructions seems to be newspaper Russian and theoretical prose, while [R] *u* + GEN prevails in colloquial Russian and in fiction” (Isačenko 1974: 54). It appears that uses of the Slavic preposition *u* ‘at, by’ in OCS and various Slavic languages are older than uses of the transitive verb reflexes of LCS **jbǫmĕti* ‘have’ (Clancy 1997: 7–8). Heine (1997: 232–3) finds this relative chronology of HAVE constructions problematic because of the associations of abstract objects and inalienable possession with the younger construction from the reflexes of LCS **jbǫmĕti* ‘have’, since these meanings typically “develop later than, for example, physical or temporary possession” (Heine 1997: 233). However, it may be necessary, in the case of the history of Slavic, to allow for the somewhat artificial nature of the reflexes of LCS **jbǫmĕti* ‘have’ as having been strongly influenced by the literary tradition and its use in translating the biblical texts from Greek. The range of possible uses of R *imet’* ‘have’ is demonstrated in Table 4-3 by a sample of possible objects taken from a search through several electronic text versions of Russian literature.⁶

Table 4-3. A Sample of Objects with R *imet’* ‘have’ from 19th and 20th cent.
Literary Sources

	Abstract Objects	
<i>adres</i> ‘address’	<i>obraz</i> ‘form, image’	<i>slučaj</i> ‘event, happening’
<i>čertočka</i> ‘trait’	<i>obyknovenie</i> ‘habit’	<i>sommenie</i> ‘doubt’
<i>čest’</i> (+ INF, <i>s kem</i>) ‘honor’	<i>opyt</i> ‘experience’	<i>sovest’</i> ‘conscience’
<i>čin</i> ‘rank’	<i>osnovanie</i> ‘basis, foundation’	<i>soveščanie</i> ‘conference’
<i>čuvstvo</i> ‘feeling’	<i>otnošenie k komu/čemu</i>	<i>sredstva</i> ‘means’
<i>cennoe</i> ‘value’	‘relation to s.o/sth.’	<i>status</i> ‘status’
<i>dar</i> ‘gift’	<i>plan</i> ‘plan’	<i>svedeniia</i> ‘knowledge, information’
<i>dejstvie</i> ‘action’	<i>podlost’</i> ‘baseness’	<i>svidanie s kem</i> ‘date with s.o.’
<i>doverie</i> ‘trust, confidence’	<i>podozrenie</i> ‘suspicion’	<i>svinstvo</i> ‘swinishness’
<i>dozvolenie</i> ‘permission’	<i>pokoj</i> ‘peace, quiet’	<i>svjazi</i> ‘connections’
<i>glupost’</i> ‘stupidity’	<i>ponjatie</i> ‘conception, notion’	<i>svojstvo</i> ‘property, attribute’
<i>iskusstvo</i> ‘art’	<i>praktika</i> ‘practice’	<i>talant</i> ‘talent’
<i>istorija</i> ‘story, history’	<i>pravo</i> ‘right’	<i>terpenie</i> ‘patience’
<i>izvestija</i> ‘news’	<i>predely</i> ‘limits, boundaries’	<i>udovol’sstvie</i> ‘pleasure’

(Continued)

6. The sample texts used were electronic versions of four plays by Chekhov (*The Seagull*, *The Cherry Orchard*, *Three Sisters*, and *Uncle Vanya*), two short stories by Sergei Dovlatov (“Compromise”, “The Zone”), Bulgakov’s *Master and Margarita*, three short stories by Gogol (“Nevsky Prospect”, “The Nose”, and “The Overcoat”), Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment*, and portions of Solzhenitsyn’s *Gulag Archipelago*.

Table 4-3. A Sample of Objects with R *imet'* 'have' from 19th and 20th cent. Literary Sources (Continued)

<i>konec</i> 'end'	<i>predstavlenie o kom/čem</i>	<i>uspex</i> 'success'
<i>mnenie</i> 'opinion'	'notion, conception of s.o./sth.'	<i>ustrojstvo</i> 'arrangement'
<i>mysl'</i> 'thought'	<i>preimuščestvo</i> 'advantage'	<i>uvaženie</i> 'respect'
<i>nadežda</i> 'hope'	<i>prelest</i> 'charm, fascination'	<i>vid</i> 'look, appearance'
<i>naklonnost</i> 'pendant, inclination'	<i>pričina</i> 'reason'	<i>vlast'</i> (<i>nad kem</i>) 'power over s.o.'
<i>namerenie</i> 'intention'	<i>pristrastie</i> 'passion'	<i>vlivanje</i> 'influence'
<i>naružnost</i> 'exterior, appearance'	<i>razmax</i> 'sweep, span'	<i>vozmožnost</i> 'opportunity'
<i>nedostatok</i> 'lack, shortcoming'	<i>rezonans</i> 'resonance, echo'	<i>zaboty</i> 'worries, cares'
<i>nenavist'</i> 'hate'	<i>rvenie</i> 'zeal'	<i>zadača</i> 'problem, task'
<i>neostorožnost</i> 'carelessness'	<i>sčastě</i> 'happiness'	<i>zamysel</i> 'project, idea'
<i>nesčastie</i> 'misfortune'	<i>sjurpriz</i> 'surprise'	<i>zanjatiya</i> 'pursuits, studies'
<i>ničego</i> 'nothing'	<i>sklonnost</i> 'tendency'	<i>značenie</i> 'meaning'
<i>ob'jasnenie</i> 'explanation'	<i>slabost</i> 'weakness'	<i>smelost</i> 'boldness, audacity'
<i>klassifikacija</i> 'classification'	<i>slovo</i> 'word', <i>slovečko</i> 'little word'	<i>mužestvo</i> 'courage'
<i>vozmožnost</i> 'have the opportunity'	<i>ottenok</i> 'nuance'	
Body Parts	Kinship/People	Real Estate/Property
<i>golos</i> 'voice'	<i>deti</i> 'children'	<i>žilišče</i> 'housing'
<i>noga</i> 'leg'	<i>doč</i> 'daughter'	<i>kapital</i> 'capital (econ.)'
<i>rogi</i> 'horns'	<i>ženščina</i> 'woman'	<i>komnata</i> 'room'
<i>rot</i> 'mouth'	<i>ljubovnica</i> 'mistress'	<i>rezidencija</i> 'residence'
<i>serdce</i> 'heart'	<i>poklonnik</i> 'worshipper, admirer'	<i>učilišče</i> 'school'
<i>usy</i> 'mustache'	<i>povar</i> 'cook'	
<i>zuby</i> 'teeth'	<i>prijatel'nica</i> 'friend (F)'	Money, Measurement.
<i>koronki</i> '(dental) crown'	<i>rebenok</i> 'child'	25,000 <i>v god doxoda.</i>
	<i>rodnye</i> 'relatives'	'25,000 a year income'
	<i>ty</i> 'you'	<i>denği</i> 'money'
Miscellaneous Objects	<i>tovarišč</i> 'comrade'	<i>pensija</i> 'pension'
<i>balýčok</i> 'sturgeon fillet'	<i>učenik</i> 'pupil'	<i>dлина</i> 'length'
<i>bel'je</i> 'linens'	<i>znakomye</i> 'acquaintances'	<i>statistiki</i> 'statistics'
<i>diplom</i> 'degree, diploma'	<i>rodstvenniki</i> 'relatives'	25 (<i>let</i>) '25 (years of age)'
<i>pščica</i> 'food'		
<i>rubaska</i> 'shirt'		
<i>uliki</i> 'evidence'		
	Phrases	
	<i>imet'</i> (<i>čto</i>) <i>protiv</i> (<i>kogo/čego</i>) 'have sth. against s.o./sth.'	
	<i>imet'</i> (<i>čto</i>) <i>v vidu</i> 'have (sth.) in mind, mean'	

(Continued)

Table 4-3. (Continued)

<i>imet' čest</i> (+INF) 'have the honor (to X)'
<i>imet' čto</i> +INF 'have sth. to X'
<i>imet' delo</i> (<i>s kem, do kogo</i>) 'have something to do with s.o.'
<i>imet' otnošenje k komu/čemu</i> 'have an attitude toward s.o./sth.'
<i>imet' v mysljax</i> +INF 'have in thoughts to X'
<i>imet' smysl</i> 'have meaning, make sense'
<i>imet' vlast' (nad kem)</i> 'have authority (over s.o.)'
<i>imet' vlijanie na kogo/čto</i> 'have an influence on s.o./sth.'
<i>imet' značenie</i> 'have meaning, mean'

Items in Table 4-3 in bold type occurred more than once in the texts. Some of the phrases with R *imet'* 'have' are commonly encountered in spoken Russian, especially R *imet' v vidu* 'have in mind, mean'. This expression and a few other set phrases, among them R *imet' značenie* 'matter, be important', R *imet' smysl* 'make sense', R *imet' vlijanie* 'have an influence', comprise the most acceptable conversational usage of the verb R *imet'* 'have' (see 6.2 for the likely foreign origins of these and other common HAVE phrases). The vast majority of the examples in these texts were of abstract nouns with the exception of a few additional categories of objects.⁷ A fair number of R *imet'* 'have' uses featured body parts, kinship and other social relations, financial and measurement terms (money, real estate, property), age, and some miscellaneous concrete objects. These types of objects occurring with R *imet'* 'have' in the above table may also occur with the R *u* + GEN 'have' construction as in the pairs of examples in (55)–(60).

7. Isačenko (1974: 58) states that some abstract nouns are not possible with R *imet'* 'have' and may only be used with the R *u* + GEN 'have' construction. Among such words are Russian: *predčuvstvie* 'misgiving', *xorošee nastroyenie* 'good mood', *zdorovyj vid* 'healthy look', *želudočnoe rasstrojstvo* 'indigestion', *gore* 'sorrow', *nesčast'e* 'misfortune', *stolknovenie s načal'stvom* 'confrontation with the authorities'. Isačenko thinks there is some "semantic denominator which excludes *imet'* constructions in these cases" (1974: 58). Nevertheless, one always finds exceptions to such statements: R *vid* 'look' and R *nesčast'e* 'misfortune' are listed in Table 4-3.

- (55) R *Naprimjer, u Irini komnata kak raz dlja rebenka:*
 [For-example, at Irina-GEN room-NOM as once for baby-GEN:
i suxo, i celyj den' solnce.
 and dry, and whole day-ACC sun-NOM.]
 'For example, Irina has a room just right for a baby: it's both dry and there's sun the whole day.'
- R *Vozmožno, što on sečas i imeet kakuju-nibud'*
 [Possible, that he-NOM now and has-3SG some-kind-of
komnatu...
 room-ACC...]
 'It's possible that even right now he has some kind of room...'
- (56) R *Da, u menja est' den'gi...*
 [Yes, at me-GEN there-is money-NOM...]
 'Yes, I have money...'
- R *Den'gi imet' ne položeno, –skazal Miščuk.*
 [Money-ACC have-INF not agreed-on, –said-MSG Mishchuk-NOM.]
 '“Having the money isn't agreed on,” said Mishchuk.'
- (57) R *...u Sergeja Ivanoviča byli opredelennye*
 [...at Sergei Ivanovich-GEN were-PL definite
ponjatija o narode, ego xaraktere,
 conceptions-NOM about people-LOC, his character-LOC,
svojstvax i vkusax...
 properties-LOC and tastes-LOC...]
 '...Sergei Ivanovich has certain conceptions about people, his character, properties, and tastes...'
- R *Ob ètom on ne imel i ponjatija,*
 [About this-LOC he-NOM not had-MSG and conception-GEN,
da i dumat' ne xotel.
 that and think-INF not wanted-MSG.]
 'He had no idea about this and didn't even want to think about it.'
- (58) R *Strannyj u vas golos...*
 [Strange-NOM at you-GEN voice-NOM...]
 'You have a strange voice...'
- R *Dlja èтого voyse ne objazatel'no imet' sil'nyj golos...*
 [For this-GEN at-all not mandatory have-INF strong voice-ACC...]
 'It's not necessary at all to have a strong voice for this...'

- (59) R *U nee bylo živoje, privetlivoje, čuť obez'janě*
 [At her-GEN was-NSG lively, friendly, almost monkey's
lico, temnye glaza i krupnye rovnye zuby.
 face-NOM, dark eyes-NOM and large, even teeth-NOM.]
 'She had a lively, friendly face, almost monkey-like face, dark eyes, and
 large, even teeth.'
- R *...zuby imel zolotye i xromal na*
 [...teeth-ACC had-MSG gold-ACC and limped-MSG on
pravuju nogu.
 right leg-ACC.]
 '...he had gold teeth and limped on his right leg.'
- (60) R *U tebja est' vzrosłaja doč'.*
 [At you-GEN there-is grown daughter-NOM.]
 'You (do) have a grown daughter.'
- R *...i ot pervoj ženy četyrnadcatiletnjuju'*
 [...and from first wife-GEN fourteen-year-old
doč imeja...
 daughter-ACC having...]
 '...and having a fourteen year old daughter from his first wife...'

These examples illustrate the use of both constructions with POSSESSION of concrete (R *komnata* 'room', R *den'gi* 'money') and abstract objects (R *ponjatie* 'understanding') and can express the RELATIONSHIP of body part possession (R *golos* 'voice', R *lico* 'face') and kinship relations (R *doč* 'daughter'). Such examples demonstrate that neither the R *u* + GEN 'have' construction nor R *imel* 'have' are strictly conditioned. Rather, there is some freedom in choosing between the constructions, although there is a strong preference for R *u* + GEN.

The R *u* + GEN 'have' construction is not generally used with inanimate possessors, but inanimate possessors can be expressed by the verb R *imel* 'have' or by a sentence with a prepositional phrase of location. To express English 'the apartment has a big bathroom' in Russian, we must use one of the following constructions:

- (61) R *Kvartira imeet vannuju.*
 [Apartment-NOM has-3SG bathroom-ACC.]
 'The apartment has a bathroom.'
- R *V kvartire (est') vannaja.*
 [In apartment-NOM (there-is) bathroom-NOM.]
 'In the apartment there is a bathroom.'
- R **U kvartiry (est') vannaja.*
 [At apartment-GEN (there-is) bathroom-NOM.]
 'The apartment has a bathroom'

Isačenko asserts that such constructions with R *imet'* 'have' are possible only when "there is a relation of 'spatial inclusion' between N¹ and N²" (1974: 60). Thus, (62) is not possible for R *imet'* 'have', but (63) and (64) are acceptable.

- (62) R **Dom imet sad.*
[House-NOM has-3SG garden-ACC.]
'The house has a garden.' (Isačenko 1974: 60)
- (63) R *Dom imet dve kvartiry.*
[House-NOM has-3SG two-ACC apartments-GEN.]
'The building has two apartments.' (Isačenko 1974: 60)
- (64) R *Komnata imet dva vxoda.*
[Room-NOM has-3SG two-ACC entrances-GEN.]
The room has two entrances.' (Isačenko 1974: 60)
- (65) R **Garaž imet mašinu.*
[Garage-NOM has-3SG car-ACC.]
'The garage has a car (in it).' (Chvany 1975: 100)

Since Chvany (1975: 100) rules out the use of R *imet'* 'have' with the inanimate possessor in (65), we may need to add that inalienable spatial inclusion is the correct criterion for determining whether or not R *imet'* 'have' may be used in a given sentence.

Although usage with abstract nouns and inanimate possessors is frequent with R *imet'* 'have', the verb still has a bookish flavor. This bookishness may be somewhat neutralized when grammatical needs must be met. For example, we find ourselves in a bind with the R *u* + GEN 'have' construction when a sentence calls for the imperative, the infinitive, a participle, or a verbal adverb. A familiar Russian proverb provides an example where we need an imperative.

- (66) R *Ne imej sto rublej, a imej*
[Not have-IMPER 100-ACC rubles-GEN, but have-IMPER
sto druzej.
100-ACC friends-GEN.]
'Have not a hundred rubles, rather have a hundred friends.'
- (67) R **Ne bud' u tebja sto rublej, a*
[Not be-IMPER at you-GEN 100-NOM rubles-GEN, but
bud' u tebja sto druzej.
be-IMPER at you-GEN 100-NOM friends-GEN.]
'Don't have a hundred rubles, rather have a hundred friends.'

We would not normally expect to find R *imet'* 'have' used in a colloquial proverb because of the bookish quality of the verb. However, in this case, it seems that the

need for an imperative and the presence of rhyme outweigh any stylistic prohibitions against *R imet'* 'have'. The corresponding example without *R imet'* 'have' violates brevity, creating an awkwardly expressed proverb that would probably not enjoy much popularity. The use of *R imet'* 'have' may also be motivated by the need for an infinitive as in (68) and (70).

- (68) R *Ja xoču imet' dom.*
[I-NOM want-1SG have-INF house-ACC.]
'I want to have a house.'
- (69) R **Ja xoču, čtoby u menja*
[I-NOM want-1SG, that-be-COND-AUX at me-GEN
byl dom.
was-MSG house-NOM.]
'I want to have a house.'
- (70) R *Prosto ja xoču imet' rebenka.*
[Simply I-NOM want-1SG have-INF child-ACC.]
'I just want to have a child.'

Whereas *R u menja dom* [at me-GEN house-NOM] 'I have a house' would be the normal means of expressing home ownership, the desire to have a house must be expressed with an infinitive, so the speaker chooses to use *R imet'*, rather than the cumbersome expression in (69) with *R čtoby* 'in order to; that' used in volitional and subjunctive clauses. The verb *R imet'* 'have' may even be used in a popular song, if the grammatical environment motivates its presence as in (71).

- (71) R *Esli u vas netu doma, požary emu ne*
[If at you-GEN not house-GEN, fires-NOM it-DAT not
strašny. / I žena ne ujdēt k drugomu,
terrifying-NOM. / And wife-NOM not leave-3SG to another-DAT,
Esli u vas... net ženy, netu ženy...
If at you-GEN... there-is-not wife-GEN, there-is-not wife-GEN.
- Dumajte sami rešajte sami, imet' ili ne imet'...*
Think! oneself, decide! oneself, have-INF or not have-INF....]
'If you don't have a house, fires do not threaten it.
And your wife won't leave for another,
If you don't... have a wife, don't have a wife.

Think for yourself, decide for yourself, to have or not to have...'

In this example, there is an interplay between *R u + GEN* 'have' and *R imet'* 'have'. The *R u + GEN* 'have' expression seems to be the preferred colloquial means of

expressing HAVE, yet the use of R *imet'* 'have' here seems to be driven by the need for an infinitive and perhaps by more than an echo of Hamlet's question R *Byt' ili ne byt'*? 'To be or not to be?'. There may be something also in the generalness of possession expressed in the refrain of (71) that motivates the use of R *imet'* 'have'. Compare the dialogue in the following example.

- (72) R – Čto my imeem... čto my imeem?
 [What-ACC we-NOM have-1PL... what-ACC we-NOM have-1PL?
 – To, čto my imeem.
 That-ACC, that-ACC we-NOM have-1PL.]
 'What have we got?
 We've got what we've got.'

The context of (72) was a group of coaches looking over the day's schedule of events. Exactly what is possessed is unclear. Is it the schedule itself on a piece of paper or the abstract plan for the day that the schedule contains? Presumably here, a paraphrase with R *u* + GEN 'have' would be possible as well: R – Čto u nas est'? – To, čto u nas est' [What-NOM at us there-is? That-NOM, that at us there-is.] 'What have we got? We've got what we've got,' yet something motivates the choice here of R *imet'* 'have' in a colloquial utterance and perhaps it is this sense of vagueness in the possessed item.

The bookishness of participles and verbal adverbs goes hand in hand with R *imet'* 'have' as in (73) and (74).

- (73) R ...i ta osobennaja letnjaja von', stol'
 [...and that special summer stench-NOM, so
 izvestnaja každomu peterburžcu, ne imejuščemu
 well-known-NOM each Petersburger-DAT, not having-DAT
 vozmožnosti nanjat' daču...
 opportunity-GEN rent-INF dacha-ACC...]
 '...and that special summer stench, so well known to every
 Petersburger, not having the opportunity to rent a dacha...'
- (74) R ...imevsaja poklonnikov bolše čem on učениkov...
 [...who-had-NOM admirers-GEN more than he-NOM pupils-GEN...]
 '...(she) had more admirers than he had pupils...'
- (75) R ...imeja pravuju nogu v staroj, potrepannoj tufle,
 [...having right foot-ACC in old, battered shoe-LOC,
 a levuju – v novoj sverkajuščej lodočke...
 and left-ACC – in new sparkling little-shoe-LOC...]
 '...having the right leg in an old, battered shoe, and the left in a new,
 sparkling shoe...'

- (76) R ...imeja na sebe rubášku i boľničnye kaľsony...
 [...having on self-LOC shirt-ACC and hospital pants-NOM...]
 '...having a shirt and hospital pants on...'
- (77) R Žil istorik odinoko, ne imeja nigde
 [Lived-MSG historian-NOM lonely, not having nowhere
 rodnym i počti ne imeja znakomyx
 relatives-GEN and almost not having acquaintances-GEN
 v Moskve.
 in Moscow-LOC.]
 'There lived a historian all along, not having relatives anywhere and almost
 not having acquaintances in Moscow.'

In such sentences, the use of R *imet'* 'have' might be motivated by the need for an expression of HAVE with a participle or a verbal adverb; a clause with R *kotoryj* 'which' with R *u* + GEN 'have' would probably be the preferred spoken Russian variant for the participles in (73) and (74), e.g., R *My govorili so svoim drugom, u kotorogo est' dacha* [We-NOM spoke-PL with own friend-INST, at which-GEN there-is dacha-NOM] 'We were talking with our friend who has a dacha'. The examples with verbal adverbs in (75)–(77) all express HAVE:LOCATION, a use which Chvany (1975: 100) says cannot occur with R *imet'* 'have' as in (79), but which does occur with R *u* + GEN 'have' in (78).

- (78) R U Ivana est' svoja mašina ((u roditelej)
 [At Ivan-GEN there-is own car-NOM ((at parents-GEN)
 (v garaže)).
 (in garage-LOC)).]
 'Ivan has his car ((at his parents' place) (in the garage)).'
 (Chvany 1975: 100)
- (79) R Ivan imeet svoju mašinu ((*u roditelej)
 [Ivan-NOM has-3SG own car-ACC ((at parents-GEN)
 (*v garaže)).
 (in garage-LOC)).]
 'Ivan has his car ((at his parents' place) (in the garage)).'
 (Chvany 1975: 100)

The need for HAVE in certain verbal grammatical forms and the use of R *imet'* 'have' in expressions where we would not normally expect it may indicate that HAVE in Russian shows suppletion. Despite the usual markedness of R *imet'* 'have', this construction may be neutralized in instances where a verbal grammatical category such as the infinitive or imperative is required. The typical uses of R *imet'* 'have' in Table 4-3 strongly support the assertion that otherwise R *imet'* 'have' is

primarily restricted to use with abstract nouns. The rarity and contexts of R *imet'* 'have' usage compared to R *u* + GEN 'have' attest to the bookish qualities of the verb and indicate that R *imet'* 'have' is not gaining ground on R *u* + GEN 'have' and that Russian is not becoming a HAVE-language.

4.4 AUXILIARY and MODALITY

Constructions for HAVE frequently become grammaticalized as auxiliaries and modal constructions in many languages. In the Slavic languages considered here we see HAVE used as a modal verb in Czech and Polish, as an auxiliary with a modal construction in Bulgarian, and as a future tense auxiliary in Bulgarian. The verb 'have' in Czech and Polish serves as an auxiliary in a new perfect construction and we even find such a construction in Russian dialects with R *u* + GEN 'have'. These issues of grammaticalization of HAVE are discussed in detail in Chapter 5, but there are numerous constructions which remain closer to the notions of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP that merit brief discussion in this chapter. This type of construction expresses HAVE + a further purpose. Various types of these constructions may be found in the Slavic languages considered here. Fairly common is a construction with HAVE + pronoun (for Polish, see Lempp 1986: 107–21) as in (80)–(82).

- (80) Cz *Nemáme co dělat.*
 [Not-have-1PL what-ACC do-INF.]
 'We don't have anything to do.'
- (81) Cz *Jsme velmi malá země a nemáme před sebou kam utéct.*
 [Are-1PL very small country-NOM and not-have-1PL before self-INST where run-away-INF.]
 'We are a very small country and we do not have anywhere to run away to.'
- (82) P *Masz z kim pojechać do Warszawy?*
 [Have-2SG with whom-INST go-INF to Warsaw-GEN?]
 'Do you have someone to go to Warsaw with?' (Lempp 1986: 109)

These constructions are fairly easy to find in the Slavic languages considered here. In the Russian version of the Czech example in (80), the form R *ničego* 'there is nothing' is used as in R *Nam ničego delat'* [Us-DAT there-is-nothing do-INF] 'There's nothing for us to do', a construction discussed in 5.3.

Polish has an interesting HAVE + purpose construction with the preposition P *do* 'to' + verbal noun.

- (83) P *Wojtek ma chińską zupę do jedzenia.*
 [Wojtek-NOM has-3SG Chinese soup-ACC to eating-IMPERF-GEN.]
 'Wojtek has Chinese soup to eat.' (Lempp 1986: 95)
- P *Wojtek ma chińską zupę do zjedzenia.*
 [Wojtek-NOM has-3SG Chinese soup-ACC to eating-PERF-GEN.]
 'Wojtek must eat Chinese soup.' (Lempp 1986: 95)

The two examples in (83) also reveal the input of the aspectual system on the construction. The imperfective aspect in the first sentence merely implies the availability of soup for eating, but the perfective aspect in the verbal noun implies that the soup must be eaten (see Lempp 1986: 86–106).

We also find various prepositional expressions which extend the concept HAVE in different ways. When the LOCATION is *Cz myśl* 'thought', then we get a THINK construction, 'have in mind' in (84). In (85), the preposition *Cz po* 'after' adds a notion of completion and in (86), the preposition *Cz za* 'behind, beyond' implies having successfully gained experience or benefit from the possessed item.

- (84) *Cz Mám na mysli Macurovu knížku...*
 [Have-1SG on thought-LOC Macurov's book-ACC...]
 'I have in mind Macurov's book.'
- (85) *Cz mít po zkouškách*
 [have-INF after exams-LOC]
 'be done with exams'
- (86) *Cz Když už dívka reprezentuje USA, má*
 [If already girl-NOM represents-3SG USA-ACC, has-3SG
za sebou nejméně deset podobných soutěží doma.
 beyond self-INST at-least ten-ACC similar contests-GEN at-home.]
 'If a girl is representing the USA, she has at least ten similar contests behind her at home.'

Chvany (1975: 159–60) points out that R *imět* 'have' does not combine well with an expression of purpose in the prepositional phrase *R na vsjakij slučaj* [for any event] 'just in case', even when the possessed item is an abstract object. However, *R u + GEN* 'have' can express this type of HAVE extension as in (87).

- (87) R **Ivan vsegda staralsja imet' den'gi na*
 [Ivan-NOM always tried-MSG-R/P have-INF money-ACC for
vsjakij slučaj.
 any event-ACC.]
- R *Ivan vsegda staralsja, čto by u*
 [Ivan-NOM always tried-MSG-R/P, that-be-COND-AUX by
nego byli den'gi na vsjakij slučaj.
 him-GEN was-PL money-NOM for any event-ACC.]
 'Ivan always tried to have money just in case.' (Chvany 1975: 159)

This is only a brief introduction to some rich possibilities for the grammaticalization of HAVE constructions. An even more detailed study of each individual language and the most common objects and phrasal uses of HAVE would likely reveal many more interesting HAVE constructions.

4.5 Further comments

For the contemporary Slavic languages, the ACTION source domain is dominant, with only Russian showing the extensive use of the LOCATION source domain. The resulting HAVE constructions only make minimal use of Heine's (1997) source domains, but Heine notes that "it is quite common for a given language to derive expressions for predicative possession from three or more different schemas" (1997: 72). The model for HAVE in Figure 4-1 covers the major functions of HAVE constructions well, but does not fully account for the extensions of HAVE constructions further in the variety of idiomatic expressions (syntactic calques such as Cz *Mám to rád*. [I-have that glad.] 'I like that,' Cz *Mám strach/hlad*. [I-have fear/hunger.] 'I am scared/hungry,' or Cz *Mám ho za blázna*. [I-have him for fool.] 'I take him for a fool,' all presumably based on German models) and grammatical roles filled by HAVE constructions, including 'have' as a tense auxiliary (e.g., a new perfect construction of the type Cz *Už to mám hotové* 'I already have that ready' and P *Mam już wszystkie egzaminy pozdawane* 'I've taken all my exams.' (Rothstein 1993: 715)) or modal verb (e.g., Cz *Máš být doma v sedm*. 'You're supposed to be home at seven.' and P *...natomiast ja miałem wybrać za niego*. '...instead, I had to choose for him.' (Andrzejewski, "Intermezzo")). All of these grammatical roles demonstrate that HAVE constructions deal with more than just possession and are extremely productive in language. The grammaticalization of HAVE is taken up by Chapter 5 and the effects of language contact phenomena on HAVE is discussed in Chapter 6. Figure 4-2 at the end of this chapter summarizes the HAVE model for each language considered here. The HAVE maps are identical in Czech, Polish and Bulgarian with the exception of no modal development of HAVE in Bulgarian. In Russian, however, R *u* + GEN 'have' and R *imet'* 'have' both participate in the same roles, but R *u* + GEN is more frequently employed and more strongly rooted in the language. The models for BE and HAVE are quite similar, but the lexical manifestations are somewhat different. Both BE and HAVE are polysemous notions, but suppletion is far less prominent in the HAVE constructions in Slavic. The two poles in the BE and HAVE models, representing the prototypical notions for these concepts, are each present to a greater or lesser degree in all expressions of BE and HAVE.

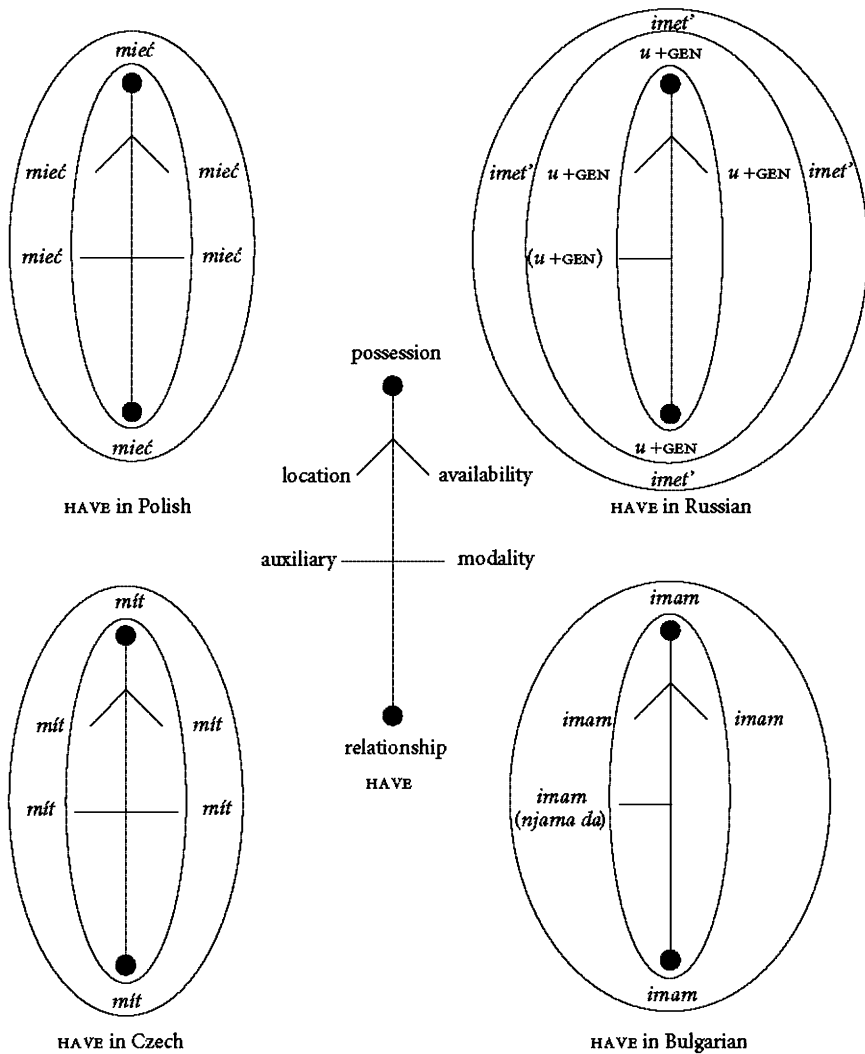


Figure 4.2. The HAVE Schema in Four Slavic Languages

Grammaticalization of BE and HAVE

“Contrariwise,” continued Tweedledee, “if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn’t, it ain’t. That’s logic.”

–Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass*

5.0 Theoretical issues, background

The development of lexical items into constructions for BE and HAVE is, in itself, a grammaticalization process. However, constructions for BE and HAVE frequently take on additional grammatical roles, serving as markers of tense, modality, the conditional or subjunctive moods, causativity, evidentiality, and various other grammatical functions. Auxiliary constructions with BE and HAVE have come and gone over time in the Slavic languages, yet these two concepts are continually employed in the renewal of constructions and in the development of new categories. The languages which make use of a verb ‘have’ also show a number of phrasal constructions which may be partially due to foreign borrowings as syntactic calques (see Chapter 6). The semantics of BE and HAVE and their neighbors is a motivating factor in the grammaticalization of these concepts. The primary uses of ‘be’ as verb of EXISTENCE and COPULA and ‘have’ as an expression of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP are integral to their further development as auxiliaries. Copula functions of ‘be’ contribute to its use as a tense and mood marker and the benefits and responsibilities entailed in ownership are apparent in the extension of real world possession to the obligations of metaphorical possession in tense markers and modal constructions involving ‘have’. Rather than undergoing complete semantic reduction, the central meanings of these verbs are still present in the grammaticalized forms. Just considering the four Slavic languages in the present study, the variety and quantity of uses is striking. A summary of the categories examined in this chapter and where the discussion of each topic may be found are provided in Table 5-1. In these four Slavic languages, we find expressions of BE and HAVE in past and future tense expressions, as an auxiliary with the passive, as a perfect tense auxiliary, and as auxiliaries with modal constructions and as modal verbs. These concepts are used in conditional and subjunctive constructions and as an evidential. The verb ‘be’ also serves as source material for a number of function words such as ‘either...or...’ and ‘also’. Expressions of BE and HAVE are capable of

bearing a great functional burden, performing a number of semantic and grammatical roles. These myriad grammatical functions are combined with the several meanings of BE and HAVE as lexical items. Although these lexical items do come to serve grammatical functions, there remains a continuum of meaning from grammatical meaning to lexical meaning regarding the concepts BE and HAVE. The notions of EXISTENCE and COPULA for BE and POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP for HAVE motivate the grammatical uses of the lexical items for these concepts and continue to affect the development of constructions once the grammaticalization process has been initiated. The extensive uses of BE and HAVE as auxiliary verbs are covered below in 5.1. Auxiliary constructions which have developed from Common Slavic constructions or from a potential structure in Common Slavic are considered in 5.1.1. In 5.1.2, language-specific auxiliary developments are considered. Section 5.1.1.1 discusses the role of the ‘be’ auxiliary in the past tense constructions of Czech, Polish, and Russian, all of which descend from the Common Slavic present perfect construction. In Bulgarian, however, the Common Slavic perfect system has been preserved and the ‘be’ auxiliary still serves in present, past, and future perfect constructions (5.1.1.2). In 5.1.1.3, the various future constructions are considered. Russian, Czech, and Polish all use a ‘be’ auxiliary to express the imperfective future. Bulgarian has a “volitional” future in positive statements with *B šte* ‘will’ (< ‘want’, as is English *will*), but in negative sentences, a ‘have’ auxiliary is used, *B njama da* [not-has that] ‘will not’. Sections 5.1.2.1–5.1.2.4 consider new auxiliary or grammatical developments in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. The Slavic modal constructions are discussed in 5.2, including the development of ‘have’ as a modal verb. In 5.3, the function word uses of ‘be’ are presented.

Table 5-1. Grammatical Uses of BE and HAVE in Russian, Czech,¹ Polish, and Bulgarian

Grammatical Categories	Section	Russian	Czech	Polish	Bulgarian
PERFECT AUXILIARY	5.1.1.2				BE
FUTURE AUXILIARY	5.1.1.3	BE	BE	BE	HAVE
CONDITIONAL/SUBJUNCTIVE	5.1.1.4	BE	BE	BE	BE
PASSIVE AUXILIARY	5.1.1.5	BE	BE	BE	BE
SPECIALIZATION OF <i>REST</i> ¹	5.1.2.1	HAVE			
NEW PASSIVE AUXILIARY	5.1.2.2			REMAIN	
“NEW PERFECT” AUXILIARY	5.1.2.3	(HAVE)	HAVE	HAVE	
EVIDENTIAL AUXILIARY	5.1.2.4		(HAVE)		BE
MODAL AUXILIARY OR VERB	5.2	BE	BE, HAVE	BE, HAVE	HAVE
FUNCTION WORDS	5.3	BE	BE	BE	BE

1. For discussion of a potential evidential construction with the verb ‘have’ in Czech, see 6.2.

The formation of constructions for BE and HAVE involves grammaticalization processes in the semantic adjustments that initially give rise to BE and HAVE. However, the lexical items associated with these concepts frequently engage in another round of grammaticalization into markers of tense or modality, or they may provide material for function words. The general development of BE and HAVE is accompanied by semantic augmentation through polysemization (see Chapters 2 and 6), but when these items come to serve specifically grammatical roles, they often undergo semantic modification, even though they still maintain connections to their core meanings. This chapter provides an analysis connecting the concepts behind BE and HAVE with their grammaticalized counterparts and explaining why the concepts associated with BE and HAVE are so prone to grammaticalization as auxiliary and modal verbs. Throughout this chapter, I have kept the following questions in mind:

1. Is the lexical item polysemous?
2. Are the polysemies contextualized? Are there specific sub-meanings of the lexical items in specific contexts?
3. How are the polysemies constrained by the central lexical meaning of the verb?
4. Is there a phonetic reduction of the lexical items?
5. Does semantic modification occur in certain uses of the lexical item?
6. Is the lexical item connected to a paradigm, or do only certain forms exist?
7. Can the lexical item be identified as a verb, a noun, etc.?

The effects of these issues will be examined in the various grammatical constructions in Slavic with BE and HAVE.

Grammaticalization is the process by which lexical items with full semantic content give rise to new grammatical markers or categories with reduced semantic value. This attenuation of meaning is often referred to as semantic bleaching (Hopper & Traugott 1993; Heine 1993) or desemanticization (Dik 1987; Heine 1993). The assumption is that items with meaningful lexical content shed some of this content gradually as they increasingly take on grammatical functions. Throughout this process, the item is often reduced phonologically as well as semantically, yet maintains a relationship to the full lexical form from which it developed. Talmy speaks of the complementarity of lexical and grammatical systems in language, whereby the structure of an utterance is provided primarily by the grammar and the content primarily by the lexicon (1988a:165). The word-stock of a language relatively openly accepts new items, while the grammatical system remains relatively closed to the admission of new concepts and constructions (Talmy 1988a: 166). Hopper and Traugott (1993: 12–13) characterize grammaticalization as a process in which a lexical item or phrase undergoes a shift of meaning in a specific context.

This shifted meaning and new function are then expanded gradually, but the developing construction is still constrained by the original meaning of the lexical item. Through phonological reduction of the lexical item or phrase, the developing construction goes from more to less analyzable in its lexical origins and may continue to develop into a morpheme with a fairly fixed usage. Both shift of meaning and loss of meaning are involved in grammaticalization processes, but the primary meaning change is the shift in which a new construction arises. Over time, that construction may be further reduced phonologically and eventually lose ties with its lexeme of origin, but during the grammaticalization process, the original semantics continue to affect the contexts and uses of the new grammatical construction.

Hopper and Traugott illustrate the grammaticalization process in the development of Engl *let's* from the phrase *let us* with a lexical meaning of 'allow, permit' with a fuller range of number and person in the pronoun (*let me, let her, let them*) (1993: 10–14). This phrase has been grammaticalized to a "monomorphemic stage" in such colloquial examples as *sgo* 'let's go' or *sfight* 'let's fight' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 13). Despite these phonological reductions of the grammaticalized construction, the constituent parts still exist as full forms in Engl *let* and *us*, thereby maintaining a semantic connection between the source lexemes and the grammaticalized form. This coexistence of full forms and their grammaticalized counterparts may continue for some time before the phonological reduction and desemanticization of the grammaticalized items obscure their origins. In some cases, the relationship between the full forms and the reduced forms may lead to a renewal of the semantics of the grammaticalized construction or may strengthen the source semantics in the grammaticalized construction. Where we are fortunate enough to possess language data over the course of several centuries, we can trace the development of lexemes into periphrastic constructions and from there into clitics and on into morphemes. For example, the French future of the form Fr *je chanterai* 'I will sing' developed phonologically and semantically from the Latin INF + 'have' construction of the form Lat *cantare habeo* [sing-INF I-have] 'I have (X) to sing' (Heine 1993: 41; Hopper & Traugott 1993: 42–4). In cases where the historical record does not extend back very far, we can only speculate on the origins of the language's morphemes and grammatical structure.

Discussion in this chapter is limited to grammaticalization in Slavic involving BE and HAVE, but it will be seen that these two concepts, as well as their semantic neighbors (such as TAKE, GIVE, BECOME, GET, MAKE, etc.; see Chapter 2), are involved in a variety of different constructions. I focus particularly on the lexical to grammatical change, the replacement and renewal of constructions, the extension of the context for a grammaticalized construction to a wider use, the maintenance of semantic connections between lexical items and their grammaticalized counterparts, and the domains out of which new grammatical material may arise

in Slavic. In the four Slavic languages considered here, BE and HAVE play a role in the expression of tense and modality and are used in a number of function words. These constructions exhibit the typical characteristics of the grammaticalization process and expand the uses and meanings of BE and HAVE in these languages.

5.1 Grammaticalization of auxiliaries

The Slavic languages inherited a rich use of the verb 'be' in various auxiliary functions and have preserved these common constructions to various degrees in the contemporary languages. The verb 'have' appeared in one of a variety of future constructions which was subsequently lost. Auxiliary functions have been further adapted in the modern Slavic languages through modification, increased grammaticalization, and loss of various categories and constructions. The concepts BE and HAVE have remained productive sources of new grammatical constructions.

5.1.1 Auxiliary constructions in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian

Based on usage in OCS and subsequently in the oldest attested forms of the individual Slavic languages, the verbs 'be' and 'have' were already widely employed in Common Slavic as auxiliary verbs. The verb 'be' was used in OCS in the expression of the perfect tense with the L-participle of the main verb (present tense 'be' for present perfect, imperfect tense 'be' for past perfect, future tense 'be' for future perfect). Special conditional forms or the aorist of 'be' were combined with the L-participle in the formation of the conditional, and "clauses of purpose" were expressed with OCS *da* + conditional 'be' (Schmalstieg 1982: 158; Lunt 1974: 143). The Slavic participles (present active, past active, present passive, and past passive) behave somewhat like nominal items and somewhat like verbal items and combine with the auxiliary 'be'. To the extent that we analyze the participles as nominal items, they combine with the forms of 'be' in the same way that any noun phrase does. To the extent that they retain their verbal character, they may be seen as participle² forms combined with a 'be' auxiliary (Lunt 1974: 141). The verb 'be' was also used with infinitives in OCS in a modal sense to express "possibility or duty" (Lunt 1974: 141). Among the possible future tense constructions in OCS was the use of the verb OCS *jměti* 'have' plus the infinitive of the main verb (FUTURE). These tenses and auxiliary uses have been variously maintained, lost, or

2. For the most part, this use of the 'be' auxiliary is confined to the passive participles, but Andersen (1987: 23) also mentions the rarer but possible occurrence of 'be' with the active participles.

modified in the contemporary Slavic languages as will be seen in the examples and discussion below. Russian has lost many forms of its verb 'be' and the paradigmatic cohesion they provided. The isolated 3sg present tense form of 'be', *Rest'*, has been grammaticalized in a number of functions. Bulgarian has maintained many of the Common Slavic auxiliary functions of 'be' and 'have' and has expanded on these uses by developing its own version of the Balkan evidential using the verb 'be'. The general character of the auxiliary functions of the verb 'be' were introduced in the discussion of the polysemies of BE in Chapter 3. The nature of the 'be' auxiliaries and examples of the various constructions may be found below in a discussion of the grammatical nature of these auxiliary functions and the extent of grammaticalization in the individual languages.

5.1.1.1 Past auxiliaries

The past tense is expressed in Czech, Polish, and Russian by what is historically the Common Slavic present perfect construction, in which auxiliary 'be' was used with the Slavic L-participle, semantically linking the subject with a past action. This use of the L-participle is the only past tense construction in modern Czech, Polish, and Russian, but what remains of the auxiliary 'be' has been held over from the earlier Common Slavic perfect tense, where 'be' + L-participle (marked for gender and number) was used much as 'have' + past participle in English. However, the construction has developed semantically from a present perfect construction (involved in a more complex tense system with an aorist and imperfect tense, a past perfect and a future perfect) into the sole means of expressing the past tense in a system which makes greater use of aspectual distinctions than tense distinctions. In the individual languages, this construction manifests different forms and has been further grammaticalized. Russian no longer shows any traces of the 'be' auxiliary, while in Czech the full form of the auxiliary is present as a sentential enclitic. Increased grammaticalization has occurred in Polish, to the point where the auxiliary 'be' has developed into a person-marking desinence most often bound to the L-participle of the verb. The past tense constructions in Czech, Polish, and Russian are shown in Table 5-2 and further explained in the following paragraphs.

Table 5-2. The Past Tense in Czech, Polish, and Russian

Czech	Polish	Russian	Translation
<i>četl/četla jsem</i>	<i>czytałem/czytałam</i>	<i>ja čital/čitala</i>	'I read, was reading'
<i>četl/četla jsi</i>	<i>czytałeś/czytałaś</i>	<i>ty čital/čitala</i>	'you read, were reading'
<i>četl/četla</i>	<i>czytał/czytała</i>	<i>on čital/ona čitala</i>	'he/she read, was reading'
<i>četli/četly jsme</i>	<i>czytaliśmy/czytałyśmy</i>	<i>my čitali</i>	'we read, were reading'
<i>četli/četly jste</i>	<i>czytaliście/czytałyście</i>	<i>vy čitali</i>	'you read, were reading'
<i>četli/četly</i>	<i>czytali/czytały</i>	<i>oni čitali</i>	'they read, were reading'

Aside from the semantic differences and phonological changes in the conjugation of the verb 'be', the Czech past tense is very much the same type of construction as in OCS. The present tense forms of Cz *být* 'be' are used as enclitic auxiliaries with the L-participle of the main verb in Czech and are therefore subject to certain rules regarding their placement in a sentence. The only exception to this auxiliary use occurs in the third person forms, where the auxiliary is omitted. The omission of the third person auxiliary likely occurred quite early in the use of this construction in Czech. Polish also omits the third person forms of the auxiliary and the omission occurred in the history of Russian before the further loss of the remaining first and second person auxiliaries.

- (1) Cz *Hral jsem včera tenis.*
 [Played-MSG am-AUX-1SG yesterday tennis-ACC.]
 'I played tennis yesterday.'
- (2) Cz *Když byla řeč o rusistice: přestože
 [When was-FSG talk-NOM about Russian-studies-LOC: although
jste vyučoval ruskou literaturu, v Rusku
 are-AUX-2PL taught-MSG Russian literature, in Russia
jste nikdy nebyl a nechal jste
 are-AUX-2PL never were-MSG and allowed-MSG are-AUX-2PL
se slyšet, že tam ani nikdy jet nechcete.
 R/P hear-INF, that there even never go-INF not-want-2PL.]
 'When the talk turned to Russian studies: although you have taught
 Russian literature, you have never been in Russia and have let it go on the
 record that you don't ever even want to go there.'*

Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate typical sentences in which the present tense 'be' auxiliary is used in the formation of the past tense in the first and second persons. Example (2) also has a past tense usage with third person form, where only the L-participle is used. These sentences exhibit the Czech tendency to leave out subject pronouns in most sentences, regardless of tense, since person is expressed by verbal forms and gender and/or number expressed in the L-participle. In modern Czech there is little trace of the meaning of the earlier present perfect tense, and the contemporary use is similar to the situation in modern German or French, where the present perfect (Gm *haben* 'have'/*sein* 'be' or Fr *avoir* 'have'/*être* 'be' + past participle) without the perfect meaning is preferred over the forms of the simple past tense. However, since this is the only expression of the past tense in Czech, the combination of aspect and past tense may yield a simple past as in (1) or the present perfect as in (2) in translations into English, where such tense distinctions are present. Unlike the use of Cz *být* 'be' as a main verb, the auxiliary forms are enclitics, appearing in the second

position in the clause along with any other clitics, several of which are possible in a single clause such as Cz *jsem se mu* in (3):

- (3) Cz *Taky jsem se mu pomstila.*
 [Also am-AUX-1SG R/P-ACC him-DAT avenged-FSG.]
 'I also got my revenge on him.'

The order of clitics is, of course, a complicated matter, but the auxiliary forms do have a tendency to be expressed first among a group of clitics, an order that was perhaps fixed due to the frequent occurrence of the verbal L-participle in first position with the auxiliary following immediately thereafter. This clitic treatment is informative for comparison with Polish, where the tendency of the verb to come in sentence initial position followed by the auxiliary has led to the formation of desinences in Polish from the former auxiliary forms (see below). Czech maintains the full form of the auxiliary as a sentential enclitic in the past tense, except for further grammaticalization in the second person.

- (4) Cz *Tos mi tak ale neřekl.*
 [That-ACC+be-AUX-2SG me-DAT so but not-told-MSG.]
 'So you didn't tell me that.'
- (5) Cz *"Ptal ses na cenu," najednou si vzpomene na Josefovou otázku Milada.*
 ["Asked-MSG R/P+be-AUX-2SG to price-ACC," suddenly self-DAT remembers-3SG to Josef's question-ACC Milada-NOM.]
 'You asked about the price,' Milada suddenly remembers Josef's question.'

The 2sg form Cz *jsi* 'you are' takes the phonologically reduced form *-s* in some colloquial utterances as in (4) and as a rule in sentences with the reflexive enclitics Cz *se* [self-ACC] and Cz *si* [self-DAT] yielding the forms *ses* in (5) and *sis* (PMČ:314). However, other than the loss of word stress in the 'be' auxiliaries, it is only in this context that the auxiliary forms of Cz *být* 'be' have undergone further phonological reduction.³ Such contextualized developments and phonological reductions are typical of the grammaticalization process, but the reason why only the 2nd person should have changed in such a way remains to be explained.⁴

3. Some paradigmatic leveling has occurred in the main verb forms of Cz *být* 'be' in the 2sg as well. In colloquial speech registers, we find the form Cz *seš* as in Cz *Protože seš vůl!* [Because are-2sg ox!] 'Because you're a blockhead!' (Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*).

4. One could speculate that the 3rd person forms were lost because of the frequent presence of an explicit subject in the 3rd person, coupled with the high frequency of use for these forms. One could further speculate that the 2sg is the next most common form and underwent further phonological reduction. The 2pl form perhaps escaped reduction because of its use

The Polish past tense auxiliary forms do not show the same conservative traits as in Czech. For all practical purposes, we may consider the Polish past tense to be formed with personal endings added to the L-participle. These person markers occur only with the first and second person forms in the singular and the plural, the L-participle itself being a sufficient marker in the third person. Historically, these markers arose from the phonological reduction and affixation of the 'be' auxiliary. The development of the Polish 'be' person markers is well documented by Andersen (1987). In Polish, a phonologically reduced form of the Old Polish copula developed alongside the fully stressed forms, not unlike the English contractions of the verb 'be'. These forms and their modern Polish counterparts are presented in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3. Old Polish Stressed and Enclitic Forms of P *być* 'be' and their Modern Polish Counterparts (adapted from Andersen 1987: 24)

	Old Polish Stressed Forms	Old Polish Enclitic Forms	Modern Polish Enclitic Desinences
1SG	<i>jeśm</i>	-(e)śm/-(e)m	-(e)m
2SG	<i>jeś</i>	-(e)ś	-(e)ś
3SG	<i>jest/jeść/je</i>	-Ø	-Ø
1PL	<i>jesm(y)</i>	-(e)smy	-(e)smy
2PL	<i>jeście</i>	-(e)ście	-(e)ście
3PL	<i>są</i>	-Ø	-Ø

In Polish, as in Czech, the Common Slavic aorist and imperfect were lost early on, leading to a readjustment of the tense system. The 1st and 2nd person stressed forms of 'be' in Old Polish ceased to be used and the stressed 3rd person forms, particularly the 3SG, became emphasizees in Polish, leaving the enclitic and zero forms for the unmarked expression of 'be' in both main verb and auxiliary functions (Andersen 1987: 27–29). These changes allow for the interpretation of the enclitic 'be' auxiliaries as mere person markers. Increasingly, these forms were affixed to the L-participle of the verb to the point that this is the standard position for these forms in the modern language, with the exception of literary uses as affixed enclitics in second position. In modern Polish, the past tense desinences are attached to the L-participle in the form given in Table 5-3. The -e- in parentheses occurs with the masculine singular form of the L-participle which ends in

in polite, formal contexts. The 1st person forms would presumably remain because of their emphatic nature.

a consonant as in example (6). Other forms of the L-participle end in a vowel and do not make use of this *-e-* vowel as in (7)–(9).

- (6) P *Widzę, mój synu, że odziedziczyłeś po*
 [See-1SG, my son-VOC, that inherited-MSG+be-AUX-2SG after
 mnie zamiłowanie do kawałów.
 me-LOC fancy-ACC to pranks-GEN.]
 ‘I see, my son, that you have inherited my fancy for pranks.’
- (7) P *Spóźniłam się.... Byłam na spacerze.*
 [Was-late-FSG+be-AUX-1SG R/P.... Was-FSG+be-AUX-1SG on walk-LOC.]
 ‘I was late....I was on a walk.’
- (8) P *Wydałyśmy wszystkie zaoszczędzony grosz,*
 [Handed-over-PL+be-AUX-1PL all saved penny-ACC,
 sprawiłyśmy ci tę suknię w kwiaty.
 bought-PL+be-AUX-1PL you-DAT that dress-ACC in flowers-ACC.]
 ‘We’ve handed over our last saved penny, bought you that dress with
 the flowers.’
- (9) P *Zdawało mi się, że poczynaliście sobie*
 [Seemed-NSG me-DAT R/P, that began-PL+be-AUX-2PL self-ACC
 z nią dość obcesowo.
 with her-INST enough outright.]
 ‘It seemed to me that you behaved yourself with her rather outright.’

The interpretation of the original ‘be’ auxiliary as a desinence occurred at different times in the Polish dialectal areas and shows interesting correlations with the development of the Polish penultimate stress (Andersen 1987: 31–33). In the northern dialects, strict penultimate stress is followed in all past tense forms, indicating that the auxiliaries became desinences and were agglutinated to the L-participle before penultimate stress became fixed.⁵ The southern dialects show penultimate stress on the L-participle without regard to the added person marking desinences from the former auxiliaries. Thus, in the southern dialects, penultimate stress came into effect before the auxiliaries came to be considered desinences with the L-participles. In the standard language, the stress in the singular is as in the north, but in the plural as in the southern dialects. Andersen (1987: 32) states that the dialects from which the standard language has developed showed an intersection of the developments in fixed penultimate stress and desinencization of the auxiliaries. The Polish past tense now appears to be a combination of L-participle

5. There may be additional complications in interpreting the relative chronology of these two events in the northern dialects, see Andersen (1987: 32–3)

marked for gender plus a person marker and not an auxiliary construction. With further phonological and morphological leveling over time, this construction could be reanalyzed as verbal stem + past L-infix + desinence.⁶ Such a change would mark the full grammaticalization of a lexical item, leaving little trace of the original semantic value of the auxiliary 'be'. Such a process leads one to wonder how many linguistic categories in the Indo-European languages have resulted from the grammaticalization of lexical items, the semantic development of which we have no historical understanding.

The Czech and Polish past tense forms reflect the tendency in these languages to omit the subject forms of the personal pronouns and to mark person and number by verbal desinences or auxiliary forms. Russian, on the other hand, usually has an explicit subject noun or pronoun along with the verb. As the meaning of the perfect tenses was lost and the auxiliaries came to function as person markers, Russian began to substitute the personal pronouns for the auxiliary forms. Like Czech and Polish, Russian uses the L-participle marked for number and gender (in the singular) as the only means of expressing the past tense, but retains no traces of the auxiliary forms. We may compare the situation in Czech with that of Russian, where all inflected enclitics have been lost, including the present tense forms of 'be', the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns, and the reflexive enclitics LCS **se*, **si* have merged and become attached to the verb as the particle *-sja/-s'* (Jakobson 1935/1971: 19ff.). However, modern Czech has retained clitics, including the forms of the personal pronouns, the reflexives Cz *se* and Cz *si*, and maintains a use of the auxiliary 'be' as a person marker with the concomitant omission of the personal pronouns except when they appear either for emphasis or in colloquial speech registers. Despite the formal differences, the past tense is expressed in Czech, Polish, and Russian by the L-participle and some kind of person marker. For Czech, this means a recognizable auxiliary form identical to the verb 'be', for Polish, a desinential person marker with fewer connections to its 'be' origins, and

6. If we consider the *-l/-* of the L-participle as an infix, then we can see that the past tense desinences differ only slightly from the regular non-past verbal desinences. Compare the non-past conjugation of P *czytać* 'read' with the feminine forms of the past tense:

<i>czyta-m</i>	<i>czyta-ł-a-m</i>
<i>czyta-sz</i>	<i>czyta-ł-a-ś</i>
<i>czyta-Ø</i>	<i>czyta-ł-a-Ø</i>
<i>czyta-my</i>	<i>czyta-ł-y-śmy</i>
<i>czyta-cie</i>	<i>czyta-ł-y-ście</i>
<i>czyta-ją</i>	<i>czyta-ł-y-Ø</i>

Given time, these two sets of endings could conceivably become more alike, leading to reanalysis of the *ł-* desinence as an infix.

for Russian, the historical preference of the personal pronouns over the enclitic auxiliary forms, resulting in a past tense with no auxiliary.

5.1.1.2 *Perfect auxiliaries*

Whereas the present perfect with the L-participle and the 'be' auxiliary comes to serve as the only past tense in Russian, Czech, and Polish, Bulgarian retains the Common Slavic present perfect and past perfect with the 'be' auxiliary. The future perfect and past future perfect in Bulgarian are formed with the 'will' auxiliaries B *šte* + *săm-AUX* + L-participle 'will have X-ed' and B *štjax da* + *săm-AUX* + L-participle 'was to have X-ed'.

- (10) B *Napisal e i e izdal*
 [Written-MSG is-AUX-3SG and is-AUX-3SG published-MSG
njakolko knigi za srednovekovnata ni istorija...
 several books about medieval-DEF us history...]
 'He has written and published several books about our medieval history...'
- (11) B *Ne sâm kazala ništo.*
 [Not am-AUX-1SG said-FSG nothing.]
 'I haven't said anything.'

The present perfect is found in example (10) and the past perfect in (11). As might be expected, the future perfect and past future perfect are not as commonly used, just as their English counterparts, Engl *will have X-ed* and Engl *was to have X-ed* are rarely encountered. The rarity of the future perfect may account for the loss of the Common Slavic future perfect with the future of 'be' + the L-participle. Nevertheless, contemporary Bulgarian, in addition to maintaining the Common Slavic imperfect and aorist, also has a full perfect system expressing 'have X-ed', 'had X-ed', 'will have X-ed', and 'was to have X-ed'.

5.1.1.3 *Future Auxiliaries*

Whereas the non-past conjugated forms of perfective verbs have taken on future meanings in most Slavic languages, there was no single, established construction for expressing the imperfective future in Common Slavic. Instead, a selection of auxiliary verbs was used with varying degrees of modality, based on evidence from OCS and the oldest descendant Slavic languages (FUTURE). Although not present in OCS, the use of the verb 'be' + INF has become the standard expression of the future of imperfective verbs in all of the North Slavic languages.⁷ The Czech and

7. In East Slavic, Belarusian and Ukrainian have 'be' + INF for the imperfective future, but Ukrainian, along with SW dial Belarusian (Mayo 1993: 944), and some North Russian dialects (Vlasto 1986: 162), also have an imperfective future construction with a 'have' auxiliary

FUTURE

Although 'be' + INF is not a future construction in OCS, we do find the use of OCS *iměti* 'have' as a future auxiliary. Among the competing future expressions, it was also possible to find the network concept BEGIN in the use of the two verbs OCS *načeti* 'begin' and OCS *vъčeti* 'begin' as future auxiliaries along with the verb OCS *xotěti* 'want' as in the contemporary Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian future constructions (see 5.2.1). OCS *iměti* 'have' is used with infinitive forms of the main verb to express a future tense 'is to, is supposed to' (Schmalstieg 1982: 153) or 'is to, is destined to' (Lunt 1974: 137).

- (1) OCS *Ne ištěte čto imate ěsti i čto piti.*
 [Not seek-2PL what-ACC have-2PL eat-INF and what-ACC drink-INF.]
 'Do not seek after what you will eat and what you will drink'
 (Luke 12: 29, Schmalstieg 1982: 153)

- (2) OCS *...iže ašte ne prъmetъ cъsarъstvoja božbja jako*
 [...who-NOM that not receive-3SG kingdom of-God-GEN as
otročę ne imatъ vъniti vъ nje...
 child-NOM not have-3SG enter-INF in it-ACC...]
 'whoever does not receive the kingdom of God as a child will not enter it'
 (Luke 18: 17, Lunt 1974: 137)

In the further grammaticalization, innovation, and competition between constructions, the 'be' + INF construction arose and took hold in North Slavic and the volitional future with 'want' + INF dominated in the South. However, the future construction with 'have' persisted and may be found in OCS, Old Russian, and even in contemporary Ukrainian, e.g., Ukr *pisatimu* '[write-INF-have-1SG] I will write'. Given the existence of this construction in Old Russian, one may speculate as to whether or not OR *iměti* 'have' was fully grammaticalized as a future auxiliary to the point that it lost its connections with the expression of HAVE. The existence of R *imeti* 'have' in the contemporary language could have been reintroduced or maintained under the Church Slavonic influence on the literary language, resulting in a use of R *imeti* 'have' that is to this day mostly a literary construction. It may ultimately be difficult to investigate this issue because the data in Old Russian is so strongly influenced by Church Slavonic. The textual evidence may be meager, but who knows what future constructions were in wide use in the spoken language? Of course, it is also likely that the 'have' future simply failed to win out in competition with other future constructions.

(FUTURE). In West Slavic, the 'be' + INF future is found everywhere (Polish and Kashubian also utilize the L-participle in addition to the infinitive) with the exception of the poorly attested Polabian which has a 'want' auxiliary with the infinitive. Upper and Lower Sorbian have non-standard future forms with 'be' + perfective INF (Stone 1993: 637). The important thing to notice is the universality of the aspect system in North Slavic and the generalization of a periphrastic construction for the expression of the imperfective future. Additionally, Slovak has a "close future" auxiliary with 'go' + INF (Short:1993b: 554). South Slavic generally uses a 'want' future but a 'have' future auxiliary is also common. In Bulgarian and Macedonian, the future auxiliary is supplanted depending on whether or not the sentence is negated. Thus we find B

Russian constructions are identical, but Polish presents a complication involving a choice between the infinitive or the L-participle (marked for number and gender) of the imperfective main verb. The periphrastic expression of the future tense with 'be' is discussed below for Czech, Russian, and Polish. In Bulgarian, the inherited verb for WANT is grammaticalized into a volitional future and a new verb for WANT, *B iskam* 'want' (previously meaning 'seek'), arises. However, in negative sentences, the impersonal form of the verb 'have' is used to express the future, *B njama da* [not-has that] 'will not'. The BE future is common in East and West Slavic and the volitional future is found in other South Slavic languages such as Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian.

The future auxiliary constructions in Russian, Czech, and Polish are quite similar as seen in the forms of the 'be' future in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4. Imperfective Future Formation in Russian, Czech, and Polish

Russian	+INF	Czech	+INF	Polish	+INF	+L-participle	Translation
<i>budu</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>budu</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będę</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytał/czytała</i>	'I will read'
<i>budeš</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>budeš</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będziesz</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytał/czytała</i>	'You will read'
<i>budet</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>bude</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będzie</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytał/czytała</i>	'He/she/it will read'
<i>budem</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>budeme</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będziemy</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytali/czytały</i>	'We will read'
<i>budete</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>budete</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będziecie</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytali/czytały</i>	'You will read'
<i>budut</i>	<i>čítat'</i>	<i>budou</i>	<i>číst</i>	<i>będą</i>	<i>czytać</i>	<i>czytali/czytały</i>	'They will read'

A few examples further illustrate the use of this imperfective future construction. The Russian example in (12) and the Czech sentences in (13) and (14) are straightforward applications of the future conjugation of 'be' and an imperfective infinitive.

- (12) R *Ty* *budeš* *govorit'* *v* *konce*.
 [You-NOM will-be-2SG speak-INF in end-LOC.]
 'You will speak at the end.'

šte 'will' and *njama da* 'will not' and Macedonian *kè* 'will' and *nema da* 'will not'. However, one also finds *ima da* 'will' in Bulgarian and Macedonian *ne kè* 'will not' (with volitional nuances) and Mac *ima da* (with obligational nuances) (Friedman 1993: 270). Serbo-Croatian utilizes a 'want' future with INF or *da*-clause and has a future II (from Common Slavic future perfect) with 'be'. Dialectally, Kajkavian SC has 'be' + L-participle for the future as in Slovene and Polish (Browne 1993: 382).

- (13) Cz *Tak tady budu žít, tady umřu, tady vychovám*
 [So here will-1SG live-INF, here die-1SG, here bring-up-1SG
děti a tady budu vydělávat
 children-ACC and here will-be-AUX-1SG earn-money-INF
a bydlet.
 and reside-INF.]

'So here's where I'm going to live, where I will die, here's where I'll bring up children, and I will earn money and reside here.'

- (14) Cz *Je mi ale líto astronautů, kteří věřili,*
 [Is-3SG me-DAT but sorry astronauts-GEN, who-NOM believed-PL,
že budou létat do vesmíru.
 that will-be-AUX-3PL fly-INF to space-GEN.]
 'But I feel sorry for the astronauts, who thought they would fly into space.'

Polish also employs the infinitive of imperfective verbs with the future of 'be', but the use of the L-participle, a later development in Polish, is preferred in the standard language, particularly with modal verbs (Andersen 1987: 26–7, Corbridge-Patkanowska 1992: 225–26).

- (15) P *Nie będziemy tu przecież nocować?*
 [Not will-2PL here after-all spend-night-INF?]
 'So we're not going to spend the night here after all?'
 (16) P *Jutro także nie będziesz miała powodzenia.*
 [Tomorrow also not will-be-AUX-2SG have-FSG success-GEN.]
 'Tomorrow you won't have any success either.'

The sentence in (15) uses 'be' with the infinitive and (16) shows 'be' with the feminine singular of the L-participle. These periphrastic constructions form the future in Russian, Czech, and Polish for imperfective verbs. By contrast, the future tense of perfective verbs is expressed in these three languages using the non-past forms.

In Bulgarian, the future construction is used with both perfective and imperfective verbs and is formed from two separate stems. In positive sentences, the form B *šte* 'will' [< 'want'] combines with a verb conjugated to agree with the subject of the sentence as in (17). The future is negated by the suppletive auxiliary form B *njama da* [not-has that] 'will not' as in (18). This Bulgarian construction provides an example of the grammaticalization of HAVE as an auxiliary verb.

- (17) B ...*ot misľta na Dostoevski: "Krasotata ťte*
 [...from thought-DEF of Dostoevsky: "Beauty-DEF will
spasi sveta".
 save-3SG world-DEF.]
 '...from Dostoevsky's thought: "Beauty will save the world."'
- (18) B *Nikoj njama da jade tozi banan!*
 [No-one not-has-3SG that eat-3SG this banana!]
 'No one will eat this banana!'
- (19) B ...*taja nedelja naistina ťte e praznik...*
 [...this week really will is-3SG holiday...]
 '...there really will be a holiday this week...'
- (20) B *Nezavisimo dali kartinite ťte ostanat sobstvenost*
 [Independent whether pictures-DEF will remain-3PL property
na pritežatelite im ili ťte bādat predadeni na carskoto
 of owners-DEF them or will be-3PL turned-over to tsar-DEF
semejstvo, ili ťte bādat prodadeni, a moťe bi i
 family, or will be-3PL sold, and may be even
podareni na naťite galerii, te sa xudoťstven
 given to our-DEF galleries, they are-3PL artistic
kapital na nacijata.
 capital of nation-DEF.]
 'Independent of whether the pictures will remain the property of their
 owners or will be turned over to the tsar's family or will be sold, and maybe
 even given to our galleries, they are the artistic capital of the nation.'

Bulgarian also has two possible forms of the verb 'be' in the future tense: B *ťte/njama da* + the present tense conjugation B *sām, si, e, sme, ťte, sa* 'will be', or with B *ťte/njama da* + the forms of the root that provides the future of 'be' in other Slavic languages, B *bāda, bādeť, bāde, bādem, bādete, bādat* 'will be'. The former is found in (19), B *ťte e* 'will be' and the latter throughout (20), B *ťte bādat* 'will be'.

As with the past tense, we see great uniformity in the periphrastic future constructions of Czech, Polish, and Russian with an auxiliary from BE. Bulgarian, on the other hand, has its own, independent auxiliary developments utilizing the concepts WANT and HAVE.

5.1.1.4 Conditional and subjunctive auxiliaries

The conditional is formed in Slavic from a separate conjugation of 'be' inherited from Common Slavic with an understanding of what might or could BE. The individual languages have molded these forms in different ways, but the usage still remains. Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian maintain what is more or less a full conjugation of the conditional auxiliary 'be', but Russian has reduced the conditional

forms to a single particle, R *by* 'would'. The auxiliaries in all four languages combine with the L-participle of the main verb to express the conditional. This set of 'be' auxiliaries is also used in Russian, Czech, and Polish in subjunctive clauses with the expression of orders and requests. Table 5-5 summarizes the conditional construction in these four languages.

Table 5-5. Auxiliary Forms of 'be' Used with L-Participles in the Formation of the Conditional

Number/Person	Russian	Polish	Czech	Bulgarian
1SG	<i>by</i>	<i>-bym</i>	<i>bych</i>	<i>bix</i>
2SG	<i>by</i>	<i>-byś</i>	<i>bys</i>	<i>bi</i>
3SG	<i>by</i>	<i>-by</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>bi</i>
1PL	<i>by</i>	<i>-byśmy</i>	<i>bychom</i>	<i>bixme</i>
2PL	<i>by</i>	<i>-byście</i>	<i>byste</i>	<i>bixte</i>
3PL	<i>by</i>	<i>-by</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>bixa</i>

Some basic examples of the Slavic conditional are provided in (21)–(25). All examples combine the conditional 'be' auxiliary with a form of the L-participle. Since conditional sentences deal with unreal or hypothetical conditions, we often find modal verbs with the conditional auxiliaries. In (21), the speaker questions whether or not sufficient barriers are in place to prevent naming a child Vova. In (22) and (23), Engl *would like* is used to translate the conditional of the verbs for 'want' in Russian and Polish. We find the conditional of non-modal verbs in the Czech example in (24) with the verb 'expect' and in Bulgarian in (25) with the verb 'say'.

- (21) R *Vy mogli by nazvat' svoego rebenka*
 [You-NOM could-PL be-COND-AUX call-INF own child-ACC
 – Vovoj?
 – Vova-INST?]
 'Could you call your child Vova?'
- (22) R *Ja by xotela robotat' v Tallinne.*
 [I-NOM be-COND-AUX wanted-FSG work-INF in Tallinn-LOC.]
 'I would like to work in Tallinn.'
- (23) P *Chciałbym dotknąć tutaj jednego z*
 [Wanted-be-COND-AUX-1SG touch-INF here one-GEN from
największych problemów, z jakim muszą się
 biggest problems-GEN, with which-INST must-3PL R/P
dziś zmagać kraje uboższe.
 today struggle-INF countries impoverished-NOM.]
 'Here I would like to touch on one of the biggest problems, which
 impoverished countries must struggle with today.'

- (24) Cz *Kdo by očekával, že na jejich*
 [Who-NOM be-COND-AUX-3SG expected-MSG, that at her
koncertě uslyší uhlazený tenor Karla Gotta...
 concert-LOC hears-3SG refined tenor-ACC Karl Gott-GEN...]
 'Who would expect that at her concert he would hear the refined tenor of
 Karl Gott...'
- (25) B *Marian bi kazala pak, že xaluciniram.*
 [Marian be-COND-AUX-3SG said-FSG again, that hallucinating-1SG.]
 'Marian would again say that I am hallucinating.'

In addition to the straightforward use of the conditional auxiliaries, we also find increased grammaticalization and changes of some forms. In general, the Russian conditional expression has most drastically altered the Common Slavic construction by reducing the auxiliary to a single, uninflected form. In Czech, we see examples where the -s, serving as the 2SG desinence is attached to the reflexive/passive particles Cz *se* and Cz *si* as in (26). We saw this same adaptation with the past tense auxiliary in Czech (5.1.1.1). Spoken Czech has also adapted the form of the 2PL conditional auxiliary from Cz *bychom* to Cz *bysme* 'we would' in (27), by analogy with the present tense form Cz *jsme* 'we are'. Similarly, the 1SG conditional form, Cz *bysem* 'I would' is also found by analogy to Cz *jsem* 'I am'. The Czech conditional auxiliaries behave as sentential enclitics as do the past auxiliaries. In Polish, the same reduced forms of the verb 'be' have become conditional desinences to the conditional particle P *by* 'would' and are most often attached directly to the L-participle as in (23). However, P *by* 'would' with its desinences can sometimes be attached to other words or stand alone in the second position as in (28).

- (26) Cz *"Měla by ses obléknout," řekl.*
 ["Had-FSG be-COND-AUX R/P+Aux-2SG dress-INF," said-MSG.]
 "You should get dressed," he said.'
- (27) Cz *Bylo jasné, že bysme to vyhráli.*
 [Was-NSG clear-NOM, that be-COND-AUX-1PL that-ACC won-PL.]
 'It was clear that we would have won.'
- (28) P *A tak bym chciała cię dobrze*
 [And so be-COND-AUX-1SG wanted-FSG you-ACC well
kochać. I żebyś mi choć
 love-INF. And that-be-COND-AUX-2SG me-DAT even
trochę chciał w tym pomóc.
 little-ACC wanted-MSG in this-LOC help-INF.]
 'And so I would like to love you well. If only you wanted to help me a
 little in this.'

Andersen (1987) uses evidence such as this free-standing conditional auxiliary to support his theory that these forms have not completely become desinences. In a description of the Polish conditional auxiliaries, one could also say that it has become associated with certain words: most often the L-participle of the main verb, but also with P *gdy* 'when' in the formation of a word for 'if' and with P *że* 'that' in the Polish subjunctive construction. The Polish conditional auxiliaries occur in fairly stable constructions with these words and with the L-participle, perhaps indicating that the desinences have fully grammaticalized in three stable functions: conditional with L-participle, hypothetical P *gdyby* 'if', and subjunctive P *żeby* 'in order to, so that' with verbs of wanting or ordering. Czech shows the same development of hypothetical 'if' in (29) followed by an example of the Polish construction in (30).

- (29) Cz *Kdyby* to *była* *prawda*, *nikdy*
 [If-be-COND-AUX-3SG that-NOM was-FSG truth-NOM, never
bych *titul* *Miss Universe* *niezískala*.
 be-COND-AUX-1SG title-ACC Miss Universe got-FSG.]
 'If that were true, I would never have gotten the title Miss Universe.'
- (30) P *Gdybym* *go* *dalej* *spuszczał*,
 [If-be-COND-AUX-1SG him-ACC further let-out-MSG,
mógłby *już* *nie wrócić*.
 might-MSG+be-COND-AUX-3SG already not return-INF.]
 'If I had let him keep going out, he might not have come back any more.'
- (31) Cz *...dostal* *stipendium*, *aby*
 [...got-MSG scholarship-ACC, so-that-be-COND-AUX-3SG
studoval *na univerzitě* *v anglickém Oxfordu*.
 studied-MSG at university-LOC in English Oxford-LOC.]
 '...he got a scholarship to study at the English university, Oxford.'
- (32) P *O*, *ja* *wiem*, *że* *chciałeś*,
 [Oh, I-NOM know-1SG, that wanted-MSG+be-AUX-2SG,
żeby *została* *w Warszawie...*
 that+be-COND-AUX-1SG remained-FSG in Warsaw-LOC...]
 'Oh, I know that you wanted me to stay in Warsaw...'

Czech uses the conditional endings with the form Cz *aby* to form a subjunctive construction or to express 'in order to, so that' as in (31), 'a stipend in order to study'. Polish has both the forms of P *aby* and the forms of P *żeby* in these contexts as in (32), where a wish is expressed. Both Czech and Polish developed a past conditional. This construction is still found in literary Czech, but it is obsolete in

Polish. Russian has only the one form of the conditional, leaving context to decide the past or present meaning. Czech and Polish have also developed in this way. Nevertheless, we do still find expressions of the past conditional in Czech, where the additional L-participle form of Cz *být* 'be' is used with the conditional auxiliary and the L-participle of the main verb as in (33), where present conditional Cz *Kdybych chtěl* 'If I wanted' becomes Cz *Kdybych byl chtěl* 'If I had wanted':

- (33) Cz *Kdybych se byl chtěl přátelit*
 [If+be-COND-AUX-1SG R/P was-MSG wanted-MSG be-friends-INF
s oponenty režimu...
 with opponents-INST regime-GEN...]
 'If I had wanted to be friends with opponents of the regime...'

Czech also uses the L-participle of the frequentative verb 'be', Cz *bývat* 'be (frequentative)' to express the past conditional when the main verb is 'be' or to express an even more distant or hypothetical expression as in (34) and (35).

- (34) Cz *Víte, zdá se mi velmi nelogické, že*
 [Know-2pl, seems-3sg R/P me-DAT very illogical-NOM, that
by býval někdo
 be-COND-AUX-3sg be-FREQ-COND-AUX-MSG someone-NOM
žádal trest smrti za přechod
 requested-MSG penalty-ACC death-GEN for crossing-ACC
hranic...
 borders-GEN...]
 ‘You know, it seems very illogical to me that anyone would ever ask for the
 death penalty for crossing the border...’

- (35) Cz *Kdybys* *nebyl* *býval*
 [If+be-COND-AUX-2SG not-was-MSG was-FREQ-COND-AUX-MSG
kýval, *nebyl* *by* *se*
 nodded-MSG, not-was-MSG COND-AUX-3SG R/P
mýval *hýbal!*
 raccoon-NOM moved-MSG!]
 'If you hadn't've nodded, the raccoon wouldn't've moved!'

These Czech constructions with Cz *bývat* ‘be (frequentative)’ may be considered “emphatically hypothetical” (Laura Janda, p.c.). A double L-participle is not unheard of in Slavic. Andersen (1987: 24) mentions that Old Russian and Old Polish had a “double perfect” as in OR *mōlivilъ bylъ jestъ* presumably meaning ‘had spoken’. This provides a precedent for (or possibly a parallel to) the combination of multiple BE auxiliaries in a single construction. We can see such constructions in

the pluperfect of Belarusian and Ukrainian and in the uses of R *bylo* 'almost' and R *byvalo* 'used to' expressions discussed in 5.3.

5.1.1.5 *Passive auxiliaries*

The general use of the verb 'be' as an auxiliary with the Slavic passive participles deserves brief mention. This usage amounts to a BE: COPULA expression with a passive participle in the predicate which takes the form of an adjective.

- (36) R *Stat'ja* *byla* *opublikovana*.
 [Article-NOM was-FSG published-NOM-FSG.]
 'The article was published.'
- (37) P *Znajomość* *angielskiego* *oceniana* *jest* *przez*
 [Familiarity-NOM English-GEN evaluated-FSG is-3SG through
 uczelnie *na podstawie wyniku* *uzyskanego* *przez*
 school-ACC on basis-LOC outcome-GEN received-GEN through
 kandydata *na egzaminie TOEFL*.
 candidate-ACC on exam-LOC TOEFL.]
 'Familiarity with English is evaluated by a school on the basis of the out-
 come received by the candidate on the TOEFL exam.'

Thus we find examples such as (36) for Russian and (37) for Polish, where different tenses of the 'be' auxiliary express 'was published' and 'is evaluated'. In addition to the 'be' passive auxiliary, a verb meaning 'remain' has become grammaticalized in such contexts in Polish and is discussed below as a new grammatical development in 5.1.2.2.

5.1.2 New grammatical uses of BE and HAVE in the modern Slavic languages

In the following brief case studies, I present data demonstrating how the verbs 'be' and 'have' have undergone further grammaticalization in all of the languages considered here. The semantics of BE and HAVE continue to provide sources of new grammatical material, likely buoyed by the various auxiliary constructions with BE and HAVE already existent in these languages. Russian has manifested a tendency to reduce the forms of 'be' to non-inflected particles as exhibited above in the expression of the conditional mood. This reduction to particles has led to many curious uses of the form R *est'* '(there) is' and to further development of function words from 'be', discussed in 5.3. In Czech and Polish, the verb 'have' has become an auxiliary verb in a new perfect construction, a common use of this verb in other European languages. In Bulgarian, the verb 'be' has been employed in an evidential construction, a common category for Balkan languages. All of these uses manifest the continued productivity of BE and HAVE and the ability of these

constructions to continually develop new roles while maintaining their various polysemies and functions.

5.1.2.1 Grammaticalization of *R est'* '(there) is'

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, the single form *R est'* '(there) is' is both more and less than a copula verb. In addition to its major uses as a HAVE construction, a PRESENCE/ABSENCE marker, and an explicit, if somewhat awkward, copula form, this particle has taken on other grammatical roles. As a function of further grammaticalization, the particle demonstrates the lack of paradigmatic cohesion in the Russian verb 'be'. When used as a copula, this verb manifests only the single form for singular and plural subjects in the present, whereas the future forms are conjugated for person and number and the past tense L-participles are conjugated for gender and number in the singular and number in the plural. It is likely that in Russian, as in Polish, the 3SG form of the verb 'be' took on an emphatic role in some contexts as opposed to the unstressed functions of the auxiliary roles. The enclitic forms of the verb gave way to the desinenes discussed above for Polish and to the loss of 'be' forms in the present tense in Russian. Andersen (1987: 27–9) discusses the use of the full forms *P jest* 'is' and *P są* 'are' in contrast with a zero copula as the distinction "emphatic vs. unmarked predication". It is precisely these two forms, the third person singular and plural that survive in modern Russian. Although the 3PL form *R sut'* '(there) are' is rarely used and mostly a literary convention, its maintenance in the language along with *R est'* '(there) is' attests to the markedness of these two forms. Given the loss of the present tense enclitic forms of 'be' and the partial liberation of *R est'* '(there) is' from the paradigm of the verb 'be', reinterpretations and further grammaticalization were made possible. Isačenko points out numerous instances where the presence or absence of *est'* '(there) is' has to do with the expression of a partitive relationship:

- (38) R *U nego est' sedye volosy.*
 [At him-GEN there-is grey hair-NOM.]
 'He has some grey hair.' (Isačenko 1974: 56)
- (39) R *U nego sedye volosy.*
 [At him-GEN grey hair-NOM.]
 'He has grey hair.' (Isačenko 1974: 56)

In (38), *R est'* '(there) is' is used to indicate that the possessor has some grey hair, but in (39), the omission of *R est'* '(there) is' implies that all, or at least the majority, of the possessor's hair is grey. In the above examples, the existence of hair is not questioned, so *R est'* '(there) is' can express another relationship, in this case a partitive of a count noun. Isačenko states that this use of *R est'* '(there) is' "appears whenever the 'possessed object' is implemented by a plural form", e.g., *R U nego*

est'...*faľšivye zuby* 'He has some false teeth', R...*druz'ja v Amerike* 'some friends in America', R...*den'gi v banke* 'some money in the bank', R...*original'nye mysli* 'some original ideas', or by a *singulare tantum*, e.g., R *U nego est' starinnaja mebel'* 'He has some antique furniture' (Isačenko 1974: 57). Compare also the following examples.

- (40) R *U menja est' lišnie den'gi, rublej vosem'idesjat.*
 [At me-GEN there-is extra money-NOM, rubles-GEN eighty-NOM.]
Čto vy posovetuete?
 What-ACC you-NOM recommend-2PL?
 'I've got some extra money, about eighty rubles. What do you recommend?'
 (41) R *U tebja vse dejstvjuščie lica podlecj.*
 [At you-GEN all acting characters-NOM scoundrels-NOM.]
 'You only have scoundrels for your characters.'
 'All the characters in your works are scoundrels.'
 (42) R *U nego net sedyx volos.*
 [At him-GEN there-is-not grey hair-GEN.]
 'He has no grey hair.' (Isačenko 1974: 57)
 (43) R *U nego ne sedye volosy.*
 [At him-GEN not grey hair-NOM.]
 'He does not have grey hair./His hair is not grey.' (Isačenko 1974: 57)

In (40), the possessor has some extra money; the absence of R *est'* '(there) is' in this sentence would imply that all of the possessor's money was superfluous. According to Isačenko, this partitive meaning is possible only in the absence of quantifying words such as *mnogo* 'many', *neskol'ko* 'several', *malo* 'few', *vse/vsë* 'all/everything' (1974: 57). In (41), the presence of the qualifier *vse* 'all' renders a partitive reading impossible. In a negated present tense statement, the partitive reading is still possible, but the syntax and semantics are marked differently. In (42), the presence of R *net* 'there is not', the negative of R *est'* '(there) is', with the genitive case indicates the utter absence of the quality, in this case, grey hair. In (43), however, the use of the particle R *ne* 'not' with the zero copula and the nominative case merely indicates that the hair is not (primarily?) grey, but (predominately?) some other color. The partitive distinction expressed by R *est'* '(there) is' also functions with more abstract nouns:

- (44) R *U nego strašnye vospominanija.*
 [At him-GEN terrible memories-NOM.]
 'He has terrible memories.' (Birnbäum 1978: 31)
 (45) R *U nego est' strašnye vospominanija.*
 [At him-GEN there-is terrible memories-NOM.]
 'He has some terrible memories.' (Birnbäum 1978: 31)

- (46) R ...*u rebjat est' mysli považnee...*
 [...at kids-GEN there-is thoughts-NOM more-important...]
 '...the guys have some more serious thoughts'
- (47) R *U menja est' k ètomu sposobnosti.*
 [At me-GEN there-is to this-DAT talents-NOM.]
 'I have some talents in that area.'

Here again, (44) stresses that the subject's memories are exclusively terrible and presumably trouble him constantly, whereas the subject of (45) has some terrible memories among other kinds, where the terrible memories may only crop up from time to time. The presence of R *est'* '(there) is' in (46) and (47) renders the same partitive reading: 'some more serious thoughts' and 'some talents in that area.'

A similar semantic opposition between R *est'* '(there) is' and its absence involves the wearing of clothing:

- (48) R *U nee novye botinki.*
 [At her-GEN new shoes-NOM.]
 'She has (is wearing) new shoes.' (Isačenko 1974: 58)
- (49) R *U nee est' novye botinki, no ona ix ne nosit.*
 [At her-GEN there-is new shoes-NOM, but she-NOM them-ACC
 not wears-3SG.]
 'She has new shoes, but does not wear them.' (Isačenko 1974: 58)
- (50) R *U menja novyj kostjum.*
 [At me-GEN new suit-NOM.]
 'I have (am wearing) a new suit.' (Golovačeva 1989: 173)
- (51) R *U menja est' novyj kostjum.*
 [At me-GEN there-is new suit-NOM.]
 'I have (own) a new suit.' (Golovačeva 1989: 173)
- (52) R *-U menja tože est' oranževye noski,*
 ["At me-GEN also there-is orange socks-NOM,"
-voskliknul kapitan, -podumaes'... Ja ix
 exclaimed-MSG captain-NOM, "think-2SG... I-NOM them-ACC
u spekuljanta priobrel...
 at speculator-GEN obtained-MSG..."]
 "I also have some orange socks," exclaimed the captain, "What do you think about that? I got them from a speculator."
- (53) R *Kstati, na nem byli polskie džinsy v*
 [By-the-way, on him-LOC were-PL Polish jeans-NOM in
točnosti kak u menja.
 precision-LOC like at me-GEN.]
 'By the way, he was wearing Polish jeans just like the ones I've got on.'

In the above examples, the use of *R est'* '(there) is' expresses the existence of an object which is not present. The omission of *R est'* '(there) is' in these sentences indicates possession of the item of clothing with the additional meaning that it is being worn at the moment. It is interesting that *R est'* '(there) is' is not used when we mean to express the physical possession (LOCATION) of wearing. In this context, *R est'* '(there) is' expresses POSSESSION PROPER OR AVAILABILITY. This use implies a more abstract meaning of *R est'* '(there) is' than the concreteness of LOCATION. Perhaps the semantics of clothing plays a role here as well. The unmarked situation for discussing clothing may be discussing the clothing you have on. For most HAVE sentences in Russian, *R est'* '(there) is' is omitted. Absence of *R est'* '(there) is' is the unmarked usage, just as having an item of clothing on, not merely owning it, is the unmarked state. This assumption of unmarked state as wearing clothing makes possible the humorous dialogue in (54) which plays on the presence and absence of *R est'* '(there) is'/*R net* 'there is not', or the synonym *R imet'sja* '(there) is', in the domain of clothing.

- (54) R – *Tovarišč Dovlatov, u vas imeetsja černyj*
 ["Comrade Dovlatov-NOM, at you-GEN has-3SG-R/P black
košťum?...
suit-NOM?"...]
- *Net. – skazal ja. – u menja džemper.*
 "No," said-MSG I-NOM. "At me-GEN jumper-NOM."
- *Ne siju minutu, a doma.*
 "Not this minute-ACC, but at-home."
- *U menja voobščë net košťuma, – govoriu.*
 "By me-GEN generally there-is-not suit-GEN, say-1SG."]
 "Comrade Dovlatov, have you got a black suit?"...
 "No," I said. "I've got a jumper on."
 "Not this minute, but at home."
 "I don't have a suit at all," I say.

This passage is somewhat difficult to capture in the English translation due to the overlapping English constructions *have something* and *have something on*. The use of *R imet'sja* '(there) is' in the first line of the dialogue in (54) reveals the synonymous nature of *R est'* '(there) is' and *R imet'sja* '(there) is' and the POSSESSION PROPER and AVAILABILITY expressed by this verb.

This grammaticalized use of *R est'* '(there) is' is only accessible in the context of the present tense. In the past or future, there would be no formal means of unambiguously expressing the PART/WHOLE distinction in such sentences such as (38) and (39), leading to ambiguity in Russian, much as in the possible English translation for both sentences, 'He has gray hair', where some or all of the possessor's hair may be grey (Isačenko 1974: 56). *R est'* '(there) is', unlike future *R budet/budut*

‘will be’ and past R *był/-a/-o/-i* ‘was/were’, does not function as a copula or merely as a marker of tense. In the sentences above, it has been demonstrated that R *est* ‘(there) is’ has been grammaticalized to express a partitive relationship in which the presence of R *est* ‘(there) is’ signals a partitive relationship and its absence implies a whole relationship.

5.1.2.2 The passive auxiliary P *zostać* ‘become; remain’

The verb P *zostać* ‘become; remain’ has been grammaticalized as an auxiliary with passive participles of perfective verbs in competition with the verb ‘be’ in this function, as seen in (37) in 5.1.1.5. In this grammaticalized concept, P *zostać* ‘become; remain’ comes to mean ‘is’.

- (55) P *Tylko tym absolwentom, którym zostaną zaliczone*
 [Only those graduates-DAT, who-DAT become-3PL credited-NOM
pełne studia z Polski, pozostaje jeszcze do
 full studies-NOM from Poland-GEN, remains-3SG still until
zdobycia 30 zamiast 60 kredytów.
 finishing-GEN 30-NOM instead 60-GEN credits-GEN.]

‘Only for those graduates, to whom is credited a full course of study in Poland, there still remains 30 instead of 60 credits until finishing.’

- (56) P *Pierwszy ruch jest radość,*
 [First movement-NOM is joy-NOM,
Ale ona zostaje odjęta.
 But it-NOM becomes-3SG taken-away-NOM.]
 ‘The first movement is joy,
 But it is taken away.’

- (57) P *Wróżby cyganki zostały spełnione.*
 [Predictions-NOM gypsy-GEN became-PL fulfilled-NOM.]
 ‘The predictions of the gypsy became fulfilled.’

- (58) P *Izrael, Lud Boży Starego Przymierza,*
 [Israel-NOM, People Divine-NOM Old Covenant-GEN,
został wybrany po to, ażeby
 became-PL chosen-NOM for that-ACC, that+be-COND-AUX-3SG
nieść światu, jako “odrośl z rodu Dawida”,
 carry-INF world-DAT, as ‘shoot-NOM from line-GEN David-GEN’,
Mesjasza, Zbawiciela i Odkupiciela całej ludzkości.
 Messiah-ACC, Savior-ACC and Redeemer-ACC whole humanity-GEN.]
 ‘Israel, the divine people of the Old Covenant were chosen in order to bring to the world, as the “shoot from the line of David”, the Messiah, the Savior, and the Redeemer of all humanity.’

The extension of P *zostać* ‘become; remain’ to constructions with passive participles represents an extension of a BE synonym to a role usually played by a verb ‘be’. This type of semantic extension is taken up in detail throughout Chapter 2, yet the influence of German, where *werden* ‘become’ is used as an auxiliary verb, on the West Slavic languages should also be noted (see Chapter 6).

5.1.2.3 *New perfect constructions*

The development of a new perfect construction utilizing the present tense of ‘have’ + past passive participle is a relatively recent development in the histories of Polish and Czech. These constructions are not considered to be part of the standard literary language. The development of the Czech and Polish new perfect reveals other aspects of grammaticalization processes: new developments begin in colloquial language, in certain contexts, and for certain discourse pragmatic reasons. Semantically, this development can be motivated by an understanding of a possessor in a HAVE expression with an abstract object, the past passive participle. The new perfect construction is fairly well established in Polish and Czech, and Russian dialects also show a nascent new perfect construction. The dialectal Russian new perfect likewise utilizes the concept HAVE, not in the form of an auxiliary of R *imeti* ‘have’, but rather with the R *u* + GEN HAVE construction. All of these constructions reveal a certain syntactic flexibility indicating that they have not been firmly grammaticalized. It is not possible to say how widespread and how acceptable these new perfects may become for Czech, Polish, and Russian, but their development as a natural extension of the concept HAVE adds to our understanding of how BE and HAVE are similar and what sorts of things HAVE expressions can do in a language. At present, these “new perfects” lie somewhere between resultative constructions (*I have the homework done*, i.e., ready) and perfect constructions (*I’ve done my homework*, I’ve completed it and it is ready). The treatment here centers on new perfect constructions developing from HAVE constructions. For a fuller treatment of both Slavic and Baltic resultative constructions in a broader typological perspective, including the participation of various Slavic participles in such constructions, see Wiemer & Gieger 2005.

The Czech and Polish new perfect

In Czech and Polish, we find such examples of the new perfect as:

- (59) Cz *Ale už spolupracuju s talentovanou mladou*
 [But already collaborate-1SG with talented young
scenáristkou Alicí Nellis, která má pro
 screenplay-writer-INST Alice Nellis, who-NOM has-3SG for
mě přichystané dva scénáře.
 me-ACC prepared-ACC two screenplays-ACC.]
 ‘But I’m already collaborating with a talented, young screenplay writer,
 Alice Nellis, who has prepared two screenplays for me.’

- (60) P *Mam już wszystkie egzaminy pozdawane.*
 [Have-1SG already all exams-ACC taken-ACC.]
 'I've taken all my exams.' (Rothstein 1993: 715)
- (61) P *Wojtek ma złamaną nogę.*
 [Wojtek-NOM has-3SG broken leg-ACC.]
 'Wojtek has a broken leg.' (Lempp 1986: 126)
- (62) Cz *"Vý se pořád díváte na tu moji ruku.*
 ['You-NOM R/P continually look-2pl at this my hand-ACC.
Mám ji zlomenou," říká s úsměvem a
 Have-1SG it-ACC broken-ACC," says-3SG with smile-INST and
mává svým fanouškům zafačovanou pěstičkou.
 waves-3SG own fans-DAT bandaged fist-INST.]
 "You keep looking at my hand. I broke it," he says with a smile and waves
 to his fans with his bandaged fist.'

In (59), we find the present tense of Cz *mít* 'have' + past passive participle and the same construction in (60) with P *mieć* 'have' + past passive participle. Although structurally similar, there are two separate constructions here. Some examples clearly have the traits of a perfect tense, the present result of a past action, as in (59) where the speaker continues to collaborate with a writer who has already produced two scripts or in (60) where the completion of the exams in the past is still relevant to the present. Other examples are more straightforward expressions of HAVE with an object modified by a past passive participle, as in (61) where Wojtek possesses a leg which is broken, and are therefore better classified as resultative. In this example, the verb 'have' is used in its RELATIONSHIP meaning, thus it may or may not be appropriate to read (61) as a perfect construction. However, the perfect tense reading seems more possible for the Czech sentence in (62). Some examples are completely ambiguous as in the following Polish example:

- (63) P *Mam zgubione banknoty.*
 [Have-1SG lost banknotes-ACC.]
 'I have the lost banknotes.'/ 'I have lost the banknotes.' (Lempp 1986: 126)

Here, we can understand the possessor as having banknotes that have been lost or we can understand that the possessor has lost some banknotes, depending on the broader context of the utterance. There is a need to distinguish here between having a possession with a participial adjective and possessing a past action. The possibility of two readings does not affect the existence of a perfect category in these languages, however. English clearly has a perfect construction, yet the same ambiguities are possible as seen in the English translations of (63) and by the subtle changes in word order of such examples as Engl *has made it* and Engl *has it made*.

Multiple readings of these types of sentences are possible because the construction and its syntax have not been firmly grammaticalized in Czech or Polish. All the inputs play a role in our understanding of these sentences and the range of sentences in which 'have' + past passive participle can be found. The HAVE input makes contributions of the present tense and POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP, including the possession of a past act. The participle adds both a past tense notion and a passive notion (MČ 1987: 248 calls these "deagentivizing" constructions), which in Polish and Czech may lead to an agent not identical to the subject of the HAVE expression.

- (64) Cz *Máme myšmi /od myši prožrány pytle*
 [Have-1PL mice-INST /from mice-GEN eaten bags-ACC
s obilím.
 with grain-INST.]
 'We have mouse-eaten bags of grain.'
- (65) P *Dziś mam te przez ciebie wczoraj*
 [Today have-1SG these by you-ACC yesterday
zarezerwowane bilety.
 reserved-ACC tickets-ACC.]
 'Today I have the tickets which you reserved yesterday.' (Lempp 1986: 130)
- (66) P *Ewa ma przyznane stypendium.*
 [Ewa-NOM has-3SG awarded-ACC scholarship-ACC.]
 'Ewa has been awarded a scholarship.' (Rothstein 1993: 715)
- (67) P *Mam nos zatkany.*
 [Have-1SG nose-ACC stuffed-up-ACC.]
 'I have a stuffed up nose.' (Rothstein 1993: 715)

In (64) and (65) the verb 'have' establishes a relationship between a possessor and a past action completed by another explicit agent. The agent of the passive participle is not explicit in (66) and (67), but the passive notion is still present. Despite the possible passive readings for this construction, with just a few changes, the possession of a passive event in (65) becomes the perfect expression in (68):

- (68) P *Dziś mam zarezerwowane te bilety.*
 [Today have-1SG reserved-ACC these tickets-ACC.]
 'Today I have reserved the tickets.' (Lempp 1986: 130)

Despite these multiple readings, a new perfect construction can be discerned among the possibilities. Further grammaticalization might solve some of these problems of ambiguous readings and might fix the form of the construction itself. Word order constraints often accompany increased grammaticalization,

but we may not see a strict limitation in Czech or Polish given the relatively free word order of these Slavic languages with case distinctions. For instance, it is still possible to insert a prepositional phrase between ‘have’ and the participle as in (59) above: Cz *má pro mě přichystané dva scénáře* [has for me prepared two screenplays] ‘has prepared two screenplays for me’, but as time goes by, this flexibility might conceivably be lost as the construction becomes increasingly grammaticalized as a perfect. Equally possible, the ambiguity between pure perfect and present possession of an object modified by a passive participle may remain.

- (69) Cz *Když nemáme vyřešenou minulost, tak jak chceme řešit přítomnost a budoucnost?*
 [When not-have-1PL solved-ACC past-ACC, so how want-1PL solve-INF present-ACC and future-ACC?]
 ‘If we haven’t solved the past, then how do we want to solve the present and the future?’
- (70) Cz *Hlavu má vyvrácenou dozadu hledí*
 [Head-ACC has-3SG turned-around-ACC backwards looks-3SG Klausovi přímo do tváře.
 Klaus-DAT straight to face-GEN.]
 ‘He has his head turned around backwards – he’s looking Klaus right in the eye.’

In (69) the word order closely associates the auxiliary ‘have’ with the participle and the perfect reading is certainly a possibility. However, in (70), the same order of ‘have’ auxiliary and participle does not ensure a perfect reading. Here, the verb ‘have’ seems to be establishing a RELATIONSHIP that determines the position of the possessor’s head. The Czech examples show an additional complication by using both the long and short forms of the past passive participles. All of the examples above use the long form, but the following examples show the use of the neuter short form participle.

- (71) Cz *Pokud člověk má nějaké charisma, má vyhráno, protože vstoupí na jeviště a diváci ho zaregistrují.*
 [While man-NOM has-3SG such charisma-ACC, has-3SG won, because steps-in-3SG on stage-LOC and spectators-NOM him-ACC register-3SG.]
 ‘When a man has some charisma, he’s already won, because he walks onto the stage and the audience immediately takes note of him.’

- (72) Cz *Myslím si, že každému musí být jasné,*
 [Think-1SG self-DAT, that each-DAT must-3SG be-INF clear-NOM,
že teď tato země má ale
 that now this country-NOM has-3SG but-EMPH
nakročeno k pravicové koalici,
 stepped-forward-NOM towards right(-wing) coalition-DAT,
to je zřejmé.
 that-NOM is-3SG obvious-NOM.]

'I think it must be clear to everyone that the country has now moved towards a right-wing coalition, that's obvious.'

- (73) Cz *Mám to uděláno.*
 [Have-1SG that-ACC done.]
 'I've done that.'

- (74) Cz *Dneska nemají otevřeno.*
 [Today not-have-3PL opened.]
 'They aren't open today.'

- (75) Cz *Poněvadž filmování, to mám za krkem*
 [Since filming-NOM, this-ACC have-1SG beyond neck-INST
zapsané, je obrovská práce.
 written-down-ACC, is-3SG huge work-NOM.]

'Since filmmaking, which I have had some experience in, is huge work.'

In (71)–(73), the neuter short form participle expresses a perfect meaning. In these sentences, the neuter is used because there is no expressed accusative object for the participle to modify beyond the demonstrative pronoun Cz *to* 'that' in (73). The present effect is strongly felt in (74), where the question of ambiguity arises once again. Do we have a straightforward application of the new perfect 'They haven't opened today (and will not be open)' or is it closer to the better English translation 'They aren't open today'? The sentence in (75) has a long-form neuter with neuter Cz *to* 'that'.

The possibility of a single form of the participle which does not show agreement with the object of the participle or verb 'have' is addressed by Lempp (1986: 124). He says that the neuter forms without agreement are newer and are being generalized in a new tense construction in Polish. The Czech examples here all show agreement with the exception of the neuters discussed in the previous paragraph. Despite any tendencies in Polish towards grammaticalization of the neuter participle without agreement as in (76), examples with agreement are still possible as in (77).

- (76) P *Mam już posłodzone (herbatę/kawę).*
 [Have-1SG already sweetened (tea/coffee-ACC).]
 ‘I’ve already sweetened (my tea/coffee).’ (Rothstein 1993: 715)
- (77) P *Mam cztery strony tekstu zapisanego.*
 [Have-1SG four pages-ACC text-GEN written-GEN.]
 ‘I have four pages of text written.’ (Lempp 1986: 124)

It is possible that a single, neuter form could be generalized in Czech as well as Polish, but the constructions in both languages are still in a state of flux. Only time will tell whether or not these perfect constructions will be incorporated into the literary languages of Czech and Polish and will continue the path of grammaticalization. However, referring to both the Polish and Czech resultative constructions, Wiemer and Gieger (2005: 95)⁸ note that the construction has shown resistance to grammaticalization as a perfect despite hundreds of years of attestations and that the construction has developed even less towards a perfect construction in Polish than in Czech and Slovak (2005: 75). Whatever happens with this new perfect construction in these languages, these examples of ‘have’ + past passive participle reveal another aspect of the productivity of HAVE constructions in Czech and Polish.

The dialectal new perfect in Russian

The development of a dialectal new perfect in Russian is even more interesting from the perspective of understanding HAVE as a concept and not merely as a verb. That Czech and Polish have developed a perfect construction is not surprising, given that these languages may have been influenced by such languages as French and German, which utilize ‘have’ perfects. However, the dialectal development in Russian highlights the semantic motives for deploying ‘have’ in a perfect construction, in addition to the verbal structure of ‘have’ and its similarities to ‘be’. This development also supports Heine’s (1997) notion that HAVE constructions have made a significant semantic shift from the semantics of their source inputs, becoming fully grammaticalized constructions understood to mean HAVE. Could a HAVE perfect arise in Russian and become widespread? The examples in dialectal Russian, also occasionally found in Russian literature and colloquial Russian, would seem to indicate that such a construction may indeed become established given sufficient time and the right conditions for the construction to develop and

8. “Wie in Polnischen, so ist auch hier vor allem bemerkenswert, dass die wichtigsten formalen, syntaktischen und semantischen Typen seit vielen Jahrhunderten existieren, ohne dass ein Übergang zum Perfekt stattgefunden hätte.” (Wiemer & Gieger 2005: 95)

spread (for a recent detailed account of these resultative constructions in both standard Russian and dialectal Russian in the fuller Baltic and Slavic linguistic contexts, see Wiemer & Gieger 2005).

The grammaticalization of 'have' as a perfect auxiliary in Czech and Polish has its origins in colloquial speech. In addition to colloquial speech, another domain which is vital in the early stages of grammaticalization is context. The *R u + X-GEN* 'by X' construction has many different functions and meanings. In some of these contexts, this prepositional phrase expresses an experiencer construction. When combined with various verbal forms, these expressions take on the traits of possessor of a passive event or even the traits of a perfect, the same characteristics of the Czech and Polish uses of 'have' + past passive participle. The Russian dialectal HAVE perfect is located "in the west around Novgorod and extending throughout the far north" (Timberlake 1993: 884). This perfect expression most often consists of *R u + agent-GEN + the past passive participle*⁹ and the patient in various case forms. The participle is sometimes found in an invariant masculine nominative/accusative singular form, often in an invariant neuter nominative/accusative (78), and sometimes shows nominative/accusative agreement with the patient (79) (Allen 1978: 16–18). Another form of the dialectal perfect has the agent with either nominative (81) or *R u + GEN* (80) marking with the invariant *-(v)ši* verbal adverb (Allen 1978: 22). The patient in either construction may show nominative (80?, 81?), accusative (78, 79?, 80?, 81), or genitive case marking depending on the context and the form of the construction.

- (78) *R U volkov edeno korovu.*
 dial [At wolves-GEN eaten-NOM/ACC cow-ACC.]
 'The wolves have eaten the cow.' (Allen 1978: 20)
- (79) *R U menja vse dela sdelayu.*
 dial [At me-GEN all deeds-NOM/ACC done-NOM/ACC]
 'I have done all the deeds.' (Allen 1978: 16)
- (80) *R Xleb u vas xorošo namaslivši.*
 [Bread-NOM/ACC at you-GEN well spread.]
 'You have buttered the bread well.' (Allen 1978: 23)
- (81) *R Oni vojnu perebyvši.*
 dial [They-NOM war-ACC been-through.]
 'They have been through the war.' (Allen 1978: 23)

9. Strictly speaking, past passive participles are only formed from perfective verbs in standard Russian, but in this dialectal construction, imperfective verbs also appear in the form of the *-n-* or *-t-* past passive participles.

These constructions, though formally varied, are well attested in Russian dialects. However, might it be possible for other uses of *R u + GEN* to contribute to further developments of this perfect construction and perhaps lead to the establishment of such a perfect construction in the standard language? Compare the use of *R u + GEN* in the following sentences:

- (82) *R U menja srazu že vznikli somnenija, no*
 [At me-GEN immediately EMPH appeared-PL doubts-NOM, but
ja promolčal.
 I-NOM kept-silent-MSG.]
 'I immediately had doubts, but I kept quiet.'
- (83) *R Vse uže xorošo! U menja*
 [Everything-NOM already good-NOM! At me-GEN
otkrylos' vtoroe dyxanie! Poexalil
 discovered-NSG-R/P second wind-NOM! Went-PL!]
 'Everything's fine now! I got my second wind! Let's go!'
- (84) *R I tut Lida vspomnila, čto u sosedej*
 [And here Lida-NOM remembered-FSG, that at neighbors-GEN
ostanovilsja rodstvennik iz Porxova.
 stayed-FSG-R/P relative-NOM from Porxov-GEN.]
 'And then Lida remembered that her neighbors had a relative from Porxov staying with them.'

The *R u + GEN* uses in (82)–(84) have a highly locational flavor, but they also establish relationships between an experiencer marked by *R u + GEN* and a verbal action (**EXPERIENCER**). Possessive notions are also present: the possessor has the doubts which have appeared before him, the possessor obtains a second wind, and the relative is staying at the possessor's house. None of these three examples is an example of HAVE as discussed in Chapter 4 and all involve the association of a past verbal action with a possessor, much as perfect constructions do.

- (85) *R U tebja syn rodilsja.*
 [At you-GEN son-NOM was-born-MSG-R/P.]
 'Your son was born.'/'You have a baby boy.'
- (86) *R Sigarety u nego končilis'.*
 [Cigarettes-NOM at him-GEN ended-PL-R/P.]
 'He had run out of cigarettes.'
- (87) *R U menja vse počki otbity!*
 [At me-GEN all kidneys-NOM beaten-up-NOM!]
 'All of my kidneys are beaten up!'

In examples (85)–(87), the R *u* + GEN phrase does not mark the agent, but rather a possessor of a passive event: a son was born, the cigarettes ran out, and the kidneys were beaten up. A past action is featured in (85) and (86), but (87) uses a past passive participle with NOM/ACC agreement with the object, one of the possible forms of the dialectal Russian perfect construction. The invariant neuter form of the perfect is found in the following two examples:

- (88) R *Ja na rabote... U menja doma prigotovleno... Ladno.*
 [I-NOM at work-LOC... At me-GEN at-home cooked... Okay.]
 'I'm at work...I've got things cooked at home... Okay.'
- (89) R *Vot u menja zapisano vosemnadcat' raz.*
 [There at me-GEN written-down eighteen-NOM times-GEN.]
 'See, I've written it down eighteen times.'

The examples in (88) and (89) are perfects parallel to the dialectal perfects above. These two examples were taken from a contemporary writer, Dovlatov, and from the early 20th century author Bulgakov. The presence of perfect constructions in literary contexts reinforces the notion that these perfects are used in the colloquial language and may bolster the acceptance of the construction in the literary language. If this new perfect construction with R *u* + GEN becomes firmly entrenched in the Russian language, its presence may lead future generations of speakers to new interpretations of subject marking in Russian.

The grammaticalization of a construction into a HAVE expression may cause the reorganization of various systems and levels of a language, but the further grammaticalization of HAVE expressions into new tense constructions can revolutionize the entire structure of a language (see Heine 1997: 110ff.):

With the grammaticalization of concrete source schemas to more abstract expressions of possession, a development is triggered that leads to the rise of a number of morphosyntactic peculiarities in the languages concerned. First, they concern the emergence of new morphosyntactic structures that may have no parallel elsewhere in the language, that is, that cannot be accounted for with reference to rules commonly applicable in that language. Second, these peculiarities may also be typologically significant in that the new morphosyntactic structures cannot be reconciled with typological regularities across languages. (Heine 1997: 110)

The Polish and Czech new perfect constructions add to the polysemies of 'have' and to the tense and aspect system, but do not drastically revise the way the languages function as a whole. However, the development of a perfect construction from the R *u* + GEN HAVE construction has the potential to motivate major reorganization. If we acknowledge the R *u* + GEN perfect construction, we will have to redefine the category of subject in that language. Timberlake (1993: 884–5)

mentions the dialectal perfect constructions in Russian, yet does not call this construction a perfect. He refers to the construction in the following examples as an “impersonal passive”.

- (90) R *U menja telenka zarezano.*
 dial [At me-GEN calf-ACC slaughtered.]
 ‘I have slaughtered the calf.’ (Timberlake 1993: 884)
- (91) R *U nego zalezeno na elku.*
 dial [At him-GEN climbed on fir-tree-ACC.]
 ‘He climbed the fir tree.’ (Timberlake 1993: 884)

Timberlake translates the example in (90) literally with the phrase ‘by me there was slaughtered a calf’ and for (91) offers ‘by him it was climbed on the fir tree’ (Timberlake 1993: 884). Yet, when addressing the alternate type of dialectal construction, Timberlake does not hesitate to use the term perfect or to translate the construction with an English perfect in (92) as ‘the cat had not woken up’.

- (92) R *Kot s obeda do večera ne byl*
 dial [Cat-NOM from lunch-GEN to evening-GEN not was-MSG
i prosnuvši.
 and woken-up.]
 ‘The cat had not woken up from lunch until evening.’
 (Timberlake 1993: 885)

Perhaps what we have here is a reluctance to admit that the former is a perfect construction because it introduces ergative marking into Russian. It is easier to recognize the perfect development in Polish and Czech, and even the alternate perfect construction in (92), simply because they do not revise the whole system of the language. Allen (1978) reports that R *u* + GEN + neuter past passive participle is most common in transitive perfect uses. For intransitive perfect uses, R *u* + GEN and the nominative are found for agent marking, but the nominative agent is more common here. This division, if it bears out, does begin to suggest a rudimentary ergative marking system, at least within Russian dialects¹⁰ (Allen 1978: 59).

The introduction of an ergative system, if only in a well-established perfect tense, might have significant further effects on the structure of the Russian language. As mentioned in Chapter 4, *Rimet* ‘have’ shows no signs of becoming the dominant HAVE expression in Russian. The well-established R *u* + GEN + (*est*) +

10. Hindi-Urdu has a similar ergative marking system in the perfect with agent + the marker HU -*ne* for most transitive verbs with possible agreement between the perfect form of the verb and the object and an unmarked agent otherwise with non-transitive verbs.

NOM HAVE construction already has introduced an unusual manner (from the perspective of other types of sentences in Russian) of marking the subject in HAVE expressions. Perfect uses of R *u* + GEN would further enhance the profile of this construction. The Slavic perfects in Czech and Polish do not pose the problem of auxiliary choice faced by speakers of German or French, for instance. The potential for choice between the R *u* + GEN agent and the nominative agent may be likened to such a choice. Garrett (1996) states that the auxiliary choice in certain European languages (e.g., Dutch and Italian) is based on a distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs. Transitive verbs behave in one way, but intransitive verbs show a split. "Typically the subjects of verbs in one class are more 'agentive' and pattern in some way with the subjects of transitive verbs [unergatives with 'have' auxiliaries], while the subjects of verbs in the other class are less 'agentive' and pattern in some way with the objects of transitive verbs [unaccusatives with 'be' auxiliaries]" (Garrett 1996: 102). Unaccusative uses may show a change of state or position or be somehow goal oriented, whereas the unergative uses tend not to be goal oriented. Further research could reveal whether or not the dialectal Russian perfects are converging on such a system.

Allen (1978: 52–3) states that foreign influences could have spurred the development of the Slavic perfects, but all the various perfect constructions in Slavic (of which only the Macedonian one is sanctioned by the literary language) are expressed in similar ways as HAVE or BE plus some form of the past passive participle or, in the case of dialectal Russian, the verbal adverb. It is not necessary to suggest foreign influences here, since HAVE constructions are perfectly capable of taking on these relationships and expressing a perfect meaning, the present result of a past action, simply because of their associations with possession. The motivation for expressions of HAVE to establish POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP functions with past verbal events just as they can establish these functions with abstract and concrete possessions is present in the semantics of HAVE. Cross-linguistically, there appears to be a natural development for HAVE constructions to extend from possession into various markers of tense, yet such developments remain language-specific and not all possessive constructions necessarily evolve into markers of tense or other grammatical functions. It is also relevant to note that Polish and Czech are developing a New Perfect amidst the strong influence of German, whereas Russian generally does not develop in this direction in the absence of German contact. The domain of POSSESSION is such an important domain for human beings, as can be seen by the involvement of the polysemies of HAVE constructions in a multitude of common, everyday interactions between human beings and the world around them. All throughout these expressions of BE and HAVE, we are dealing with concepts that not only affect our physical interaction with and manipulation of

objects in the world, but must also be crucial to how we understand, categorize, and deal with the world around us and how we express in language our understanding of that world.

5.1.2.4 *The renarrated mood in Bulgarian*

The use of the term evidential to describe the reported speech construction in Bulgarian is credited to Jakobson (1957/1971), in which he puts forth evidentiality as “the verbal category which takes into account three events – a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event.” (1957/1971: 135) Evidentials deal with the linguistic encoding of the source of information. The Bulgarian renarrated mood is “used to indicate that the speaker has learned of the information from some other source” (Friedman 1982: 150). This Bulgarian construction does more than express reported speech and the polysemy of the construction is reflected in its many names: evidential, reported speech, renarrated mood, admirative, and dubitative. However, grammaticalized evidentials of various kinds are found throughout the Balkan speech territory in a variety of genetically unrelated languages. Evidentiality can be marked in any language, most often by lexical means such as Engl *I heard that...* and Engl *allegedly* (Friedman 1982: 149). Grammaticalized particles also perform this function in other Slavic languages as in R *de* < OR *děe*[tɐ], R *deskat* < OR *děetɐ* ‘put’ + OR *sказати* ‘say’, R *mol* < R *molvil* ‘said’, or Cz *prý* < Cz *praví* ‘they say’ (Friedman 1982: 149; Vasmer 1986). However, in the Balkan languages, evidentiality is frequently part of the morphology of the language as in the Bulgarian and Macedonian verb paradigms and the Turkish suffix *-miş* (Friedman 1998). In Bulgarian, the renarrated mood is expressed by the L-participle (aorist or imperfect) combined with various auxiliary forms. For each tense in Bulgarian there is a corresponding renarrated form, but only five renarrated conjugations serve for the nine tenses of Bulgarian in Table 5-6 (only 1st person and 3rd person forms are listed).

Although grammars of Bulgarian insist on the existence of a separate paradigm for the Bulgarian evidential construction (for instance, see Stojanov 1980: 409–415), Friedman’s research has shown that the construction of a largely homonymous evidential paradigm, alongside that of the past indefinite, is somewhat artificial. Furthermore, the primary criterion for the justification of the separate paradigm, namely, the presence or absence of the 3rd person ‘be’ auxiliary, does not prove to be an adequate marker of the Bulgarian evidential construction. The general rule is that the 3rd person ‘be’ auxiliary is present in the Bulgarian past indefinite construction, but not in the renarrated mood of the aorist. What results is a paradigm in which the indicative past indefinite is identical to the renarrated aorist forms except in the 3rd person singular and plural.

Table 5-6. Bulgarian Tense System in Relation to the Renarrated Mood (Evidential)
(based on Alexander 1995)

Tense	Indicative Mood	Renarrated Mood
present	1sg <i>četa</i> 'I read, am reading' 3sg <i>čete</i> 'He reads, is reading'	1sg <i>săm četjal</i> 'I read, am reading, was reading' + EVID meaning
imperfect	1sg <i>četjax</i> 'I was reading' 3sg <i>četeše</i> 'He was reading'	3sg <i>četjal</i> 'He reads, is reading, was reading' + EVID meaning
aorist	1sg <i>četoх</i> 'I read' 3sg <i>čete</i> 'He read'	1sg <i>săm čel</i> 'I read' + EVID meaning 3sg <i>čel</i> 'He read' + EVID meaning
future	1sg <i>šte četa</i> 'I will read' 3sg <i>šte čete</i> 'He will read'	1sg <i>štjal săm da četa</i> 'I will read, was to read' + EVID meaning
future-in-the-past	1sg <i>štjax da četa</i> 'I was to read' 3sg <i>šteše da čete</i> 'He was to read'	3sg <i>štjal da čete</i> 'He will read, was to read' + EVID meaning
past indefinite (present perfect)	1sg <i>săm čel</i> 'I have read' 3sg <i>e čel</i> 'He has read'	1sg <i>bil săm čel</i> 'I have/had read' + EVID meanings
past anterior (past perfect)	1sg <i>bjax čel</i> 'I had read' 3sg <i>beše čel</i> 'He had read'	3sg <i>bil čel</i> 'He has/had read' + EVID meanings
future anterior (future perfect)	1sg <i>šte săm čel</i> 'I will have read' 3sg <i>šte e čel</i> 'He will have read'	1sg <i>štjal săm da săm čel</i> 'I will have read, was to have read' + EVID meanings
future anterior in-the-past (past future perfect)	1sg <i>štjax da săm čel</i> 'I was to have read' 3sg <i>šteše da e čel</i> 'He was to have read'	3sg <i>štjal da e čel</i> 'He will have read, was to have read' + EVID meanings

The important distinction is between the definite past and the corresponding evidential form as in (93), not between the nearly identical indefinite past forms and the evidential.

- (93) B *Toj napisa pismo.*
 [He wrote-AOR letter-DEF.]
 'He wrote the letter.' (Scatton 1993: 214)
- B *Toj napisal pismo.*
 [He written-MSG letter-DEF.]
 '(It is said that) he wrote the letter.' (Scatton 1993: 214)
- (94) B *Do kraja na prestopa mi v Skandinavija se zapoznax*
 [To end-DEF of stay-DEF me in Scandinavia R/P met-AOR-1SG
i s edin naš emigrant. Njakoga bil dobār
 even with one our emigrant. Formerly been-MSG good
muzikant i neštasten čovek, no sled kato emigriral
 musician and unhappy person, but after when emigrated-MSG
predi 10 godini životāt mu totalno se promenil i
 ago 10 years life-DEF him totally R/P changed-MSG and
sega veče bil loš šofjor na bokludžijska kola i
 now already been-MSG bad driver of garbage truck and
šastliv čovek. Pone toj tvārdeše taka.
 happy person. At-any-rate he was-claiming-IMPF so.]
 'Towards the end of my stay in Scandinavia, I even met with one of our
 emigrants. Formerly, he says, he had been a good musician and an
 unhappy man, but after he emigrated 10 years ago, his life totally changed
 and now he's a bad garbage truck driver and a happy man. At any rate,
 that's what he was claiming.'

The primary use of the renarrated mood is to express reported speech. In (93), the aorist is used for the past action of the speaker, but the renarrated mood is used for the reported past actions of a third person. The longer passage in (94) exhibits the interchange of tense and mood in narration. The speaker uses the aorist B *zapoznax se* 'met' for a past action that happened to the speaker. Then the speaker recounts the events of another person's life which the speaker heard from that person (B *bil* 'been', *emigriral* 'emigrated', *promenil se* 'changed'). For these statements, the auxiliariless renarrated mood is used. Finally, the imperfect, B *tvārdeše* 'was claiming', is used for the actions of the other person, witnessed by the speaker. These sentences in (94) exhibit what may be called typical uses of the Bulgarian renarrated mood. The contrast between definite past and the renarrated forms is easy to see, but the difference between the presence and absence of the auxiliary, whether in renarrated use or in past indefinite use is subtle and not completely clear. It is not difficult to find counter-examples to the rule.

- (95) B *Ivan kaza, če si e kupil*
 [Ivan said-AOR, that self is-AUX-3SG bought-MSG
nova stixozbirka.
 new poetry-collection.]
 'Ivan said that he bought himself a new collection of poetry.'
 (Friedman 1982: 156)
- (96) B – *Baj Ganjo se vārnal ot Evropal... az go*
 ['Baj Ganjo R/P returned-MSG from Europe!... I him
vidjax, govorix s nego...
 saw-AOR, spoke-AOR with him..."]
 "Baj Ganjo has returned from Europe!... I saw him, I spoke with him..."
 (Friedman 1982: 153)
- (97) B *Osven tova e bil i knižovnik,*
 [Furthermore that is-AUX-3SG been-MSG and man-of-letters,
avtor na zabeležitelni literaturni i bogoslovski sačinjenja
 author of remarkable literary and theological writings
podpisani s imenata Petār Černorizec, Petār Inok, Petār
 signed with names-DEF Peter Monk, Peter Monk, Peter
Njakoj si, Petār Nedostojnija i proče. Negovoto
 Some self, Peter Unworthy-DEF and so-on. His-DEF
bogougodno delo e oceneno visoko ot cārkvata,
 pious work is-AUX-3SG valued highly by church-DEF,
kojato go e kanonizirala za svetec.
 which him is-AUX-3SG canonized for saint.]
 'Furthermore, he was both a man of letters, the author of remarkable literary and theological writings signed with the names Peter the Friar, Peter the Monk, A Certain Peter, Peter the Unworthy, and so forth. His pious work is valued highly by the church, which has canonized him as a saint.'

In (95), we have the L-participle with the auxiliary in reported speech. Native grammarians maintain that the auxiliary may be present when there is a specific verb of reporting used, here B *kaza* 'say' (Friedman 1982: 157). On the other hand, in (96) we have a witnessed account which does not employ an auxiliary. Are these instances of the past indefinite or of the renarrated aorist? Such examples show that auxiliary use is not strictly a function of evidentiality. Another questionable auxiliary use is provided by (97). Alexander (1995: 383) reports that the renarrated mood is frequently used in historical prose, "especially about events which happened more than one generation prior to the time of writing." However, here we have the presence of the 3rd person auxiliary with events that

cannot have been witnessed by the author, but can only be deduced from the historical record and evidence, i.e., that Peter I was a man of letters and that the church has canonized him.

There are other connections between *BE* and *HAVE* and the Bulgarian evidential. These two verbs can appear in the past indefinite with a present meaning, albeit it one with ties in the past (Friedman 1986: 182–4). In this use, the Bulgarian evidential is a type of admirative construction, “a mood expressing surprise, it is also used to express irony, doubt, reportedness, etc.”, reflecting “the speaker’s present or past nonconfirmation of the truth of the statement” (Friedman 1986: 180).

- (98) B *Ama če si bil prost čovek.*
 [But that are-AUX-2SG been-MSG simple person.]
 ‘My, what a simpleton you are!’ (Friedman 1986: 183)
- (99) B *Tuj ne bilo zlato! Nikakvo zlato ne e.*
 [That not been-MSG gold! No-kind-of gold not is-3SG.]
 ‘Why it’s not gold! It’s not gold at all.’ (Friedman 1982: 152)

Friedman maintains that this present interpretation of the evidential only occurs with the verbs ‘be’ and ‘have’ where they can “refer to a pre-existent but unsuspected state discovered at the moment of speech” (1986: 184). If the Bulgarian evidential were only about reported speech and vouching for the accuracy of a statement, we might not expect to find such a construction in the 1st and 2nd persons since those present in the conversation would be able to vouch for each other’s statements. The expression in (98) demonstrates one of these non-evidential uses.

The Bulgarian renarrated mood also uses the auxiliary form ‘be’ *B bil* as a distancing auxiliary with any of the renarrated forms (Alexander 1995: 397).

- (100) B *Pomniš li Ivan? Toj pišeše naj-dobre*
 [You-remember QUBST Ivan? He would-write-IMPF best
v klasa.
 in class-DEF.]
 ‘Do you remember Ivan? He’s the one who was best in spelling.’
 (Alexander 1995: 397)
- (101) B *Pomniš li Ivan? Toj pišel naj-dobre*
 [You-remember QUBST Ivan? He wrote-EVID-MSG best
v klasa.
 in class-DEF.]
 ‘Remind me who Ivan was – the one they say was best in spelling.’
 (Alexander 1995: 397)

- (102) B *Pomniš li Ivan? Toj bil pišel*
 [You-remember QUEST Ivan? He been-MSG wrote-EVID-MSG
naj-dobre v klasa!
 best in class-DEF!]

'You remember Ivan, don't you – the one who was "best" in spelling?!

(Alexander 1995: 397)

The imperfect tense is used in (100) as a simple indicative statement, but in (101), the renarrated form is used to add an element of uncertainty or reported information. In (102), this is taken one step further with the addition of B *bil* 'been', resulting in an expression of sarcasm (Alexander 1995: 397). Friedman (1986) refers to this use of B *bil* 'been' with the imperfect L-participle as an imperfect pluperfect (past perfect) comparable to the Bulgarian past perfect with the aorist L-participle. That the L-participle of 'be' can be used to provide distance is not unusual as seen in the development of pluperfects in the history of Czech, Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarusian and in the current use of Cz *bývat* 'be (frequentative)' to provide distance in the conditional (cf. 5.1.1.4). It is only in the pluperfect forms (aorist and imperfect) of the Bulgarian renarrated mood that the absence of the 3rd person 'be' auxiliary invariably indicates evidentiality. The form with the auxiliary is neutral, but the absence of the auxiliary is limited "to reports, deductions, statements of doubt and disbelief" and so on (Friedman 1986: 178–9).

Outside of the pluperfect renarrated forms, Friedman associates the presence and absence of the 3rd person auxiliary 'be' with the general loss of the third person auxiliary in Slavic (cf. the loss of 3rd person auxiliary in the Czech and Polish past tense construction and the loss of 3rd person auxiliary before the other two persons in the Russian past tense). We can set aside the unresolved question of the status of the 'be' auxiliary in the Bulgarian renarrated mood, and focus on the use of the concept BE in this evidential construction. At the time when the evidential began to develop in Bulgarian, the semantics of the verb 'be' were sufficient to serve as an evidential auxiliary. Similar to the developments in Polish of the form P *jest* 'is' into an emphatic marker and the uses of R *est'* '(there) is' to mark emphatic presence, the Bulgarian form B *e* 'is' has taken on roles of enforcing the reality of the statements it affirms in the Bulgarian indicative, as opposed to the distance and nonconfirmative nuances of the renarrated mood. Friedman remarks that the Balkan Slavic evidential constructions depend on "the speaker's attitude toward the reliability of the truth-value of the information, and not the evidence on which it is based" (1986: 185). The concept BE is well suited for affirming the truth-value of statements (COPULA - EXISTENCE - TRUTH), and thus was able to take on this new role in the development of an evidential construction.

5.2 Grammaticalization of Modal Expressions

In addition to tense auxiliary functions, the verb 'be' is often used in the Slavic languages as an auxiliary with various modal adjectives and adverbs. OCS and presumably Common Slavic were limited to only a few verbal modals such as OCS *xotěti* 'want', OCS *mošti* 'be able, can', OCS *trěbovati* 'need', and OCS *uměti* 'know, know how to' with other modal notions expressed through various adjectives and adverbs. In the subsequent development of the Slavic languages, new modal verbs and expressions have arisen. In Polish and Czech, new modals have developed from the verb 'have'. Without getting into a lengthy discussion of what modality is, I will limit the discussion to the expression of the chief modal concepts in the languages discussed here: NEED (NECESSITY), MUST (COMPULSION), OUGHT/SHOULD (DUTY), WANT (VOLITION), KNOW HOW (FACULTY), CAN/ABLE (ABILITY), MAY (NOT)/(NOT) ALLOWED (PERMISSION), and POSSIBLE/IMPOSSIBLE (POSSIBILITY). Also important is the distinction discussed by Sweetser (1990) between "root" and "epistemic" modal functions. Root refers to "those meanings which denote real-world obligation, permission, or ability" and epistemic refers to "those which denote necessity, probability, or possibility in reasoning" (1990: 49). This modal distinction is exhibited in the following English examples:

(103) Engl *John must be home by ten; Mother won't let him stay out any later.*
(Sweetser 1990: 49)

(104) Engl *John must be home already; I see his coat.* (Sweetser 1990: 49)

The meaning of Engl *must* in (103) can be understood as a real-world relationship of force or compulsion, whereas the meaning of Engl *must* in (104) rests on a metaphorical extension of real-world forces and barriers to the mentally compulsive forces of logic and reasoning (Talmy 1988b, Sweetser 1990: 51ff.). The root/epistemic distinction will be important below in the discussion of the grammaticalization of HAVE modals in Czech and Polish.

Whereas the modal verbs of German form a tidy, coherent category as do the English modals, the majority of which may be defined as "tenseless auxiliaries" with a single form (Celce-Murcia 1983: 81); there is less systematic consistency among the modals of the Slavic languages, as revealed in Table 5-7.

The class of modal constructions identified for Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian includes verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and invariant particles.¹¹ These

11. Most of the English modal verbs and many of the Russian modal concepts have a tendency to be reduced to a single form. However, some modal verbs in Russian, such as R *mož'*

Table 5-7. Chief Modal Expressions in Four Slavic Languages (verbal modals in bold)

Modal Concepts	Russian	Czech	Polish	Bulgarian
NEED (NECESSITY)	<i>nuždat'sja,</i> <i>nužen</i> <i>nado/nužno</i>	<i>potřebovat</i> <i>třeba</i>	<i>potrzebować</i> <i>trzeba,</i> <i>potrzeba</i>	<i>trjabvam,</i> <i>nuždaja se</i> <i>nužda</i>
MUST (COMPULSION)	<i>prihoditsja/</i> <i>pričetsja</i> <i>nado/nužno</i>	<i>muset/</i> <i>(musit)</i>	<i>musieć</i>	<i>trjabva da</i>
OUGHT/ SHOULD (DUTY)	<i>dolžen</i>	<i>mit,</i> <i>měl bych</i>	<i>mieć,</i> <i>powinien,</i> <i>powinno się</i>	<i>trjabva da</i>
WANT (VOLITION)	<i>xotet'/zaxotet'</i>	<i>chtít</i>	<i>chcieć</i>	<i>iskam</i>
KNOW HOW (FACULTY)	<i>umet'/sumet'</i>	<i>umět</i>	<i>umieć</i>	<i>umeja</i>
CAN/ABLE (ABILITY)	<i>moč'/smoč'</i>	<i>mocť (moci)</i>	<i>móc</i>	<i>moga</i>
MAY/ALLOWED NOT ALLOWED (PERMISSION)	<i>možno</i> <i>nel'zja</i>	<i>smět, možná</i> <i>nesmět</i>	<i>možna, wolno</i> <i>nie można, nie</i> <i>wolno</i>	<i>može</i> <i>ne može</i>
POSSIBLE	<i>vozmožno</i>	<i>možné, lze</i>	<i>možna, możliwe</i>	<i>vážmožno</i>
IMPOSSIBLE (POSSIBILITY)	<i>nevozmožno</i>	<i>nemožné,</i> <i>nelze</i>	<i>nie można,</i> <i>niemożliwe</i>	<i>nevážmožno</i>

various constructions are covered in Section 5.2.1 in the order of Table 5-7. The items in bold in Table 5-7 represent modal verbs and the non-bold examples represent other modal constructions that make use of BE and HAVE auxiliaries. Auxiliary usage of BE is here motivated by the development of various modal constructions from adjectives or adverbs. The resulting use of BE is parallel to other BE: COPULA and BE: IMPERSONAL uses. The use of a HAVE auxiliary with B *nužda* 'need' is likely motivated by the typical phrasal uses of HAVE verbs (see 4.4). The development of modal constructions from HAVE discussed in 5.2.2 is motivated by the notions of responsibility and obligation entailed in possession and ownership.

The verbal modals in Russian, Czech, and Polish combine with the infinitive of another verb or with a noun phrase. In Bulgarian, verbal modals combine with

smoč' 'can, be able to', have full conjugations in the past, present, and future and show imperfective/perfective aspect distinctions.

the conjunction B *da* plus a form of another verb that agrees in number and person with the modal verb. Isačenko (1974) makes the claim that BE-languages do not have as many verbal modals as HAVE-languages. He asks, "Could it be sheer coincidence that those Slavic languages which have become H[AVE]-languages since the Middle Ages (Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian) and those which are on the verge of becoming H[AVE]-languages (Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian) have some modal verbs which are unknown to Russian, a B[E]-language?" (Isačenko 1974: 75). Russian does have only a few commonly used verbal modals for the concepts KNOW HOW (FACULTY) R *umet'/sumet'*, WANT (VOLITION) R *xotet'*, and CAN/ABLE (ABILITY) R *moč'/smoč'*. Of the four Slavic languages considered here, Russian does have fewer modal verbs than the other three languages, particularly if we consider the fact that R *nuždat'sja* 'need' is not as frequent as the adjectival forms of R *nužen* 'need' and R *prixoditsja/pridetsja* 'need to' is not as common as the adverbial forms R *nado/nužno* 'need to'. However, Polish, a transitional HAVE-language in Isačenko's classification, also has quite a number of non-verbal modals when compared to the non-transitional HAVE-languages, Czech and Bulgarian. There may indeed be a correlation between the presence of verbs 'be' and 'have' and the multiplication of verbal modals in language, but much more extensive cross-linguistic study would be necessary to confirm Isačenko's position. It is clear, however, that modal concepts can behave and develop in ways that are semantically similar to BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors (see Chapter 2).

Slavic languages have borrowed verbal modals where the Slavic system was lacking as in Cz *muset* 'must' and P *musić* 'must' from Gm *müssen* 'must' and have also created modal verbs from native roots and lexemes, e.g., the use of Cz *smět* as a verb meaning 'may' developed from an earlier meaning 'dare'. I consider these modal notions individually and illustrate the role that 'be' and 'have' play as tense auxiliaries with many of them in 5.2.1. In 5.2.2, I examine how the verb 'have' has developed into a modal verb meaning 'ought to, should' or 'have to' in Czech and Polish.

5.2.1 Chief modal notions in Slavic

The chief modal notions in Slavic are discussed individually in this section. However, there is great overlap between the expressions of NECESSITY, COMPULSION, and DUTY. Many modal constructions cover a number of the modal notions, just as single constructions for BE and HAVE cover a diverse array of semantic concepts. The following paragraphs provide an overview of modality in these four languages. In addition to pointing out which modal constructions are expressed by verbs and which are expressed by adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and particles

with the help of a 'be' or 'have' auxiliary, this discussion of modality in Slavic illustrates the system in which modal expressions with the verb 'have' have developed (5.2.2).

NEED (NECESSITY)

The LCS noun **trěba* 'sacrifice' gave rise to the Serbo-Croatian modal construction SC *treba mi knjiga* [need me-DAT book-NOM] 'I need a book' which has since taken on verbal endings in the construction SC *ja trebam knjigu* [I-NOM need-1SG book-ACC] 'I need a book' (Isaćenko 1974: 75). A similar development has yielded the mostly impersonal uses of B *trjabvam* 'need' and B *trjabva da* 'need to' as exhibited in (105) and (106) below.

- (105) B *Vlast ne mi trjabva, a bogatstvo...*
 [Power not me need-3SG, but wealth...]
 'I don't need power, but wealth...'
- (106) B *"Može bi trjabva da se pregledaš na lekar,"*
 ["May be necessary-3SG that R/P look-over-2SG of doctor,"
kaza tja.
 said-AOR-3SG she.]
 "Maybe you need to get looked at by a doctor," she said.'

In Bulgarian, the forms of 'need' are conjugated to agree with the thing needed, with some experiencer, usually a personal pronoun in an indirect form or the personal pronoun with a prepositional phrase B *na* + noun. In (105), the experiencer is marked by the 1SG indirect object form of the personal pronoun and the form of B *trjabva* 'need' agrees in number with B *vlast* 'power'. In the Bulgarian 'need to' expression used with verbs, B *trjabva da* does conjugate for tense, but only manifests the 3SG form of the modal verb. However, the verb which follows in the B *da* clause does show agreement with the person who needs to perform the action. In (106), the person who needs a medical check-up is not indicated in the first clause with B *trjabva da*, but is marked for 2SG in the B *da* clause by the ending on the verb B *pregledaš se* 'look over' + R/P. This same LCS root yields the modal verbs Cz *potřebovat* and P *potrzebować* 'need, need to' used with nouns or infinitives as in (107) and (108).

- (107) Cz *Přijdu domů a už nepotřebuju*
 [Come-1SG home and already not-need-1SG
hrát divadlo.
 play-INF theater-ACC.]
 'I come home and I don't need to play theater anymore.'

- (108) P *Spółeczeństwo potrzebuje bowiem artystów, podobnie jak*
 [Society-NOM needs-3SG for artists-ACC, similarly as
potrzebuje naukowców i techników, pracowników
 needs-3SG scholars and technicians-ACC, workers
fizycznych i umysłowych, świadków wiary,
 physical-ACC and intellectual-ACC, witnesses-ACC faith-GEN,
nauczycieli, ojców i matek, którzy
 teachers-ACC, fathers-ACC and mothers-ACC, who-NOM
zabezpieczają wzrastanie człowieka i rozwój
 safeguard-3PL growth-ACC man-GEN and development-ACC
społeczeństwa poprzez ową wzniosłą formę sztuki,
 society-GEN through that high form art-ACC,
jaka jest «sztuka wychowania».
 which-NOM is-3SG "art education"-NOM.]

'For society needs artists, just as it needs scholars and technicians, blue-collar and white-collar workers, witnesses to the faith, teachers, fathers and mothers, who safeguard the growth of man and the development of society through that sublime form of art which is "the art of education".'

Czech and Polish also retain the original noun in modal constructions with Cz *trzeba* 'necessary' and P *trzeba* and P *potrzeba* 'necessary' as in the Polish sentence in (109).

- (109) P *Żeby* *wychować psa, trzeba*
 [That+be-COND-AUX educate-INF dog-ACC, necessary
wychować szoferów. Żeby *wychować*
 educate-INF drivers-ACC. That+be-COND-AUX educate-INF
szoferów, trzeba mieć wyszkoloną milicję.
 drivers-ACC, necessary have-INF trained police-force-ACC.
Żeby *wyszkolić milicję, trzeba*
 That+be-COND-AUX train-INF police-force-ACC, necessary
wygospodarować odpowiednie sumy. Żeby
 budget-INF adequate amounts-ACC. That+be-COND-AUX
dobyć te sumy, konieczna jest
 acquire-INF those sums-ACC, necessary-NOM is-3SG
produkcja.
 production-NOM.]

'In order to educate a dog, it is necessary to educate drivers. In order to educate drivers, it is necessary to have a trained police force. In order to train the police force, it is necessary to budget adequate sums. In order to acquire those sums, production is necessary.'

Russian and Bulgarian have NEED (NECESSITY) expressions from a different root, LCS **nuɖja* 'need'. For Bulgarian, this root is found in the constructions B *nuždaja se ot* 'need something' and B *imam nužda ot* 'have need of' in (110) and (111), cf. Fr. *avoir besoin de* 'have need of'. This LCS root also appears in the Russian verb R *nuždat'sja v + LOC* 'be in need of' in (112) and the adjective and adverb constructions with BE:IMPERSONAL, R *nužen* 'need' and R *nado/nužno* 'need to', in (113) and (114).

- (110) B *Ne se nuždaja ot objasnenija.*
[Not R/P need-1SG from explanation.]
'I don't need an explanation.'
- (111) B *Mislite če tova ima nužda ot podreždane?*
[Think-2PL that this has-3SG need from arranging?]
'Do you think this needs to be arranged?'
- (112) R *Esli imenie tvoe, to beri ego,*
[If estate-NOM yours-NOM, then take-IMPER it-ACC,
ja ne nuždajus' v nem!
I-NOM not need-1SG in it-LOC!]
'If the estate is yours, then take it, I don't need it!'
- (113) R *Mne nužen original'nyj čelovek,*
[Me-DAT needed-NOM original person-NOM,
interesnaja ličnost'.
interesting personality-NOM.]
'I need an original person, an interesting personality.'
- (114) R *Tebe nado begat' po utram.*
[You-DAT need run-INF by mornings-DAT.]
'You need to run in the mornings.'

The non-verbal modals discussed in this section all make use of a 'be' auxiliary except for the Bulgarian construction in (111). The verbal construction for Russian in (112) is far less common than the dative experiencer construction with the adjective forms R *nužen/nužna/nužno/nužny* 'need' as in (113), which agree with the object needed and use a 'be' auxiliary.¹² The notion 'need to' is most often expressed by R *nado/nužno +INF* with a dative experiencer and 'be' auxiliary as in (114). These languages contain a number of NEED (NECESSITY) synonyms which behave like modals, including P *konieczne* 'necessary', R *neobxodimo* 'necessary', Cz *nutné* 'necessary', and B *neobxodimo* 'necessary'.

12. The 'be' auxiliary for Russian, of course, is the zero form in the present tense.

MUST (COMPULSION)

The modal notion of COMPULSION shows understandable semantic overlaps with the notion NECESSITY. The Russian and Bulgarian expressions for ‘need to’, *Rnado/nužno* and B *trjabva da*, cross over into the territory of verbs meaning ‘must’ or ‘have to’.

- (115) B *Ako vidite obače dve svrači gnezda v edno dārvo,*
 [If see-2PL however two magpie nests in one tree,
trjabva da znaete, že ednoto ot gnezdata e
 must-3SG that know-2PL, that one-DEF from nests-DEF is-3SG
lansko, a ako ne e lansko, e prazno.
 last-year’s, but if not is-3SG last-year’s, is-3SG empty.]

‘However, if you see two magpie nests in one tree, you must/will know that one of the nests is last year’s, and if it’s not last year’s, it is empty.’

Example (115) provides a use of B *trjabva da* ‘must’ as an epistemic modal. Based on the observable facts of two nests in one tree, there are certain conclusions which we must draw, one of the two nests is either last year’s or empty. In Czech and Polish, a borrowed form of Gm *müssen* ‘must’ serves in the expression of COMPULSION as in (116) and the lack of COMPULSION in (117).

- (116) P *Św. Paweł mówi nam jednak, że nauczanie*
 [St. Paul-NOM says-3SG us-DAT however, that teaching-NOM
Syna musi zostać niejako ożywione w
 Son-GEN must-3SG remain-INF somehow alive in
duszach słuchaczy wewnętrznym pouczeniem
 souls-LOC hearers-GEN inner instruction-INST
Ducha Świętego.
 Spirit Holy-GEN.]

‘St. Paul says to us, however, that the teaching of the Son must remain an inner instruction of the Holy Spirit that is somehow alive in the souls of the hearers.’

- (117) Cz *Jestliže i dnes dostanete chuť poslechnout si*
 [If even today get-2PL appetite-ACC listen-INF self-DAT
hity let minulých, nemusíte si na starém
 hits-ACC years past-GEN not-must-2PL self-DAT on old
gramofonu pouštět praskající desky...
 record-player-LOC let-INF crackling records-ACC...]

‘If even today you get in the mood to listen to hits from years past, you don’t have to play scratchy records on your old record player...’

The examples in (116) and (117) express meanings corresponding to Engl *have to/don't have to*. The Engl opposition *must/must not*, however, is expressed, in Czech for instance, by the positive Cz *muset* 'must' and the negative Cz *nesmět* 'must not, not allowed' discussed below. The Russian construction in (118) uses the verb 'come' with the reflexive/passive suffix to express COMPULSION or NECESSITY.

- (118) R *Mesjaca četyre ždat' pridetsja.*
 [Month-GEN four-ACC wait-INF will-come-3sg-R/P.]
 '(You) will have to wait about four months.'/'It will be necessary to wait about four months.'

All of these expressions deal with responses to barriers or obstacles in the world or to compelling forces of authority or reason, or with the limits of our abilities in interaction with the physical world.

OUGHT/SHOULD (DUTY)

The expressions of NECESSITY and COMPULSION are closely related to the notion of DUTY, with the understanding that expressions of DUTY most often represent resistible barriers or limitations. In many such expressions, the compelling force is a moral law that we freely choose to abide by and not the laws of physics or of reason or an authority with worldly powers to grant permission or enforce compliance. However, expressions primarily meaning 'ought, should' cross over into meanings of 'need', 'must', and 'have to'. Sources for DUTY constructions often express the meanings 'owe', 'bind', or 'hold' as in the English DUTY expressions, Engl *ought*, Engl *bound*, and Engl *beholden* in (119)–(121).

- (119) Engl *I'm bound to thank you for it.*
 Engl *He's bound to show up.*
- (120) Engl *I'd love to come with you, but I ought to do my homework.*
- (121) Engl *They say that this senator is beholden to special interest groups.*

The notion of owing in English in (120) turns up in the Russian DUTY expression, R *dolžen* 'ought, should', from the noun, R *dolg* 'debt', as in (122).

- (122) R *Esli už geroj – podlec, ty*
 [If already hero-NOM – scoundrel-NOM, you-NOM
dolžen logikoj rasskaza vesti ego k
 should-NOM logic-INST story-GEN lead-INF him-ACC to
moral'nomu kraxu.
 moral crash-DAT.]
 'If your hero is a scoundrel, you should, by the logic of your story, lead him to a moral crash.'

Similarly, the notion of binding in English in (119) is found in R *objazan* 'obliged, bound' from the verb R *objazat'* 'oblige, bind', historically related to the verb R *vjazat'* 'tie, bind'. These Russian constructions are treated as adjectives and combine with the 'be' auxiliary. These same notions are found in a Polish construction with P *powinien* 'should, ought' as in (123) and (124) or the alternate form P *powinno się* 'should, ought', both of which are related to the nouns P *powinność* 'duty' and P *wina* 'guilt, fault, blame'.

- (123) P *Wydaje się, że wielu chrześcijan zetraca*
 [Seems-3SG R/P, that many Christians-GEN lose-3SG
 świadomość nie tylko centralnej roli
 consciousness-ACC not only central role-GEN
 Eucharystii, ale nawet tego, że powinni
 Eucharist-GEN, but even that-GEN, that should-NOM-AUX-3PL
 dziękować Bogu, modląc się wraz z innymi
 thank-INF God-DAT, praying R/P together with others-INST
 w łonie wspólnoty kościelnej.
 in bosom-LOC community church-GEN.]
 'It seems that many Christians are losing consciousness not only of the
 central role of the Eucharist, but even of the fact that they should thank
 God, praying together with others in the bosom of the church community.'
- (124) P *Jeśli chcesz zdążyć na ten lot,*
 [If want-2SG come-on-time-INF for this flight-ACC,
 powinieneś się śpieszyć.
 ought-MSG-AUX-2SG R/P hurry-INF.]
 'If you want to make this flight, you should hurry.' (Lempp 1986: 70)

The Polish construction is interesting for a number of reasons. The forms of P *powinien* 'should, ought' take the same set of person markers used in the expression of the past tense (see 5.1.1.1) giving us a paradigm as in Table 5-8.

Table 5-8. Forms of P *powinien* 'should, ought' with the 'be' Auxiliary

Person	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Virile Plural	Other Plural
1st person	<i>powiniennem</i>	<i>powinnam</i>	<i>powinniśmy</i>	<i>powinnyśmy</i>
2nd person	<i>powinieneś</i>	<i>powinnaś</i>	<i>powinniście</i>	<i>powinnyście</i>
3rd person	<i>powinien</i>	<i>powinna</i>	<i>powinni</i>	<i>powinny</i>

This usage marks the Polish construction as one of the few remaining short form adjectives which still use the old enclitic, phonetically reduced forms of

'be'.¹³ In the Bulgarian expression of DUTY, we once again find the multi-purpose modal verb, B *trjabva da*, here as an expression of 'should, ought'. The overlap between NECESSITY and DUTY in Bulgarian can be seen in (106) above, which could just as easily be translated: "Maybe you should get looked at by a doctor," she said'. Other frequently encountered constructions for DUTY in Czech and Polish involve the verb 'have' and will be discussed in terms of semantics and grammaticalization below in 5.2.2.

Related to the modal expression of DUTY is a modal construction with auxiliary 'be' and a dative experiencer to assign a task or a responsibility. Examples include R *mne ne rešit' ètot vopros* [me-DAT not solve-INF this question-ACC] 'it is not for me to solve this question' and Cz *je nám umřít* [is-3SG us-DAT die-INF] 'we are to die'.¹⁴ The translations reveal that such an expression is possible in English, even if the constructions sound somewhat stilted and formal. All of these means of expressing DUTY remind us of the mutual ties and obligations that bind us and demand certain standards of responsibility or expectations of behavior.

WANT (VOLITION)

These next three modal notions show the unity of the Slavic language family. Expressions of VOLITION, FACULTY, and ABILITY, almost without exception employ a descendant of a Common Slavic modal verb. The expression of VOLITION is expressed by the descendant reflexes of LCS **xotěti/xvătěti* 'want', including R *xotet'*, Cz *chtít*, and P *chcieć* 'want'. However, this root has provided some South Slavic languages with a future expression, e.g., B *šte* 'will', Mac *kê* 'will', SC *ću* 'I will'. The grammaticalization of this future construction has led to a new expression of VOLITION, B *iskam* 'want', from a verb meaning 'seek', cf. R *iskat* 'seek'.

- (125) Cz *V cizině po nás vždycky chtěli*
 [In foreign-countries-LOC after us-LOC always wanted-PL
kazetu s našimi nahrávkami.
 cassette-ACC with our recordings-INST.]
 'They always wanted cassettes with our recordings after our
 performances abroad.'

13. Andersen (1987: 36–7) lists four such adjectives: P *powinien* 'obliged', *pewien* 'sure', *gotów* 'ready', and *ciekaw* 'curious'.

14. Given the similarity between this type of modal expression and HAVE expressions of the type Lat *mihi liber est* [me-DAT book-NOM is] 'I have a book', it is interesting to speculate on the possible extension of this type of HAVE construction to modal contexts, much as a verb 'have' may be extended to modal contexts as in Engl *have to* and the uses of Cz *mít* 'have' and P *mieć* 'have' discussed in 5.2.2.

- (126) B *Znaeš, no ne iskaš da mi*
 [Know-2SG, but not want-2SG that me-DAT
dadeš telefona.
 give-2SG telephone-DEF.]
 'You know, but you don't want to give me the telephone.'

The use of the Slavic VOLITIONAL modals with nouns (125) or infinitive constructions (126) is fairly straightforward and similar to the expression of this modal notion in other languages. The conceptual unity of some modals continues with the next couple of notions, FACULTY and ABILITY.

KNOW HOW (FACULTY)

The possession of the necessary knowledge coupled with the ability to actively perform a certain action, understood here as the notion FACULTY, is expressed in Slavic by a reflex of LCS **uměti* 'know how to' in R *umet'*, P *umieć*, Cz *umět'*, and B *umeja* 'know how to'.

- (127) Cz *Umím si vytvořit obrannou auru a*
 [Know-how-1SG self-DAT create-INF defensive aura-ACC and
nebojím se.
 not-am-afraid-1SG R/P.]
 'I know how to make a defensive aura, so I'm not afraid.'
- (128) R *Ja i galstuk-to zavjazyvat' ne umeju.*
 [I-NOM and necktie-ACC-EMPH tie-INF not know-how-1SG.]
 'I don't even know how to tie a tie.'

The examples in (127) and (128) express a range of talents, from the ability to create a supernatural aura to the simple inability to tie a tie. The notion of FACULTY overlaps with the notion of ABILITY in Engl *can*.

CAN/ABLE (ABILITY)

The expression of ABILITY in Slavic has developed from the LCS verb **mogti* 'can, be able' as in P *móc*, Cz *moci*, R *moč'*, and B *moga* 'can, be able' and expresses one of the most common modal notions, demonstrated in (129)–(131).

- (129) P *Możemy także odkryć na nowo i zachwycić się*
 [Can-1PL also discover-INF for new and delight-INF R/P
głęboko pięknem przyrody, zbyt często
 deeply beauty-INST nature-GEN, too often
niszczonym przez ludzką żądzę panowania,
 destroyed-INST by human desire-ACC domination-GEN,

która zwraca się przeciw samemu człowiekowi.
 which-NOM returns-3SG R/P against very man-DAT.]

'We can also discover anew and take deep delight in the beauty of nature, too often destroyed by the human desire for domination, which turns against man himself.'

- (130) R *Čto vy můžete skazat' o Talline?*
 [What-ACC you-NOM can-2PL say-INF about Tallin-LOC?]
 'What can you say about Tallin?'

- (131) B *Kak može v kraja na XX vek da se*
 [How can-3SG in end-DEF of 20th century that R/P
gleda seriozno na "mestoroždenieto" kao cenz
 looks-3SG seriously at "place-of-birth"-DEF as qualification
za političeski prava?
 for political rights?]
 'How is it possible at the end of the 20th century that "place of birth" is seriously viewed as a qualification for political rights?'

The forms of the verb 'can, be able' combine with infinitive constructions and express the ability to carry out a certain verbal action.

MAY (NOT)/(NOT) ALLOWED (PERMISSION), POSSIBLE/IMPOSSIBLE (POSSIBILITY)

The notions of PERMISSION and POSSIBILITY discussed together in this section are frequently realized by the roots of the Slavic expressions of ABILITY. Thus we find the particles R *možno* 'may, possible', Cz *možná* 'may', P *można* 'may' as in (132), and B *može* 'may' related to the verbs for 'can' and also the words for POSSIBLE/IMPOSSIBLE: R *vozmožno/nevozmožno*, B *vážmožno/nevážmožno*, Cz *možné/nemožné*, P *możliwe/nieвозмоżliwe* 'possible/impossible' (forms listed for use with BE:IMPERSONAL). A number of other expressions are commonly used to express PERMISSION and POSSIBILITY such as P *wolno* 'free' in (133), R *nel'zja* 'not allowed, not possible' in (133) expressing PERMISSION and in (135) expressing negative POSSIBILITY, and the related forms in Czech, Cz *lze* 'possible' in (136) and Cz *nelze* 'impossible' in (137).

- (132) P *...nie można zmarnować tego talentu, ale trzeba go*
 [...not possible waste-INF that talent-GEN, but necessary it-ACC
rozwijać, ażeby nim służyć
 develop-INF, that+be-COND-AUX it-INST serve-INF
blizniemu i całej ludzkości.
 neighbor-DAT and entire humanity-DAT.]

'...one cannot waste such a talent, but it is necessary to develop it, in order to serve one's neighbor and all of humanity with it.'

- (133) P *Nie wolno mi było tak myśleć.*
 [Not free me-DAT was-NSG so think-INF.]
 'I wasn't allowed to think that way.'
- (134) R *Kotam neľ'zja! S kotami neľ'zja! Brys!*
 [Cats-DAT not-allowed! With cats-INST not-allowed! Shoo!
Slezaj, a to miliciju pozovu!
 Crawl-down-IMPER, but then police-ACC call-1sg!]
 'No cats allowed! You can't ride with cats! Shoo! Get down or else I'll call the police!'
- (135) R *...oba negodjaja i Korov'ev, i*
 [...both-NOM scoundrel-GEN and Korovyov-NOM, and
obžora Begemot – kuda-to devalis', a
 glutton-NOM Behemoth-NOM – somewhere got-to-PL-R/P, but
kuda – neľ'zja bylo ponjat'.
 where – not-allowed was-NSG understand-INF.]
 '...both of the scoundrels, both Korovyov and the glutton Behemoth, went off somewhere, but where – it was impossible to understand.'
- (136) Cz *Barvy imitující tetování lze použít*
 [Colors-ACC imitating-ACC tattooing-ACC possible use-INF
i na obličej: mýdlem se dají snadno odstranit.
 even on face-ACC: soap-INST R/P give-3PL easily remove-INF.]
 'It is possible to use the imitation tattoo paints on the face as well: they can easily be removed with soap.'
- (137) Cz *Věž nelze vzít.*
 [Tower-ACC not-possible take-INF.]
 'It is not possible to take the Rook.'

All of these expressions are non-verbal, but Isačenko (1974: 75) notes the dialectal and earlier tendency in Czech to add past tense verbal endings to Cz *lze/nelze* 'possible/impossible' to form Cz *lzero/nelzero* 'was possible/was impossible'. As seen in (135), Russian uses the 'be' auxiliary and dative experiencer with R *neľ'zja* 'not allowed, not possible'.

New modal verbs for PERMISSION have arisen in Slavic by changes in meaning. The modal use of Cz *smět* 'may' in (138)–(139) has developed from LCS **sъměti* 'dare', cf. R *smet' / posmet'* where the meaning is still 'dare'.

- (138) Cz *Že se to smí přeložit? Mně se*
 ['That R/P that-ACC may-3sg translate-INF? Me-DAT R/P

to chce přeložit, a tím
 that-ACC wants-3SG translate-INF, and that-INST
 to zmenšit!
 that-ACC reduce-INF!]

‘That it may be translated? I’d like to translate it, and reduce it in the process!’

- (139) Cz Po roce 1972 jsem skoro nesměla
 [After year-LOC 1972 am-AUX-1SG almost not-allowed-FSG
 točit, ale díky tomu jsem mohla
 film-INF, but thanks that-DAT am-AUX-1SG was-able-FSG
 mít děti.
 have-INF children-ACC.]

‘After 1972 I practically wasn’t allowed to film at all, but thanks to that I was able to have children.’

The notion of PERMISSION in expressions for MAY is frequently subsumed by the notion ABILITY expressed in CAN/ABLE constructions (see 2.6.5 for discussion of this phenomenon in Czech, English, and German). The modal constructions in these four languages show us the ways in which various expressions can approximate the meaning of other items in the system or differentiate themselves from those other items. Such interactions between concepts in a conceptual system form an important theme in Chapter 2 on the interactions between BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors. This brief tour through the modal expressions of Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian also provides a framework for understanding the motivation for the development of expressions of COMPULSION and DUTY from verbs meaning ‘have’.

5.2.2 Development of modal verbs from have

Cz *mít* ‘have’ and P *mieć* ‘have’ have extended their range of meanings beyond the expression of possession into usage as modal verbs. Witness a similar phenomenon in English where we can say Engl *I have to write a paper this weekend*, where Engl *have to* means ‘must, need to’. Despite the similarities in form and the shared source material and metaphorical extensions, the Czech and Polish uses of ‘have’ as a modal verb do not overlap precisely, either with each other, or with the ‘have to’ construction in English. The Czech and Polish usage of ‘have’ as a modal verb is often closer to English ‘should, ought, be supposed to’.

- (140) Cz *Máš být doma v sedm.*
 [Have-2SG be-INF at-home in seven-ACC.]
 ‘You’re supposed to be home at seven.’

- (141) Cz *Máš chodit v čas.*
 [Have-2SG go-INF in time-ACC.]
 'You ought to be on time.'
- (142) Cz *Mám si tedy myslet, že jsi jel v noci třicet pět kilometrů skrze stáda srnek jenom proto, aby ses zeptal, jak tvůj starší syn pečuje o svůj chrup? Školní zubař by ti v tom případě měl koupit bonboniéru.*
 [Have-1SG self-DAT then think-INF, that are-AUX-2SG drove-MSG in night-LOC thirty-five-ACC kilometers-GEN through herds-ACC deer-GEN only for, that+be-COND-AUX REFL-PASS+be-AUX-2SG asked-MSG, how your older son-NOM cares-3SG about his teeth-ACC? School dentist-NOM be-COND-AUX-3SG you-DAT in that case-LOC had-MSG buy-INF box-of-chocolates-ACC.]
 'Now **am** I supposed to think that you drove 35 kilometers at night through herds of deer simply to inquire as to whether your older son is taking care of his teeth? In that case the school dentist **should** buy you a box of chocolates.'
- (143) P *Mamy mu pomóc.*
 [Have-1PL him-DAT help-INF.]
 'We ought to help him.'/'We have to help him.' (Lempp 1986: 61)
- (144) P *Zapowiadanej w prasie "karty zaopatrzenia", która ma wyeliminować wszelkie oszustwa, jak dotąd nie wydrukowano. Nawet nikt nie wie, jak ma wyglądać, choć miała wejść w życie 1 marca br.*
 [Announced-GEN in press-LOC "card-GEN ration-GEN", which-NOM has-3SG eliminate-INF all frauds-ACC, as up-to-here not printed-NOM. Even no-one-NOM not knows-3SG how has-3SG look-INF, although had-P3SG go-in-INF in life-LOC 1-GEN March-GEN this-year-GEN.]
 'The "ration card" announced in the press, which is supposed to eliminate all fraud, has still not been printed. It isn't even known what it is supposed to look like, although it was supposed to come out on March 1 of this year.' (Lempp 1986: 64)
- (145) P *Relacja ta ma się rozwijać pod znakiem*
 [Relation that-NOM has-3SG R/P develop-INF under sign-INST

przyjaźni, otwartości i dialogu.
 friendship-GEN, openness-GEN and dialogue-GEN.]

'That relation should develop under a sign of friendship, openness, and dialogue.'

Lempp (1986: 62–3) mentions that the 'have' modal construction has more readings than any other modal verb in Polish and can mean necessity, obligation, intention/wish, a future, a future in the past, and an evidential. A sentence with modal *P mieć* 'have' may be open to multiple readings as in (146).

(146) P *Mieli się spotkać.*

[Had-PL R/P meet-INF.]

'They allegedly met.'

'They were supposed to meet.'

'They are supposed to meet.'

'They wanted to meet.'

'They used to/would meet.'

(Lempp 1986: 64)

This sentence may be interpreted as a reported speech construction, as a past expression of 'should have, were supposed to', as a present 'are supposed to' construction, as a mildly volitional construction, or as a past habitual. Thus we find a still developing modal verb "display[ing] such a dazzling variety of readings" (Lempp 1986: 62).

The Czech construction displays a similar range of meanings and also frequently occurs in the past tense (with past meaning) and conditional mood (with present meaning), cf. the relationship between Engl *shall/should, can/could, will/would* as originally indicative vs. subjunctive forms of a single verb).

(147) Cz *Kvido se měl podle Zitiných předpokladů*
 [Guido-NOM R/P had-MSG according Zita's assumptions-GEN
narodit v prvním srpnovém týdnu roku devatenáct
 be-born-INF in first August week-LOC year-GEN nineteen
set šedesát dva v porodnici v Podolí.
 hundred sixty-two-NOM in maternity-ward-LOC in Podolí-LOC.]

'According to Zita's assumptions, Guido was supposed to be born in the first week of August 1962 in the maternity ward in Podolí.'

(148) Cz *To jsem já udělal, neměl*
 [That-ACC am-AUX-1SG I-NOM did-MSG, not-have-MSG
jsem toho kapitána pustit dál...
 am-AUX-1SG that captain-ACC allow-INF further...]

'I was the one who did it, I shouldn't have let that captain in...'

(149) Cz *Měl bys jít k lékaři.*
 [Had-MSG be-COND-AUX-2SG go-INF to doctor-DAT.]

'You should see a doctor.'

- (150) Cz “Co by se mnou mělo
 [“What-NOM be-COND-AUX-3SG with me-INST had-NSG
být?” řekl Kvido.
 be-INF?” said-MSG Guido-NOM.]
 “What is to become of me?” said Guido.”

In (147) the ‘have’ modal describes a situation that was supposed to take place in the past and may or may not have taken place. The example in (148) conveys DUTY in the past to express ‘ought not/should not have’. In all of these examples (140)–(150), I have translated the construction in various ways, reflecting the wide range of possibilities in English for this single construction in Czech and Polish (HAVE TO).

Lempp (1986: 61–85) spends a good portion of his description of the modal uses of P *mieć* worrying about whether or not the ‘have’ modal has an object. He concludes that there is an underlying object of P *mieć* ‘have’ such as the nouns P *obowiązek* ‘obligation’, P *powinność* ‘duty’, P *zamiar* ‘intention’, P *prawdopodobieństwo* ‘probability’, or P *przypuszczenie* ‘assumption’ (Lempp 1986: 84). Sometimes such a noun may appear with the verb ‘have’ as in (151).

- (151) P *Także w obecnej sytuacji historycznej mamy obowiązek*
 [Also in present situation historical-LOC have-1PL obligation-ACC
tak działać, aby wszyscy mogli
 so act-INF, so-that+be-COND-AUX-3PL all-NOM could-PL
zaznać wolności, odpoczynku i odprężenia,
 experience-INF freedom-GEN, rest-GEN and relaxation-GEN,
które są człowiekowi niezbędne ze
 which-NOM are-3PL man-DAT indispensable-NOM from
względu na jego ludzką godność...
 view-GEN to his human dignity-ACC.]
 ‘Also in the present historical situation we **have the obligation** to act in such a way, so that everyone can experience the freedom, the rest and relaxation, that are indispensable for man from the viewpoint of his human dignity.’

The ambiguity as to which noun is underlying in a given sentence yields the multiple interpretations of the construction. However, we may ask whether or not it is necessary for this construction to have an object? Constructions with a finite verb + INF are found in all attested periods of Slavic development. Take, for instance, R *Ja načínaju rabotu v 8 časov* ‘I start work at 8 o’clock’ vs. R *Ja načínaju rabotat’ v 8 časov* ‘I start to work at 8 o’clock’, where the accusative object R *rabotu* ‘work’ and the infinitive R *rabotat’* ‘work’ represent two entirely different types of construction. At any rate, there is a venerable tradition of certain verbs combining with infinitive forms (many of these verbs belong to the conceptual network discussed in Chapter 2) and there is no reason to be overly concerned with the status

HAVE TO

The relatively unsettled semantic and syntactic qualities of the Czech and Polish 'have' modals are likely indicators that the construction is still quite young in the language. These constructions have not yet progressed far enough in the grammaticalization process to take on more definite meanings and structure, and it is possible that they will remain somewhat ambiguous. However, the Engl *have* to modal has undergone further grammaticalization, providing a good example of the types of change and further extension that can occur in the process. In English, we find the two HAVE constructions provided by Engl *have* and the present perfect form Engl *have got* 'have'. This latter expression of HAVE appears in colloquial English simply as Engl *got* as in the slogan, Engl *Got milk?*. The use of the present perfect is also seen in the use of the English 'have' modal construction. Engl *have to* is frequently realized as Engl *haff to* or Engl *hafta*, partially severing its ties with Engl *have*.¹ A certain freedom is demonstrated by this English modal construction, not only in the various phonetically reduced possibilities vs. the full form, but in the use of the present perfect HAVE construction with Engl *get* as a modal construction in Engl *I've got to*, *I gotta* 'I have to'. However, there are some differences between the various constructions that become clear in different tenses.

- (1) Engl *We have to/hafta listen to a lecture today.*
 Engl *We've got to/We gotta listen to a lecture today.* [= have to]
- (2) Engl *We had to listen to a lecture today.*
 [compulsion, potentially negative connotation]
- Engl *We got to listen to a lecture today.*
 [benefit, reward, positive connotation usually]

Both examples in (1) express the modal notion COMPULSION of 'have to' in the present tense. However, in (2), the past tense reveals a distinction between Engl *have* and Engl *get*. The first sentence in (2) is merely the past tense of the Engl *have to* construction, but the second sentence in (2) represents a different construction altogether. This construction represents the use of Engl *got to* as an expression of benefit or reward, usually with a positive connotation. The general assumption is that we enjoyed the lecture, that we were looking forward to it. However, this construction does allow for an ironic reading, in which there would be no benefit or reward, just the remains of COMPULSION with sarcasm. The association of benefits and rewards with the verb Engl *get* is likely associated with receiving all sorts of good things, from presents to paychecks. Nevertheless, while one may rejoice, saying Engl *I got a candy bar*, there may always be a Charlie Brown who laments, saying Engl *I got a rock*. In some ways this use of Engl *get to* as an expression of benefits and rewards is not unlike the use of a dative experiencer in Czech and some other Slavic languages. Also as with the Czech dative, English *get* can express harm as in Engl *You're gonna get it!* which has a parallel in Cz *Dostaneš na zadek!* [Will-get-2SG on rear] 'You're gonna get a spanking!' and R *Emu dostalos' ot papy* [He-DAT got-NSG-REFL/PASS from dad-GEN] 'He got spanked by his dad'.

¹For instance, Congressman Asa Hutchinson used this pronunciation for the phrase Engl *without haffing to* twice on ABC's *This Week* (9/20/98).

of either the modal verb or the infinitive. Furthermore, there is no justification for positing the underlying nouns proposed by Lempp except as an understanding that these nouns express the possible meanings of the construction. In addition to the syntactic status of the 'have' modal, Lempp is also surprised and confounded by the multiple meanings of 'have' as a modal verb (Lempp 1986: 62–3). This is true, but these multiple readings on a modal scale are comparable to the multiple readings on the 'have' scale. The main verb 'have' in Polish is polysemous and sometimes ambiguous and this trait is carried over into the modal uses. The obligations and responsibilities of the 'have' modal establish the same sorts of RELATIONSHIP meanings as the main verb 'have'.

Setting the problem of direct objects aside, the 'have' modal does manifest different syntactic behavior from other Polish modal verbs.

- (152) P *Musisz umyć naczynia.*
 [Must-2SG wash-INF dishes-ACC.]
 'You must wash the dishes.' (Lempp 1986: 62)
- P *Czy ja naprawdę to muszę?*
 [QUBST I-NOM really this-ACC must-1SG?]
 'Must I really do this?' (Lempp 1986: 62)
- (153) P *Masz umyć naczynia.*
 [Have-2SG wash-INF dishes-ACC.]
 'You have to wash the dishes.' (Lempp 1986: 62)
- P **Czy ja naprawdę to mam?*
 [QUBST I-NOM really this-ACC have-1SG?]
 'Do I really have to?' (Lempp 1986: 62)

Examples (152) and (153) exhibit the syntactic differences between P *musieć* 'must' and P *mieć* 'have to'. An elliptical response is possible with P *musieć* 'must', but not so with P *mieć* 'have to', though both are fine responses in English. Are these differences due to a fundamental difference in the nature of these two verbs as modal verbs or is there another possibility? I think it is likely that the different treatments are due to the relative newness of the 'have' modal among the system of modal verbs in Polish. English manifests a similar syntactic difference between an older set of modal verbs and a newer group of modals. The "true modals" in English do not use an Engl *to*-infinitive as in Engl *must* [*do*], but newer modals such as Engl *have to* [*do*] use the infinitive marker Engl *to* + verb. According to Lempp, P *musieć* 'must' can combine with an infinitive or with the demonstrative pronoun P *to* 'that' in elliptical sentences. However, Lempp does not allow the same syntactic patterns for the P *mieć* 'have' modal. Therefore, Lempp considers the P *to* in (151) to be the direct object of P *muszę*, but rules out this possibility for P *mieć* 'have' in

(152). The English instinct in such a sentence is to understand or state explicitly the dummy verb Engl *do* as in Engl *Do I really have to (do that)?*, Engl *Am I really supposed to (do that)?*, or even simply the elliptical responses Engl *Do I really?* and Engl *Am I really?* are acceptable in English. It think it is possible that P *to* in (151) is more likely the object of a dummy verb construction than the object of P *musieć* 'must'. This construction may not be possible for P *mieć* 'have', because it would likely trigger a HAVE reading. Despite the rejection of the second sentence in (153), P *mieć* 'have' may appear without an explicit infinitive in the somewhat ambiguous sentence in (154).

- (154) P *Ale, słuchaj, jak tam nie ma nikogo na*
 [But, listen-IMPER, how there not has-3SG no-one-GEN in
zewnątrz, a piesek szczeka, to ja mam tam?
 outside, and dog-NOM barks-3SG, that I-NOM have-1SG there?]
 'But listen, if there is nobody outside, and the dog barks, then what am I
 supposed (to do) there?' (Lempp 1986: 62)

Perhaps we should understand here that modal verbs often contain different constructions, one with a noun phrase and the other with infinitives. As we saw above in the overview of modality in Slavic, a verb such as P *potrzebować* 'need' can take an object that is needed or can be used with an infinitive to express the necessity of performing a verbal action. The use with the noun object tends to remain fixed on physical need, whereas the 'need to' construction overlaps with 'must, have to' and 'should, ought'. Once a verb joins the modal category, then an infinitive, understood or explicit, is often necessary to complete the meaning of the modal verb, particularly with the modal verbs for 'can, be able', even in cases such as Gm *Ich kann Deutsch*, which is elliptical for Gm *Ich kann Deutsch sprechen* or Cz *Umím česky* for Cz *Umím mluvit česky*.

The above examples reveal something of the character of the 'have' modal in Czech and Polish. Still, we may wonder about the motivation for such a construction. Sweetser (1990: 49) states that the modal verbs started out with "root" meanings, applying to "real-world obligation, permission, or ability", then expanded their meanings to become "epistemic" modals, denoting "necessity, probability, or possibility in reasoning". The development moves from real-world experiences of modality into our conceptions of reason and our internal thoughts through a metaphorical extension of the "root" modal concept (Sweetser 1990: 59). A similar process seems to have taken place in Czech and Polish, where the modal meaning of 'have' likely developed from an understanding of real-world possession. Possession or ownership implies the responsibilities of care-taking, upkeep, security,

etc. The owner of the dog in Cz *Mám velkého psa* 'I have a big dog' or the car in Cz *Mají nově auto* 'They have a new car' enjoy both the benefits and the obligations entailed in ownership.¹⁵ A relationship is established between possessor and possessee by the verb 'have' in which the expectations of how a proper dog owner should behave or what a car owner would need to do to keep the car in good running order. These notions from the POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP concepts in HAVE are then extended into modal domains. Even the allowed use of R *imět* 'have' with non-abstract nouns such as R *dení* 'money', R *dom* 'house', R *mašinu* 'car', R *druzej* 'friends' suggests a relationship of obligations and responsibility (Isačenko 1974: 52). The abstract possession and "possession with purpose" expressed by Cz *mít* 'have' and P *mieć* 'have' (see examples in Chapter 4 and the conclusion of this chapter for a note on a nascent causative with 'have' in Czech) imply that one possesses something with accompanying needs or obligations that must be fulfilled by the possessor. This type of semantic change seen in the grammaticalization of 'have' modals could be motivated by just such a metaphorical extension of the concept of possession.¹⁶

The extension of the obligations and responsibilities of possession to the realm of modality places the Czech and Polish 'have' modal in a special position among the modal verbs of those languages. These new 'have' modals express the modal notion DUTY in a system that already has expressions of NECESSITY and COMPULSION. Lempp claims that 'must' expresses necessity and 'have' expresses "a source which wants something" (1986: 70). This corresponds to my description above of DUTY as resistible forces and barriers and as freely chosen and self-imposed adherence to a moral law. In the case of DUTY expressions, we must identify a suitable source for the meaning of this modal notion. For 'must', we have various real-world obstacles, forces, and authorities. For 'want' or 'need', we have biological/physiological needs, the external resources and internal conditions we need to stay alive, but a real-world source for 'ought', 'supposed to' is not so easily identified. One might propose some kind of power relations in which someone is superior to

15. Hopper and Traugott state that Lat *habēre* 'have' took on a meaning of obligation in use with the gerundive which had expressed obligation, e.g. Lat *Aedem habuit tuendam* 'He had a house to look after' (1993: 43). The use of 'have' + gerundive alternated with 'have' + infinitive as in Lat *Quid habes dicendum?* [What-ACC have-2SG for-saying-ACC?] or Lat *Quid habes dicere?* [What-ACC have-2SG say-INF?] 'What do you have to say?' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 43). Over time, this construction with 'have' + infinitive was grammaticalized as the French inflected future construction.

16. Perhaps this notion of obligations and responsibilities could also account for the construction *mít* 'have' + PPP-N as in *Dneska nemají otevřeno* 'They aren't open today'. If a business is not open, the proprietors do not have to tend to their usual obligations and responsibilities.

and more powerful than another person, but this is a rather impoverished source for DUTY constructions. If indeed we need to attribute these modal meanings to a volitional source, Lempp's "source which wants something", then I can think of nothing better than to identify this modal source with the Natural Law (see further discussion in 2.5). In response to those who would dismiss all statements of value and first principles, C.S. Lewis states "that an *ought* must not be dismissed because it cannot produce some *is* as its credential" (*Abolition of Man*, Chapter 2). Without acceptance of first principles, no amount of logical reasoning will explain the motive for DUTY constructions. Considering the extensions of 'have' to modal DUTY contexts in Czech and Polish, we may take Lewis literally and out of context and discover that, while we cannot derive an *ought* from an *is*, we do appear to be able to derive an *ought* from a *has*. The semantic features of responsibility, benefit and harm entailed in HAVE are involved in this extension of a HAVE construction to a DUTY construction in a way that barriers and forces alone cannot account for.

Sweetser realizes something of this problem of grounding modality when she challenges Talmy's use of barriers to derive modals such as *have to*, *need to*, *ought to* (Sweetser 1990: 54). Sweetser prefers to view these sorts of modal notions as "different *kinds* of forces. *Must* has connotations of a directly applied and irresistible force, while *have to*, *ought*, and *need to* are resistible forces different with respect to their domains (social, moral) and/or sources of imposition (internal/external)" (Sweetser 1990: 54). We cannot account for the modal ideas of DUTY or VOLITION in the same way that we can account for the modal concepts NECESSITY, ABILITY, or COMPULSION. The latter deal with compulsion, force dynamics, and needs, but the former concern themselves with human free will and morality. In human morality, there are no compulsive forces operating, moral acts are chosen as a function of free will. However, not all uses of the Czech and Polish 'have' modals would correspond to "a source which wants something" identifiable with the Natural Law. Just as with other modal notions, DUTY can overlap with expressions of NECESSITY or COMPULSION, in which the source could be equated with real-world barriers and authorities, such as the legal system, which is a source of COMPULSION. As with BE and HAVE, the lexical items imprecisely map onto the separate ideas they can represent. In the domain of modality, CAN subsumes MAY, blurring ABILITY and PERMISSION (see 2.6.5). Similarly, uses of WANT and NEED in English and other languages confuse the distinctions between VOLITION and NECESSITY. Sometimes these modal concepts even extend to non-modal contexts: Engl *should* as an expression of DUTY to Engl *would* as a conditional marker in Engl *I should do that if I were you* or Engl *I would do that if I were you*. We can also analyze the Czech and Polish 'have' modal and expressions of DUTY in general in terms of root and epistemic modality. The root modality for this concept would represent a set of obligations in the world, financial or legal responsibilities to

others, a community, or a nation, which extend into epistemic functions when thinking turns to morality.

The 'have' modals of other languages are only roughly equivalent to those of Czech and Polish as illustrated in the following example from Isačenko (1974: 70).

- (155) Engl *You have to answer.* (Isačenko 1974: 70)
 Cz *Máš odpovídat.*
 [Have-2SG answer-INF.]
 Gm *Du hast zu antworten.*
 [You have-2SG to answer-INF.]

'Have' in the English sentence means 'must', in Czech 'supposed to, should', and in German it expresses an "inevitable future" (Isačenko 1974: 70). In Russian, however, there is no use of 'have' in a modal sense, likely connected to the peripheral nature of R *imet'* 'have'. Despite differences in meaning between constructions, it seems to be a natural tendency for HAVE-languages to expand the use of the verb 'have' to modal and auxiliary functions. Whether we find HAVE as a DUTY modal or as a modal of NECESSITY or COMPULSION, it is likely that the extension of HAVE into the domain of modal concepts is motivated by our understanding of obligations and responsibilities inherent in HAVE:POSSESSION and HAVE:RELATIONSHIP.

5.3 Grammaticalization of function words

In addition to verbal auxiliary and modal auxiliary uses, BE constructions manifest a tendency to become grammaticalized in a number of function words in the Slavic languages considered here. In this section I can do little more than present the great variety and functionality of 'be' in the grammaticalization of function words. How all of these constructions came about, when they arose, and in what specific contexts, are topics for another study. Table 5-9 provides a sample of the typical function words with 'be' in these Slavic languages. These function words are composed of various forms of the verb 'be', from imperatives, impersonal neuter past tense forms, the 3SG present tense form, the 3SG conditional, related roots, and other forms.

The imperative forms have been quite productive, yielding R (*kak*) *budto* (*by*) [(as) be-IMPER-that (would)] 'as if', an expression of an unreal state that appears to be the real thing. In Czech and Polish, we find the imperative of 'be' in slightly different expressions for 'either...or': P *bądź...bądź* [be-IMPER...be-IMPER...] 'either...or...' and Cz *bud'...(a)nebo...* [be-IMPER...or...] 'either...or...'; cf. Engl *be it X or be it Y*, an identical, if obsolete, construction in English. The imperative of 'be' also appears in the Polish construction of the type P *kto bądź* [who be-IMPER]

'anyone' and in R *kto-nibud* 'who not-be-IMPER] 'anyone' from an understanding 'be who(ever) it may'.¹⁷ With similar meaning are the Polish constructions with P *byle*, based on the conditional form of 'be, P *by* + the particle P *le/li* 'if, whether'.

Another intriguing use of 'be' is in the forms R *nečego* 'nothing', R *nekuda* 'to nowhere', R *negde* 'at nowhere', R *nekogda* 'no time', and so forth, which are used with a dative experiencer to express, 'there is no X for me' as in R *Mne nečego delat* 'There's nothing for me to do' or R *Ej ne s kem igrat* 'She doesn't have anyone to play with'. These forms combine the negative particle R *ne* with a contracted form of 'be, **je* 'is' from **jest*, the origins of which are unclear plus various interrogative pronoun forms. Just as R *est* '(there) is' and R *net* 'there is not' alternate in positive and negative contexts, we also find this alternation in the impersonal dative construction used with these forms: R *Est' komu èto delat* '[There-is who-DAT this-ACC do-INF] 'There is someone to do this' but R *Nekomu èto delat* '[There-is-not-who-DAT this-ACC do-INF] 'There is no one to do this' (Chvany 1975: 62).

Table 5-9. Some Function Words in Slavic with the Concept BE

R (<i>kak</i>) <i>budto</i> (<i>by</i>) 'as if'
P <i>bqđz...bqđz...</i> 'either...or...'
Cz <i>bud...(a)nebo...</i> 'either...or...'
P <i>kto bqđz</i> 'anyone', <i>co bqđz</i> 'anything', <i>gdzie bqđz</i> 'anywhere', <i>jaki bqđz</i> 'any kind', etc.
P <i>byle</i> [<i>by</i> 'would' + <i>le/li</i> 'if, whether'] 'any..., any old...'
P <i>byle kto</i> 'anybody', <i>byle co</i> 'any old thing', <i>byle gdzie</i> 'anywhere', <i>byle jaki</i> 'any kind of', etc.
R <i>kto-nibud</i> 'anyone', <i>èto-nibud</i> 'anything', <i>gde-nibud</i> 'anywhere', <i>kakoj-nibud</i> 'any kind of', etc.
Cz <i>jestli(že)</i> , P <i>jesli</i> , R <i>esli</i> 'if'
Cz <i>jeżeli</i> , P <i>jeżeli</i> , R <i>eżeli</i> 'if'
R <i>čtoby</i> , P <i>žeby</i> , <i>aby</i> , Cz <i>aby</i> 'in order to, so that'
Cz <i>kdyby</i> , P <i>gdyby</i> 'if'
B <i>može bi</i> 'maybe'
R <i>možet byt</i>
R <i>bylo</i> 'almost', <i>byvalo</i> 'used to'
Cz <i>býval</i> 'would have'
R <i>nečego</i> '(there is) nothing', <i>negde</i> '(there is) nowhere'
<i>nekogda</i> '(there is) no time', etc.
B <i>sášto</i> 'also'

17. Although synchronically identical to the imperative of 'be', the forms in R *bud*, Cz *bud*, P *bqđz* are likely related to the functions of the Proto-Indo-European optative and its realization in Common Slavic (cf. R *Ne daj Bog!* 'God forbid!' with an optative understanding of 'May God not give (this)') (Bill Darden, p.c.).

The 3rd person singular present tense of 'be' provides material for a word for 'if' in Czech, Polish, and Russian and a nice example of degrees of grammaticalization. The Czech function word, Cz *jestli(že)* 'if', seen in (156) is quite clearly made up of the older 3SG form Cz *jest*, now Cz *je* except in the expression Cz *to jest*, 'i.e.' plus the questioning particle Cz *li* plus an optional emphatic particle Cz *že*. In Russian and Polish, this function word has undergone further phonetic reduction to R *esli* 'if' and P *jesli* 'if', minimizing the connections with 'be'. Nevertheless, we do find combinations of this function word with the verb 'be', indicating that the construction has been fully grammaticalized as 'if'. Thus we find Cz *jestli je* in (157).

- (156) Cz *Jedeme večer na premiéru do Mladé*
 [Drive-1PL evening-ACC to premiere-ACC to Mladá
Boleslavi, jestli máte čas, můžeme si
 Boleslav-GEN, if have-2PL time-ACC, can-1PL self-DAT
povídat v autě.
 talk-INF in car-LOC.]
 'We're going this evening to the premiere in Mladá Boleslav, if you have time, we can talk in the car.'

- (157) Cz *Nevím, jestli je to správné, mně*
 [Not-know-1SG, if is-3SG that-NOM correct-NOM, me-DAT
je to jedno.
 is-3SG that-NOM one-NOM.]
 'I don't know if that's right, it's all the same to me.'

- (158) R *Esli u vas est' ključí ot xozjajstva, to*
 [If at you-GEN is keys-NOM from farm-GEN, then
broš'te ix v kolodec i uxodite.
 throw-IMPER them-ACC in well-ACC and leave-IMPER.]
 'If you have keys to the farm, then throw them in the well and leave.'

- (159) R *Est' li nadežda?*
 [There-is QUEST hope-NOM?]
 'Is there hope?'

We see the same phenomenon in Russian where R *esli* 'if' is used with the HAVE construction with R *est'* '(there) is' in (155). In (156), the original source items come together separately in their full forms to express 'is there' in R *est' li*.

The forms of the conditional have also provided many function words in these languages as in R *čtoby*, Cz *aby* and P *aby*, and P *žeby* 'in order to'. R *čtoby* and P *žeby* can combine with an infinitive to express 'in order to' and all three constructions can combine with an L-participle of a verb to express a wish or command. Czech and Polish have hypothetical words for 'if' formed from the interrogative

pronoun 'when' and the conditional auxiliary as in Cz *kdyby* and P *gdyby* 'if' (discussed above in 5.1.1.2). Bulgarian forms a phrase for 'maybe' with the conditional auxiliary in B *može bi*.

- (160) R *Stakany nado by vernut', – govorju.*
 [Glasses-ACC need be-COND-AUX return-INF, – say-1SG.]
 "We should return the glasses," I say.

Russian also manifests some non-conditional uses of R *by* 'would' as in R *nado by* 'should' in (160) and R *xotja by* 'if only, even if'.

The neuter past tense forms of R *byt'* 'be' and R *byvat'* 'be (frequentative)' are used in special constructions in Russian. These are similar to the use of the past tense forms of Cz *bývat* 'be (frequentative)' as a distance marker in Czech conditional sentences (5.1.1.4). In Russian, the unchanging form R *bylo* 'was' may combine with any other past tense form to express an action that almost took place.¹⁸

- (161) R *Tut Raskol'nikov poterjalsja i sdelał*
 [Here Raskolnikov-NOM lost-MSG-R/P and did-MSG
bylo važnuju ošibku.
 was-AUX-NSG important mistake-ACC.]

'Here Raskolnikov lost himself and almost made a grave mistake.'

- (162) R *Načala bylo i vdrug rasplakalas'*
 [Began-FSG was-AUX-NSG and suddenly started-crying-FSG-R/P
i vybežala iz komnaty.
 and ran-out-FSG from room-GEN.]

'She had just begun when suddenly she broke down crying and ran out of the room.'

- (163) R *Ležit, byvalo, kak treska.*
 [Lies-3SG, was-NSG-FREQ-AUX, like cod-NOM.]
 'She would lie around like a cod.'

- (164) R *Pomnite, vy, byvalo, tak govorili?*
 [Remember-2PL, you-NOM, was-NSG-FREQ-AUX, so spoke-PL?]
 'Do you remember, you used to speak that way.'

Both the R *bylo* and R *byvalo* constructions may be found in 19th and 20th century literature and appear to be features of the colloquial language. The use of the single

18. The Ukrainian pluperfect employs past tense forms of 'be' as an auxiliary with the past tense form of the main verb, but is more like the R *bylo* construction in meaning, an intended but uncompleted action (Shevelov 1993: 971).

form particles adds to this tendency in Russian to reduce auxiliary constructions to unchanging particles as with R *est'* '(there) is' and the R *by* 'would' conditional.

The grammaticalization of the modal particle for 'need' show similar developments to function words in Cz *třeba* 'maybe', indicating that it is not only BE which exhibits function word grammaticalization tendencies. Semantically related notions also exhibit these same tendencies, though perhaps to a lesser degree. The categories and systems of constructions with behavior similar to BE and HAVE are discussed in Chapter 2.

This brief section on the grammaticalization of function words from the concept BE reveals another area in which BE is an extremely productive concept. Some of these constructions are easily explained and others remain mysteries. Our knowledge of these various function words formed from 'be' adds to our understanding of the potential of BE to serve grammatical roles.

5.4 Grammaticalization of BE and HAVE in Slavic: Conclusion

The previous sections on grammaticalization tell most of the story of the role of BE and HAVE in the grammatical constructions of the Slavic languages. This particular story is so long because these concepts are highly productive and frequently take on grammatical roles. BE and HAVE yield multiple auxiliary functions as past, future, conditional, and passive auxiliaries in addition to their modal uses. They serve as auxiliaries with modal constructions and as modal verbs themselves. As in their multiple lexical meanings, BE and HAVE remain polysemous in their grammatical functions. Only one other common grammaticalization trait for BE and HAVE across languages that we do not see thus far in Slavic is the causative construction, although a Czech use of HAVE may eventually develop in this direction.¹⁹

19. English uses both Engl *have* and Engl *get* as causatives as in Engl *I had Brian wash my car* and Engl *I had my car washed*; and Engl *I got Brian to wash my car* and Engl *I got my car washed* (Celce-Murcia 1983: 481). A construction with 'have' exists in Czech as an expression of urging or forcing: Cz *mít koho k čemu* 'encourage, urge, force' or Cz *měli ho k ženění* 'they urged him to get married' (SSČ 1998: 182) and in the prefixed form of Cz *mít* 'have', Cz *přimět někoho k něčemu* 'force someone to (do) something'. It is interesting that almost no prefixation occurs with the verbs 'have' in Slavic, whereas prefixed forms of 'be' are many, even if some are now obsolete (see 3.6). In Czech, we only find Cz *přimět* 'force' and Cz *pomět se* 'experience, go through' as prefixed forms of Cz *mít* 'have'. However, the quantity and productivity of prefixation with the root LCS **ęti* 'take', related to LCS **jměti* 'have' may have something to say about this lack of prefixation as well as the productivity of the Slavic prefixes and the relative chronology of the development of prefixes from prepositions in Slavic and the rise of a transitive verb 'have'.

It may be possible to say that without verbs 'be' and 'have', the development of auxiliaries and modal verbs is stunted. Among many competing pathways available to Slavic evolution, the BE/HAVE-language distinction may have held the key to further development and to the array of possibilities. The Russian reliance on things that are neither declinable nouns or adjectives nor conjugated verbs, e.g., R *nado* 'need', R *est* '(there) is', R *by* 'would', R *bylo* 'almost', and R *byvalo* 'used to', has caused a rift in the systems of the language which involve BE and HAVE, including auxiliary and modal systems. This rift has led to a different structuring of network concepts in Russian. As opposed to Russian, Czech as a HAVE-language shows full conjugations of auxiliary verbs, conditional auxiliary verbs, and developed connections with concepts semantically related to BE and HAVE.

As new constructions are grammaticalized, it is important to remember that they are entering a preexistent system. Neither is grammaticalization a process whereby a new construction switches slots with an old construction (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 10). When the aorist, imperfect and perfect system were lost in Czech and Polish, a single past tense construction developed from the present perfect and only relatively recently did the new perfect with 'have' begin to arise. When P *mieć* entered the modal system, it did not do so as an expression of COM-PULSION or NECESSITY where modal verbs already existed, but as one of DUTY, where it provided a verbal alternative to P *powinien* 'should, ought'. BE and HAVE have given rise to evidential constructions, they have competed with new auxiliary concepts, and they have become specialized expressions in particular contexts. In auxiliary uses, these concepts have shown phonetic reduction and semantic modification while often still retaining a connection to their original meanings. Grammaticalization of BE and HAVE in Slavic has also involved the reduction of paradigmatic forms and the reduction of various forms to unchanging particles. Of the questions set out at the beginning of this chapter, we have found answers to all of these in the grammaticalization processes in Slavic with BE and HAVE.

Language contact and borrowing

I got a rock.
– Charlie Brown

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we turn to some of the most difficult areas to document, but to matters which certainly have influenced the development of **BE** and **HAVE** in the Slavic languages. For various historical reasons and matters of happenstance in the development of the Slavic languages, there is a remarkable uniformity regarding the use of a verb ‘have’ and the presence of an explicit verb ‘be’ expressing **EXISTENCE** and **COPULA**. Russian offers itself as the only exception to this uniform picture for Slavic. The location of the Russian speech territory on the periphery of the Slavic speaking world may have something to do with the unexpected developments or lack of developments in Russian. In addition, the other Slavic languages may have reinforced each other in their shared development and were likely influenced by neighboring European **HAVE**-languages. However, Russian lies not only on the periphery, but has also come into contact with non-Indo-European languages with such traits as a lack of the verb ‘have’ and no explicit verbal copula. We also find a number of syntactic calques, phrasal loan translations from a donor language, among the Slavic languages with a verb ‘have’. In some instances, these syntactic calques may represent the combination of a verb with certain objects, adverbs, or prepositional phrases which do not easily comport with the grammatical systems of the borrowing language. In other instances, the preference of one phrase over other synonymous options can be most easily accounted for as a borrowing from another language. Ultimately, it may be difficult to prove that many of the examples discussed below are syntactic calques. We must always allow for the possibility of coincidence given the potential for identical expressions to arise independently in separate languages. However, in many of these purported syntactic calques, the similarities between neighboring languages are sufficiently compelling for us to identify one of the expressions as a borrowing. In the case of Czech, for instance, the numerous syntactic constructions with the verb ‘have’ bear a striking resemblance to German constructions.

Given the many lexical borrowings from German into Czech and the domination of the Czech linguistic territory by German-speaking peoples, it is worthwhile exploring the ways in which German has reinforced Czech as a HAVE-language and has otherwise influenced Czech, not only lexically, but grammatically. To the extent that it is possible to identify these contact influences, such phenomena are discussed in this chapter. In 6.1 I discuss some of the theoretical issues involved with contact phenomena and the means by which such language changes take place. In 6.2 I turn to the existence of syntactic calques with the verb 'have' in Czech and Russian. In Russian, few 'have' borrowings have survived the test of time, but in Czech, many significant 'have' borrowings have entered the language most likely supported by German influence. In 6.3 I consider the evidence for Finno-Ugric influences on the development of BE and HAVE in Russian and also allow for the possibility that the Russian situation is simply an independent innovation or possibly a retention of archaic language features.

6.1 Theoretical issues

One of the major questions of this chapter is, given the common genetic origin of the Slavic languages and the many similarities between them, why is Russian so different regarding BE and HAVE? Dixon (1997: 13–14) makes an excellent point in light of Baudouin de Courtenay's observations regarding common linguistic developments even after genetically related languages have split and ceased to be in contact: "the mechanism of language (its structure and composition) at any given time is the result of all its preceding history and development, and each synchronic state determines in turn its future development" (Stankiewicz 1972: 63). Thus, continues Dixon, we find occasions "when two or more languages that are genetically related – but which have not been in contact for some time – each changes in the same way", e.g., the independent occurrence of Grassman's Law in Sanskrit and Greek (Dixon 1997: 14), the rise of 1sg *-m* in Slavic (Janda 1996). We find various outcomes of the initial conditions of Common Slavic in the contemporary Slavic languages. As discussed in Chapter 4, Russian, Polish, and Czech all generalized the Common Slavic present perfect as the sole past tense construction, abandoning the imperfect and the aorist, and all these languages utilize the future of 'be' with an imperfective infinitive, even though no such construction is attested in OCS. On the other hand, there does appear to have been a verb 'have' in Common Slavic based on the use of OCS *iměti* 'have' and the presence of its reflexes in all of the Slavic languages, yet the reflex of this verb in Russian, R *imeti* 'have', does not serve as the central expression of HAVE. Individually considered, the Slavic languages still bear many resemblances to what we would reconstruct as LCS or to what we

find in OCS, yet the languages can differ quite strikingly from each other, even given the family resemblances (just as the term Slavic does not imply a uniform culture throughout Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria, although similarities are evident). When looking at Russian as opposed to Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian, we must ask what linguistic choices have been made in this language that set it apart from the rest of the Slavic world? What constructions have evolved and how have the grammatical features of other languages influenced Russian so that it differs so strongly in the expression of BE and HAVE?

Rapid and striking changes can occur over short periods of time due to contact phenomena. Dixon relates a story of drastic vocabulary and syntax changes in the Austronesian language Muyuw:

Lithgow reports that about 13% of the vocabulary was replaced over a period of 50 years or less. There have also been significant grammatical changes – for instance, the old way of saying ‘my knee’ was *gun-kitut* (lit. ‘my-knee’) whereas the new way is *kitatu-gw* (lit. ‘knee-my’). The changes were so great that a man who returned to the island after an absence of 15 years could not at first be fully understood. Lithgow comments that ‘speakers love to borrow from adjacent languages and dialects, either from boredom, from social pressure, or from a desire to display their knowledge. I have heard village orators sprinkling their speeches with words from Dobu and Kilivila languages in the way that some English speakers sprinkle their discourse with snatches of French and Latin.’ (Dixon 1997: 10; Lithgow 1973)

Certainly, this sense of pleasure in language and playfulness with the forms it takes are likely factors in many types of borrowing. The creativity and language play involved in “sprinkling” one’s native language with bits and pieces of another can lead to the development of new lexical items and grammatical constructions.¹ The notion of what is grammatical for a given language is constantly being challenged on one end of the spectrum in the sometimes idiosyncratic usage of great authors and on the other end of the spectrum in the slang of teenagers and the jargon of various professions. In between, we find the normal, everyday, undocumented, creative and often spontaneous innovations of individual speakers. Dixon further notes that “a language tends to borrow new constructions that are compatible with its overall pattern of grammatical organisation; and languages often borrow to fill gaps in their own grammatical systems (1997: 20).² Czech and Polish have filled in gaps in the category of modal verbs by the adoption of German *müssen*

1. Victor Friedman, in a personal correspondence also suggested this notion of playfulness among bilingual speakers as a source of creative language change due to contact phenomena.

2. Dixon makes a further reference along these lines to: Campbell, Lyle. 1993. “On proposed universals of grammatical borrowing.” *Historical Linguistics 1989: Papers from the*

(Cz *muset* and P *musieć* ‘must’, see 5.2.1). Czech exhibits further assimilations to German in the use of Cz *mít* ‘have’ as a sort of evidential construction comparable to Gm *sollen* ‘should’ (see 6.2) and the adaptation of the native form, Cz *rád* ‘glad’, to the German use of Gm *gern* ‘like’ (see 6.2). An additional factor in grammatical borrowing is that it tends to occur through calquing in one’s own language the constructions of another. “The way in which a grammar is organised (but not the forms themselves) will always tend to be accommodated towards grammars of other languages of which some speakers have an active knowledge (and this will happen spontaneously, without any awareness of what is taking place)” (Dixon 1997: 20). For instance, the children, bilingual in Russian and English, of a native Russian-speaking couple produced the non-standard construction in (1) as opposed to the correct translation of the English question in (2).

- (1) R Čto ty značiš?
[What-ACC you-NOM mean-2SG?]
‘What do you mean?’
- (2) R Čto ty imeeš v vidu?
[What-ACC you-NOM have-2SG in view-LOC?]
‘What do you mean?’

Similarly, among Russian-speakers living in America we find syntactic calques from English such as the borrowing of Engl *take a shower* into Russian with R *brať/vzjat’* ‘take’ in (3).

- (3) R Ja voz’mu duš.
[I-NOM take-1SG shower-ACC.]
‘I’m going to take a shower.’

However, the standard Russian phrase is semantically similar, employing the concept RECEIVE through R *prinimat’/prinjat’* ‘take, receive’ in (4).³

9th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Henk Aertsen and Robert J. Jeffers, eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

3. Many additional examples could be provided for the languages considered here. Another such example is the Polish translation for Engl *make sense* with HAVE rather than with MAKE as in (F-1) and (F-2).

- (F-1) P To ma sens.
[That-NOM has-3SG sense-ACC.]
‘That makes sense’
- (F-2) P *To robi sens.
[That-NOM makes-3SG sense-ACC.]
‘That makes sense.’

- (4) R *Ja primu duš.*
 [I-NOM receive-1SG shower-ACC.]
 'I will take a shower.'

A further example of the non-standard use of the concept TAKE is provided by (5).

- (5) R – *Pustjaki, skazal on. Ne beri*
 [– Nonsense-NOM, – said-MSG he-NOM. – Not take-IMPER
v golovu.
 in head-ACC.]
 "Nonsense," said he. "Don't take that into your head."
- (6) R *Mne prišli v golovu koe-kakie novye*
 [Me-DAT came-PL in head-ACC some-kind-of new
mysli...
 thoughts-NOM...]
 'Some new thoughts occurred to me...'

The sentence with the verb 'take' in (5) is considered to be a feature of the language of Russian-speaking Jews, perhaps representing a borrowing from Yiddish.⁴ Although the norms of Russian do not allow one to 'take nonsense into one's head', they do allow for 'ideas to arrive in one's head' as in the standard sentence in (6). In answering the question of what is possible or acceptable and what is not, we must allow for spontaneous, creative developments which may be externally motivated through the influence of another language as in (1), (3), and (5) or internally motivated by a number of factors as in the English example in (7).

- (7) Engl *I took some sleep.*
 (8) Engl *I took a nap.*
 (9) Engl *I got some sleep.*

Most speakers of English would likely say (7) is not a standard English sentence, but this construction does occur, even if strongly dispreferred by current convention.⁵ However, we may well ask why (7) is not acceptable in standard English while the similar utterances in (8) and (9) are acceptable. If one can *take a nap* or *get some sleep*, then why cannot one Engl *take some sleep* or Engl *get a nap*? Even though (7)

4. I owe this observation to Eleonora Magomedova.

5. Though some may say that a linguist who has himself as an informant is a fool, I must confess that my attention was drawn to these constructions in (7)–(9) when the example in (7) came out of my own mouth. Later, I noticed the construction in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Two Towers* (Chapter 4: Of Herbs and Stewed Rabbit): "And then you must take some sleep," said Frodo.

may be non-standard, it is strongly motivated by the similar expressions in (8) and (9). Such developments as (7) may occur on only one occasion in the speech of an individual or may be of limited temporal or geographical influence in a language, yet the meanings of concepts such as HAVE, TAKE, and GET allow for such individual utterances in speech without impeding communication between speakers (see discussion of the interplay of semantic concepts and of preferences for certain concepts over others in 2.6).

Teachers of foreign languages commonly encounter errors based on literal translations from students' native languages into the target language.⁶ The syntactic idioms and polysemies of one's native language tend to persist in the use of a foreign language if sufficient care and attention are not given to these problems. An understanding of how various constructions with BE, HAVE, and their semantic neighbors map onto other languages would make a useful tool for language learners. Multilingual speakers may employ a hodgepodge of lexical items, morphology, and syntactic constructions among themselves when communicating with others who share their linguistic repertoire and have no problems with comprehension. Constructions from another language which seem most novel may be particularly attractive for borrowing into one's native language and expressions for BE and HAVE are well suited to such borrowing because of their prominence in language and the variety of roles they serve. It is easier to identify possible syntactic calques with 'have' than with 'be', since the number of potential predicates with 'be' is so great. 'Have' also combines with a number of potential possessions, objects or prepositional phrases, but it is more limited than 'be'. Most concepts may be combined with only a limited number of objects – you can only READ so many types of things, you can only COOK so many types of things, you can only SHRUG so many types of things. Constructions for BE and HAVE are quite general and versatile in languages, but this is not to say that such constructions are meaningless or semantically empty. Rather, they express concepts that are so integral to our use of language that they are well suited for expansion into grammatical and function roles as we have seen in Chapter 5 and are also prominent in situations of linguistic contact.

6. One of my Russian language students had a penchant for saying R **Ja rodilas' gotova* [I born-FSG-R/P ready-NOM] with a nominative short adjective as a translation of Engl *I was born ready*. Despite the excellent network associations between BE and BE BORN and the near copula aspects of the verb 'be born' in English, this expression is not a standard Russian sentence. However, it is possible to say R *Ona rodilas' krasivoj* [She born-FSG-R/P beautiful-INST] 'She was born beautiful' with a full adjective form in the instrumental.

6.2 Contact phenomena and syntactic calques

Several examples of syntactic calques have been presented in the previous section. Whether or not such borrowings will enjoy currency in a wider speech community and become established in the language as a whole is difficult to determine. Based on correspondences between Slavic and neighboring European HAVE-languages, there appear to be quite a few syntactic calques involving the verb 'have'. Correspondences between German and Czech are particularly common. Even Russian, a BE-language, has some syntactic calques with 'have', but such phrases have come and gone over time and only a select few have become established in the contemporary language. The bookish nature of R *imeti* 'have' is a strong factor in the Russian resistance to 'have' borrowings. In Czech, 'have' borrowings reinforce and add to the functionality of the dominant HAVE expression, but in Russian, these borrowings must struggle in a syntactically hostile environment.

The examples of OR *iměti* 'have' uses cited by Isačenko from Sreznevskij's dictionary of Old Russian support the surface impression that R *imeti* 'have' is limited to the possession of abstract objects. In the Chronicles, OR *iměti* 'have' occurs only with abstract nouns: *iměti mirъ* 'have peace', *iměti ljubovъ* 'have love', *iměti ratъ* 'have advice', *iměti družbu* 'have friendship', *iměti pravdu* 'have truth', *iměti serdce* 'have heart', *iměti lestъ* 'flatter' (Isačenko 1974: 50). Isačenko also reports that some HAVE-related Polonisms entered the Russian language to some extent, but did not trigger the use of OR *iměti* 'have' as a competing HAVE construction.

Based on the absence of OR *iměti* 'have' in 16th and 17th century foreign glossaries, including the *Paris Muscovite Glossary* of 1586 and Richard James's glossary of 1618–19, which Isačenko calls "the most reliable sources of our knowledge about the vernacular of the period," he concludes "*ex silentio* that *iměti* was not used in the vernacular" (Isačenko 1974: 50). Isačenko adds that in some 18th century foreign grammars, full paradigms of R *imeti* 'have' and R *byť* 'be' appear, often accompanied by examples, which purport to illustrate the use of these two verbs as in the HAVE-languages of Europe. The influence of the foreign grammarians' own native languages probably accounts for most of these apparently inappropriate inclusions, yet other examples in these grammars might actually capture aspects of 18th century merchant speech, a speech register in which foreign influences would have been likely. Isačenko includes some phrases from the Swedish *Grammatica Russica* of 1750 by Michael Groening: *neiměju vremeni* 'I have no time', *čestъ iměju* 'I have the honor', *onъ iměetъ xorošej vidъ* 'He looks good', *On iměet xorošej stanъ* 'He has a good figure', *Vy nikakogo pesku neiměete* 'You have no sand', *Mj iměemъ izrjadnyja kamorki* 'We have excellent rooms', *Skol'ko zarjadovъ*

poroxu vy iměete vь svojemъ rožkě? ‘How many loads of powder do you have in your horn?’⁷ and others (Isačenko 1974: 51). Isačenko does not vouch for the authenticity of all of these phrases, but finds them difficult to ignore. During the 18th and 19th centuries, more phrases with R *imet’* ‘have’ + abstract noun entered Russian, presumably from Western European languages, particularly from French and German, languages well known to aristocrats and the literary elite (Isačenko 1974: 52). Several of these syntactic calques are presented in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1. Some Syntactic Calques with Russian *imet’* ‘have’

R	<i>imět’ čest’</i>	‘have the honor’
R	<i>imět’ sposobnost’</i>	‘have the aptitude’
R	<i>imět’ talant</i>	‘have the talent’
R	<i>imět’ sčast’e</i>	‘have the luck’
R	<i>imět’ ves</i>	‘carry weight’
R	<i>imět’ avtoritet</i>	‘have the authority’
R	<i>imět’ reputaciju</i>	‘have the reputation’
R	<i>imět’ otnošenje</i>	‘be related to’
R	<i>imět’ vlijanie</i>	‘have an influence’
R	<i>imět’ vozmožnost’</i>	‘have the possibility’
R	<i>imět’ ponjatie</i>	‘have an idea (about)’
R	<i>imět’ derzost’</i>	‘have the impudence’
R	<i>imět’ terpenie</i>	‘have patience’
R	<i>imět’ delo s</i>	‘have to do with’
R	<i>imět’ mesto</i>	‘take place, occur’
R	<i>imět’ slovo</i>	‘have the floor’
R	<i>imět’ uspex</i>	‘have success’
R	<i>imět’ značenie</i>	‘have significance’
R	<i>imět’ namerenie</i>	‘have the intention’

Many of these set phrases are still in use today, but are rarely encountered in colloquial speech. A particularly common exception is the use of another ‘have’ phrase, R *imet’ v vidu* ‘have in mind, mean’, as in (2) above. However, the presence of these ‘have’ calques has not led to an expansion of the uses of R *imet’* ‘have’ as a general HAVE expression. The use of R *imet’* ‘have’ does not appear to be on the rise in contemporary Russian and is far from replacing constructions with R *u* + GEN + (*est’*) [by + GEN + (there is)] ‘have’. The domination of the concept HAVE in Russian by Ru + GEN ‘have’ and the syntactic difference between this construction

7. This usage of OR *iměti* ‘have’ in the LOCATION possessive notion contradicts what Chvany (1975: 100) describes for the use of R *imet’* ‘have’ in the contemporary language, see 4.3.2.

and the verbs 'have' of other Slavic and European languages have likely impeded the acceptance of syntactic calques with R *imet'* 'have'.

However, the HAVE expression in Czech is a verb much like the HAVE constructions of neighboring languages. The syntactic and semantic similarities result in a number of possible syntactic calques. It is highly likely that many expressions with Cz *mít* 'have' are of German origin, as in the following examples.

- (10) Cz *Mám hlad/žízeň.*
[Have-1SG hunger/thirst-ACC.]
Gm *Ich habe hunger/durst.*
[I have-1SG hunger/thirst.]
'I am hungry/thirsty.'
- (11) Cz *Má strach.*
[Have-3SG fear.]
Gm *Er hat Angst.*
[He has-3SG fear.]
'He is scared.'
- (12) Cz *Strach mám jako každý normální člověk...*
[“Fear-ACC have-1SG like every normal person-NOM...”]
'I get scared just like any normal person...'
- (13) Cz *Mám chuť na pizzu.*
[Have-1SG appetite-ACC for pizza-ACC.]
Gm *Ich habe Lust zu eine Pizza.*
[I have-1SG desire for a pizza.]
'I feel like a pizza.'
- (14) Cz *Podstatné je, aby lidé
cítily, že mám chuť je bavit.*
[Essential-NOM is, that+be-COND-AUX-3PL people-NOM
felt-PL, that have-1SG appetite-ACC them-ACC entertain-INF.]
'It is essential that people feel that I have the desire to entertain them.'
- (15) Cz *Mají ho za blázna.*
[Have-3PL him-ACC for crazy-person-ACC.]
Gm *Sie haben ihn zum Narren.*
[They have-3PL him for crazy-person.]
'They take him for a crazy person.' (Siebenschein 1968)
- (16) Cz *Máš pravdu.*
[Have-2SG truth.]
Gm *Du hast recht.*
[You have-2SG right.]
'You're right.'

- (17) Cz *To máte pravdu.*
 [That have-2PL truth-ACC.]
 'You're right about that.'

The examples in (10)–(17) comprise striking examples of exact matches between Czech and German expressions. Perhaps one may explain away these examples as common expressions arising separately in HAVE-languages, but note that with the exception of the colloquial translation of (13) with Engl *I have a yen/hankering for pizza*, none of these concepts are expressed in English by 'have'. English expresses the concept in (10) with Engl *be hungry, be thirsty*, but does allow for a metaphorical use of the phrase 'have hunger' in Engl *I have a hunger for justice* (see also the discussion of BE/HAVE preferences in 2.6). It is beyond the scope of this book to investigate thoroughly what research has been done on the effects of German on Czech, but it is generally held that many Czech lexical and syntactic features have been influenced by German. There are numerous lexical borrowings from German into Czech, but the larger question here is, what kinds of grammatical influences has German exercised on Czech? German may even have played a major role in encouraging the development of 'have' in Czech beyond the above phrasal matches.

For purposes of 'have' borrowings, the German expression Gm *gern haben* 'like' and Cz *mít rád* 'like' are useful for exhibiting a syntactic calque with widespread use.

- (18) Cz *To mám rád.*
 [That-ACC have-1SG glad-MSG]
 Gm *Ich habe es gern.*
 [I have-1SG it gladly.]
 'I like that.'
- (19) Cz *Rád bych se zaměřil na práci*
 [Glad-MSG be-COND-AUX-1SG R/P focused-MSG to work-ACC
v České televizi.
 in Czech television-LOC.]
 'I would gladly focus on work in Czech television.'

The Czech use of Cz *rád* 'glad' is identical to the German use of Gm *gern* 'gladly' with the verb 'have'. Czech also emulates German in the adverbial use of this construction with other verbs to express 'like to do X' as in Gm *Ich singe gern*, Cz *Já rád zpívám* 'I like to sing' and a further example in (19). The Czech construction is slightly more complex than the German construction in that the Czech short adjective Cz *rád* 'glad' agrees in number and gender with its subject, whereas the Gm *gern* 'gladly' is unchanging. Thus, the masculine form of Cz *rád* 'glad' in

(18) and (19) becomes feminine Cz *ráda* 'glad' in (20) and plural Cz *rádi* 'glad' in (21) with Cz *mít* 'have' and in adverbial use with another verb in (22).

- (20) Cz *Máte ráda popularitu?*
[Have-2PL glad-Fsg popularity-ACC?]
'Do you like popularity?'
- (21) Cz *...oni nás nemají rádi, ministerstvo*
[...they-NOM us-ACC not-have-3PL glad-PL, ministry-NOM
nám dává málo peněz...
us-DAT gives-3SG little money-GEN...]
'...they don't like us, the ministry gives us little money...'
- (22) Cz *Lidi prostě rádi chodí na koncerty, kde*
[People-NOM simply glad-PL go-3PL to concerts-ACC, where
si můžou většinu kousků zazpívat
self-DAT can-3PL majority-ACC pieces-GEN sing-INF
s kapelou.
with choir-INST.]
'People simply like to go to concerts where they can sing the majority of the pieces with the choir.'

For the comparative and superlative, Gm *gern* 'gladly' is supplanted by Gm *lieber* 'dearer' and Gm *am liebsten* 'dearest', but Czech uses the regular comparative and superlative forms, Cz *raději/radši* 'more gladly' in (23) and Cz *nejraději/nejradši* 'most gladly' in (24).

- (23) Gm *Ich spiele lieber Tennis als Golf.*
[I play-1SG rather tennis than golf.]
Cz *Já hraju raději tenis než golf.*
[I-NOM play-1SG more-gladly tennis-ACC than golf-ACC.]
'I like playing tennis more than golf.'
- (24) Cz *Jelcin má ze všeho na světě*
[Yeltsin-NOM has-3SG from all-GEN on world-LOC
nejraději moc.
most-gladly power-ACC.]
'Of everything in the world, Yeltsin likes power most of all.'

The correspondences between Cz *rád* 'glad' and Gm *gern* 'gladly' provide strong evidence for the influence of the German construction on the development of such a construction in Czech. Other phrasal matches are compelling, but for any of them, we may perhaps be dealing with an independently developed expression that merely capitalizes on the semantic potential of HAVE. Nevertheless, some

further possible examples of syntactic calques of German origin with *Cz mít* 'have' are listed in Table 6-2. Of these expressions, Reiter (1953) is most certain that *Cz mít rád* 'like', *mít stolicí* 'have a bowel movement', and *mít za to, že...* 'think, that...' are due to German influence. The construction with *Cz mít koho/co za koho/co* 'take someone for something' shows an extension to the concept HOLD with *Cz*

Table 6-2. Possible Syntactic Calques in Czech based on German Models
(compiled from Reiter 1953)

Czech	German
<i>mít co při ruce</i>	<i>etwas bei der Hand haben</i> 'have something at hand, available'
<i>mít se dobře</i>	<i>sich wohl haben</i> 'be doing well'
<i>mít koho za blázna</i>	<i>jemanden zum Narren haben, jemanden als Narren halten</i> 'consider someone crazy'
<i>mít koho za koho/co</i>	<i>jemanden zum etwas haben</i> 'take someone for something'
<i>mít napřed co nad koho</i>	<i>jemanden etwas voraus haben</i> 'have an advantage over someone in something'
<i>mít podezření na koho</i>	<i>auf jemanden Verdacht haben</i> 'suspect someone of something'
<i>mít předskok před kým</i>	<i>einen Vorsprung vor jemandem haben</i> 'have a lead over someone'
<i>mít rád koho</i>	<i>jemanden gern haben</i> 'like someone'
<i>mít sebe v moci</i>	<i>sich in der Gewalt legen</i> 'have control over oneself'
<i>mít s kým činit</i>	<i>mit jemanden zu tun haben</i> 'have to do with'
<i>mít stolicí</i>	<i>Stuhlgang haben</i> 'have a bowel movement'
<i>mít tovaryšství/obecenství s kým</i>	<i>Gemeinschaft haben mit jemandem</i> 'associate with'
<i>mít volnou ruku v čem</i>	<i>in etwas freie Hand haben</i> 'have a free hand in something, carte blanche in something'
<i>mít za to, že</i>	<i>halten dafür</i> 'think that'
<i>mít za ušima</i>	<i>es hinter den Ohren haben</i> 'have something behind the ears, be smart'

držet 'hold', a HAVE synonym. Reiter (1953) compares this with the expression, Gm *jemanden für etwas halten* 'take someone for something', using Gm *halten* 'hold'. Many of the above Czech phrases have matches in Polish: P *mieć kogoś za coś* 'take someone for something', P *mieć kogoś w podejrzeniu* 'suspect someone of something', P *mieć stolec* 'have a bowel movement', and P *mieć do czynienia* 'have to do' with a Polish deverbal noun with preposition P *do* 'to' instead of the infinitive as in Czech (see 4.4).

In addition to the phrasal correspondences between German and Czech with the verb 'have', there is a use of the modal verb Cz *mít* 'should' which calls for discussion. In German, the verb Gm *sollen* 'should' corresponds to the Czech use of Cz *mít* 'should', but the verbs in these two languages also have an identical usage similar to the English expressions, Engl *He is supposed to be a fine actor*, Engl *They say he is a fine actor* (cf. Isačenko 1974: 70). This construction amounts to an evidential use of 'have' in Czech and an extension of the use of Gm *sollen* 'should' from modality into evidentiality.

- (25) Cz *Mají jít do Anglie.*
 [Have-3PL go-INF to England-GEN.]
 'They say that they are going to England.'
- (26) Cz *Zítra má být hezky.*
 [Tomorrow has-3SG be-INF nice.]
 'Tomorrow is supposed to be nice.'
- (27) Cz *Má to být pěkný film.*
 [Has-3SG that-NOM be-INF pretty film-NOM.]
 'They say that's a nice movie.'

These expressions all have an element of 'should' and 'ought' in them combined with an element of reported speech. In this particular use, Cz *mít* 'have' is equivalent to the Czech particle Cz *prý* 'supposedly' which introduces a bit of reported speech, the accuracy or the truth of which the speaker does not absolutely vouch for. Perhaps in the above examples, the comparison with German is a coincidence; after all, the corresponding English expression 'be supposed to' can be used here as can the nearly synonymous 'should' and 'ought'. Lempp (1986: 63) maintains that 'supposedly' is a possible meaning for the modal construction with P *mieć* 'have' in P *Poetka Ewelina Sarna miała wyrzec głośne potem słowa...* [Poet Ewelina Sarna-NOM had-FSG exclam-INF famous words-ACC...] 'Then the poet Ewelina Sarna supposedly exclaimed the famous words...' Whether through contact phenomena or through independent semantic extensions, these examples provide further data for considering the connections between modality and other domains (see also 2.6.5).

The sheer quantity of these syntactic overlaps motivates us to seriously consider the possibility that German has had a stabilizing and productive influence on the development of HAVE in Czech with a transitive verb. There is often a striking similarity between the Czech and German phrases, though we may still wonder if these expressions are of German origin or just the natural associations of BE, HAVE, and their semantic neighbors. We can at least identify some syntactic calques in Czech from German because the time depth is not too great and we have ample attestations in the historical record. There is good evidence of language contact influence when these phrasal calques introduce syntactic structures into Czech which are otherwise not found in the Slavic languages, particularly the use of *Cz mít rád* 'like'.

6.3 Possible language contact in the development of BE and HAVE in Russian

As has already been mentioned in the discussion of BE and HAVE, Russian differs sharply from the other Slavic languages in its lack of a transitive verb 'have' and its use of a zero copula in the expression of BE. Several possibilities may account for this situation. Regarding BE, we find both the expressed and the zero copula in OCS and in many ancient Indo-European languages. We may assume that Russian generalized the zero form and a locational HAVE expression while the other Slavic languages generalized the expressed forms of 'be' and developed a verb 'have', perhaps also in relation to the fate of the athematic verbs in different Slavic languages (ATHEMATIC). In this sense, we may view Russian as preserving archaic expressions of BE and HAVE from Proto-Indo-European. On the other hand, we may assume that an expressed copula was in use in Common Slavic and that a spontaneous development has occurred in the history of Russian, a creative act whereby a zero copula developed and became the dominant expression of BE and a locational expression replaced LCS **jměti* 'have'. Another proposal is that the contemporary expressions of BE and HAVE in Russian represent developments under the influence of neighboring Finno-Ugric languages. The arguments for and against the role of language contact in the development of Russian are considered in this section.

The major problem with contact phenomena is that it is difficult to prove when they are responsible for a given development. In situations where there is no other compelling reason for a construction to exist in language X and it is present in a neighboring language Y, then we may take this for good evidence that the construction in language X has arisen due to contact influence from language Y. However, with BE and HAVE, there is no shortage of possibilities for a new development. For Russian, the available evidence is far from conclusive. It has been proposed that the progress of the Russian language's entry into the HAVE-languages

ATHEMATIC

The development of BE and HAVE in Slavic is also connected with the fate of the athematic verbs. The athematic conjugation in Common Slavic was a non-productive group of only five verbs, but contained some core semantic notions, LCS **byti* 'be', **iměti* 'have', **dati* 'give', **věděti* 'know', and **ěsti* 'eat'.¹ In many West and South Slavic languages, the athematic verbs, instead of dying out, have extended their 1SG present ending in *-m* to some thematic classes of verbs, yielding major verbal paradigms in modern Czech and Polish, for instance. In Russian, however, this class of verbs has become almost extinct. Except for the 3SG form *R est'* 'is', the present tense forms of *R byt'* 'be' have become obsolete in contemporary Russian. The conjugation of the verb *R vedat'* (< LCS **věděti*) 'know' has conformed to another verbal paradigm (the *R -aj-* conjugation) and is now considered poetic or archaic. The verb *R imet'* 'have' also shows an adaptation of its conjugated forms to a common paradigm. The two remaining athematic verbs, *R dat'* 'give' and *R est'* 'eat',² are an amalgamation of athematic and rebuilt endings, rendering them rather conspicuous as two of very few irregular verbs in the contemporary Russian verbal system.

There was a tendency in most of the Slavic languages to level the athematic desinences in favor of the thematic desinences, e.g., 2SG *-si* > *-ši*. Exceptions and individual developments in the descendant languages aside, the result was that the athematic desinences more or less resembled their thematic counterparts with the exception of the 1SG *-m* (for details, see Janda 1996: 15). The spread of the 1SG *-m* desinence in West and South Slavic may be attributed largely to two developments: the contraction of *-VjV-* sequences to long *-V̄-* and the development of secondary length (Janda 1996: 17). In some classes of thematic verbs, we find sequences *-ěje-* and *-aje-* in the 2SG through 2PL forms and 1SG and 3PL *-ajə-*, *-ějə-*. In West and South Slavic³, contraction was resisted in the 1SG and 3PL, but the *-VjV-* sequences contracted in the other forms, *-ěje-* > long *-ě-*, *-aje-* > long *-ā-*, thus the 2SG through 2PL forms of those verbs came to resemble members of the athematic conjugation. For instance, in SSL, 2SG *dělaješ* 'do', 3SG *dělaje* contracted to *dělāš*, *dělā*, which can now be reinterpreted as members of the athematic paradigm, cf. 2SG *dās* 'give', 3SG *dā* (Janda 1996: 18). A major role in the reanalysis of the *-aje-* verbs was played by **iměti* 'have' (as well as **dati* 'give'). Instead of being isolated in a closed class of verbs, it served as a model for the development of many other verbs. Similarly, contracted forms of *-ěje-* verbs resembled the forms of **věděti* 'know'. Based on the newly developed similarity between the types, the extension of 1SG *-m* is well motivated. However, other shared traits of the West and South Slavic languages have helped contribute to the spread of *-m* as well. Janda notes that *-m* was used elsewhere as a marker of the first person: oblique forms of the 1st person pronoun, 1SG possessive pronominal adjective *moji* 'my', and the nominative plural of the personal pronoun *my* 'we' (with the exception of Bulgarian and Macedonian) (Janda 1996: 24). Taken together, these shared conditions result in the spread of 1SG *-m* to many new verb types in the West and South Slavic languages, the very languages which develop as HAVE-languages. Perhaps the Slavic HAVE-languages retain and develop their inherited forms of **jbměti*, in part because of the spread of athematic *-m*, a development which does not take place in Russian, where *R imet'* 'have' has a mostly bookish flavor.

¹LCS **jbměti* 'have' is usually included in the category of athematic verbs, but Schenker (1995: 130) omits it from his list. The conjugation of OCS *jbměti* 'have' does distinguish it among the athematic verbs, particularly in the 2SG OCS *imaši* 'you have' which shows *-ši*, whereas other athematic verbs have the 2SG ending *-si*, e.g., OCS *dasi* 'you give'. Regular sound changes in the athematics also distinguish OCS *jbměti* 'have' from the other athematics. In the 3SG and some other forms, the other athematics show an *-s-* before the desinence for various reasons, but there is no *-s-* with 'have', e.g., OCS *jbmats* 'he has', but OCS *dasts* 'he gives'. The forms of some related verbs, OCS *eti* 'take' and OCS *jbmati* 'grasp, seize', pose further problems which cannot be discussed in the current work.

²*R est'* < *ěsti* 'eat' should not be confused with the 3SG present form of *R byt'* 'be', *R est'* < *estъ*. The sounds represented by the letters *ě* and *e* merged in the history of Russian, resulting in homonyms in the case of 'eat' and 'is'.

³Contraction of *-VjV-* sequences is not as widespread in Bulgarian as in Serbo-Croatian. See Janda 1996 for details.

of Europe has been retarded or blocked by historical language contact between the East Slavic and Finno-Ugric (Uralic) peoples. Kiparsky (1969: 15–23), Décsy (1967: 157–9), and Veenker (1967: 109–19) all conclude that Finno-Ugric influences have resulted in the use of *R u + GEN* ‘have’ rather than the transitive verb *R imet* ‘have’ (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988: 246). As Thomason and Kaufmann tell us, the “possessive construction used in Russian is common in Uralic, e.g., Finnish *minulla on paketti* ‘I have a package’ (literally, ‘me-to is package’)” is strikingly similar to the *R u menja paket* [by me-GEN package-NOM] ‘I have a package’ (1988: 246). However, as we know from Heine’s source domains for HAVE (see 2.2), it would be entirely possible for these constructions to be from separate sources, particularly if the literal translation ‘me-to is package’ corresponded well with the actual Finnish meaning. If this were the case, we would have an EXISTENCE:GOAL source domain for HAVE in Finnish, but a LOCATION source domain for HAVE in Russian. The absence of a verb ‘have’ from the ACTION source domain in two languages does not therefore imply unity of source domains, seven source domains remain, all of which utilize the concept BE. As it turns out, the literal translation in Thomason and Kaufmann is somewhat misleading. A better understanding of the Finnish construction would be Finn *minulla on paketti* [me-on is-located package] ‘I have a package’, an example of the LOCATION source domain in agreement with Heine’s presentation and conclusion (1997: 206). This construction with ‘on X’ for ‘have’ is indeed close to the Russian ‘by/at X’; thus, there could have been a Finno-Ugric influence on the development of HAVE in Russian. Décsy (1967) is quite adamant on the point of Finno-Ugric influences on the expression of HAVE in Russian. He states that the constructions are identical and that the Russian use of *R u + GEN + (est)* can only be “a translation of the equivalent Finnish expression” (Décsy 1967: 159).

There is a certain ambivalence in Heine (1997) as to whether or not the development of HAVE expressions are influenced by contact phenomena. At one point he says that “contrary to what has been observed in other domains of grammaticalization..., the choice of source domains for possession does not seem to be influenced strongly by areal forces” (Heine 1997: 75). However, regarding the use of *R imet* ‘have’, Heine allows for the possibility of contact phenomena in the development of Russian HAVE, stating that “what may have been a contributing factor is language contact, that is, areal influence exerted by some neighbouring language or languages” (Heine 1997: 84). As another example, Heine also contradicts this prohibition against areal influences saying that the rise of LCS **jbměti* ‘have’ “is an areal innovation triggered by developments to be traced back to Greek, Romance, and/or Germanic languages” (Heine 1997: 232). If we cannot attribute the development of the Russian HAVE expression to language contact, then the problem of accounting for the “discrepancy” between Russian and the other Slavic languages remains. Heine proposes another possibility:

“what can also have been involved is something that one may simply call a creative act: some languages have exactly the same structural conditions as Russian, still, the process that occurred in Russian did not take place in these languages, that is, a creative act did not take place whereby a possessive concept was expressed in terms of a locative concept” (1997: 84).

Contact phenomena are also frequently used to explain the development of *BE* in Russian. However, Décsy is in strong disagreement with the notion that Finno-Ugric influences explain the Russian use of the zero copula. He points out that the Finno-Ugric languages of the people who would have been in contact with Russian speakers have an expressed verb ‘be’ and even in the Finno-Ugric languages which use a zero copula, the omission of ‘be’ occurs in different contexts than in Russian (Décsy 1967: 157). Kiparsky sides with Décsy, stating “that other I[ndo]-E[uropean] languages, and even some other Slavic languages, have the trait (i.e. copula drop)” (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988: 246). Thomason and Kaufmann maintain there is no “general drift to lose” the copula since the other Slavic languages retain it and that since the Finno-Ugric languages influenced *HAVE*, they likely influenced *BE* as well (1988: 246). However, given the similarities in copula reduction from East to West Slavic, i.e., cliticization with subsequent loss of forms in Russian and severe phonetic reduction of ‘be’ in Polish with reformation of the stem of ‘be’, we may conclude that there was some drift within Slavic towards the loss of ‘be’ (see Chapter 5). Whereas Russian lost these clitic forms entirely except for the form *Rest’* ‘(there) is’ which came to serve special roles in the language, Polish was able to make a last ditch effort to reconstruct ‘be’ by using the same form, 3SG *P jest*, which had become an emphatic marker, with the clitic forms of earlier ‘be’ (Andersen 1987: 27–9). Veenker (1967) and Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 246) conclude that the Finno-Ugric influence “is probable”. Against Décsy’s objection that the use of zero forms does not overlap for Russian and the Finno-Ugric languages, Thomason and Kaufmann argue that borrowed features often occur in a broader context in the borrowing language than in the donor language (1988: 246).

Kiparsky’s suggestion that Russian has preserved a Proto-Indo-European archaism deserves further consideration. Orr (1992) puts forth the idea that the Proto-Indo-European typological features of *BE* and *HAVE* are preserved in the peripheral Celtic branch of Indo-European and in Russian as the most isolated of the Slavic languages.

“One might therefore see Russian and Goidelic as more ‘peripheral’ European languages, which have preserved some Indo-European archaisms, separated by an innovating centre...the group of languages that we often call ‘Western European’ (English, French, German, Italian, etc.) might be renamed ‘Central European,’ to accommodate the parallel patterns in ‘peripheral’ Slavic (Russian) to the East and ‘peripheral’ Celtic (Goidelic) to the West” (Orr 1992: 265).

Orr offers an intriguing alternative to accepting the Finno-Ugric hypothesis for explaining the expression of BE and HAVE in Russian. However, we must also take into account the fact that languages with similar HAVE constructions might also pattern in a number of similar ways with respect to other linguistic categories (e.g., ergative marking, tense and aspect expressions, etc.). Thus the similarities between Russian and Celtic may not be due to a preserved genetic inheritance but to independent developments in the expression of HAVE which produced similarities between the languages.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter cannot provide answers to all of the questions presented here, but it does present the possibilities of language contact influence and show the areas where a significant overlap exists in syntactic structures with the verb 'have'. The contrast between the ready acceptance of 'have' borrowings in Czech and the resistance to such borrowings in Russian brings to light a distinction between HAVE-languages and BE-languages. The connections between a 'have' verb and other verbs in the conceptual network facilitate the formation of connections between those concepts. The lack of a verb 'have' also prohibits the development of phrasal verbs using 'have' as a sort of auxiliary verb (e.g. the Cz *mít rád* 'like' construction). In a HAVE-language, the verb 'have' is like any other verb in the language, indicating that the BE/HAVE dichotomy can influence the development of other systems in the language. Even the existence of the marginal 'have' verb, R *imet'* 'have', which was used in the translation of some borrowed phrases was not a strong enough factor to motivate the widespread acceptance of 'have' borrowings in Russian. It is sometimes difficult to say for certain when a borrowing has successfully taken place, since they do not always gain lasting currency in a language. In the case of Russian, 'have' borrowings entered at an elite level and did not spread into the colloquial, common language. However, there is not anything inherently elite about the verb 'have' or in the borrowings except for the fact that they likely entered the Russian language through upper-class, multi-lingual speakers of Russian, French, and German. In opposition to this, however, we have Isačenko's list of Old Russian 'have' phrases from the speech of the merchant class. In such contexts, the use of 'have' may have enhanced communication in trade or been influenced by the merchants' knowledge of other languages. Thus 'have' borrowings are not strictly a feature of elite speech, but rather have much to do with a multi-lingual population, regardless of class or education. Syntactic calques will occur in such situations and may be more likely to gain acceptance and permanence in a language when a significant number of speakers are familiar with the structures of the contact languages.

Many of the answers to these questions of language contact require further research into the historical development of the languages involved. There does seem to be good evidence for Finno-Ugric influence on the development of HAVE in Russian, and Balkan areal phenomena have been involved in the development of the Bulgarian evidential construction (Friedman 1998). It would likely be profitable to investigate the role of Latin in the development of Polish. Latin was widely used in Poland in previous centuries⁸ and is suspected of contact influence in the development of the Old Polish perfect (Andersen 1987: 25). In 15th and 16th century Polish-Russian correspondence, traces of the Polish modal use of 'have' entered Russian (Isačenko 1974: 50). Language contact can be used to explain a variety of features in language and, for that reason, it may be overused as an analytical tool. Further research into the historical development of BE and HAVE in relation to language contact may only allow for additional speculation without firm conclusions. Substrate influences and language contact may rarely be conclusive and may even at times provide only vague answers to questions of historical development, nevertheless, the possibilities are intriguing and warrant the consideration of language contact when examining the development of BE and HAVE constructions.

8. In 1728, Daniel Defoe remarked that a "man who can speak Latin...may travel from one end of Poland to another as familiarly as if he was born in the country." (Davies 1982: 236–7). Latin was particularly dominant in the Polish governmental and intellectual life in the 16th and 17th centuries with some French, Italian, and German influence as well (Davies 1982: 378–9). Although it is not difficult to find the influence of Latin and Greek on the vocabularies of the European languages, the concept POSSESS provides a nice example, whereby Lat *possedere* 'possess' has been calqued in Gm *besitzen* 'possess' and P *posiadać* 'possess', both of which feature the concept SIT (Isačenko 1974: 64).

Conclusions

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

– William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

In this book, I have tried to bring together a host of things which had not been brought together before and show why it was fruitful to do so. Any one of the chapter topics might have merited an entire study, sometimes even individual sections within a chapter might have done so. A book just on *BE*, or just on *BE* in one language, would likely have contained a different kind of detail, perhaps something like Chvany's (1975) book on *BE* in Russian. A study just of grammaticalization would have asked different questions. A study of one of the network concepts, for instance, the verb *Cz dát* 'give; put' and its many roles, including the reflexive/passive use of *Cz dát se* 'be possible' and the relation of this verb to *BE* and *HAVE* could merit its own in-depth study. A historical study would also have asked different questions and would have followed different leads. Yet none of these approaches would have brought all of the ideas together that have been looked at in this book. To some extent, the coverage may be superficial, but the point was to look at the whole system related to *BE* and *HAVE* in its entirety. This included examining the concepts *BE* and *HAVE* on their own, examining the role of *BE* and *HAVE* in grammaticalization, looking at the effects of language contact, and seeing how *BE* and *HAVE* interact with each other and with other semantically related concepts. I propose that it is necessary to understand all of the elements looked at here: polysemy, suppletion, main verb functions, auxiliary functions, modality, function words, grammatical categories, borrowing, contact phenomena, semantic neighbors, and the rich variety of constructions. All of these factors must be taken into consideration in order to begin to understand what *BE* and *HAVE* and the concepts which are like them do and can do in language. If this study has been successful, it is because it has brought together everything that needs to be looked at in order to properly begin to understand the concepts *BE* and *HAVE*. To gain this type of understanding, the big picture must always be kept in mind. This book can only serve as a starting point, but also as a fairly complete introduction to the areas that need to

be more thoroughly considered. Unfortunately, as Swan (1993: 146) laments: "In contemporary linguistics, BE suffers mainly from neglect" The ubiquitousness of BE and HAVE leads us to take these constructions for granted, yet their productivity and complexity render these constructions somewhat daunting to study. BE and HAVE are polysemous and their paradigms are suppleted. They typically bear multiple meanings and functions spread out over various related root forms. If anything, these concepts are among the *heaviest* semantic concepts in language – they are not semantically empty or light, as is sometimes said of them. The chief discoveries made here are the identification of the conceptual network and the role of polysemization and suppletization in the formation, structure, renewal, and replacement of constructions for BE and HAVE. In future research, we should turn our attention to how the conceptual network is structured in individual languages and learn more about how the concepts interact in a given language in much greater detail. The remainder of this chapter serves to bring together the major findings of this study of BE and HAVE and demonstrates why these two concepts are in great need of further study.

The structure and functions of BE

There are two problems, the nature of EXISTENCE and COPULA, so often associated with BE and the forms and syntax of the BE constructions. Sometimes BE may be realized by a zero form, sometimes by a pronoun, sometimes a particle, and sometimes a verb. The form makes a difference, however. A verbal manifestation of BE provides connections between BE and the rest of the verbal system of a given language, enhancing the possibilities of a well developed set of network concepts in that language. A particular BE construction may only express COPULA OF LOCATION. Some BE constructions may only express PRESENCE/ABSENCE and some may only be expressions of MERE EXISTENCE. A coherent polysemous conception of BE is not necessary in language, but the assimilation of these concepts into one lexeme or unified collection of lexemes, resulting in the polysemies of a complex, macro-concept of BE, is motivated from an extra-linguistic standpoint. Such mergers of meaning are not random occurrences in particular languages. EXISTENCE and COPULA are the two prototypical and dominant notions in expressions of BE. These two ideas are often blended to the point that individual expressions of BE cannot be clearly categorized as representing one or the other of these meanings. In addition to these two notions, the concepts LOCATION and PRESENCE/ABSENCE are also prominent. The grammatical, impersonal, auxiliary, and modal uses of BE expressions stem from their semantic qualities and the coherence of the macro-concept. The notions of prototype and radial categories in Cognitive Linguistics aid us greatly in the analysis of a concept such as BE. Chvany's (1975) use of Chomskyan theory led to the conclusion that R "byť" is one word from the point of view of morphology"

but “two words from the point of view of syntax” and to the admission that “the present model fails to capture a final generalization that would explain why the “lexical item” *byt*’ and the “service word” *byt*’ share the same forms. A theory that would reconcile syntax and morphology is the urgent task before linguists today” (1975: 195). The question that R *byt*’ ‘be’ might be two separate words should not even arise. In the view of this study, BE is a unified concept, although it is expressed through multiple roots and displays multiple meanings. The Cognitive Linguistics approach is quite strong in aiding us to motivate and understand the unity and coherence of various phenomena, even in the midst of unruly data. The link between syntax and morphology is in the semantics of the concept BE.

The structure and functions of HAVE

Again, there are two problems, the nature of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP and the forms and syntax of the HAVE expressions of particular languages. The macro-concept HAVE is difficult to define. It partially expresses possession in the senses of POSSESSION PROPER (general possession including ownership), AVAILABILITY, and LOCATION as well as a RELATIONSHIP between the possessor and the possessed item, mostly understood in terms of PART and WHOLE. Heine (1997) demonstrates that four concrete conceptual domains, ACTION, LOCATION, ACCOMPANIMENT, and EXISTENCE, serve as the sources of HAVE constructions in the world’s languages. The use of a transitive verb ‘have’, as in many European languages, is found in other language groups of the world, but is rare outside of Europe. This is not so surprising, given that only one of the HAVE source domains involves the grammaticalization of transitive verbs and all the other source domains involve the concept BE in one way or another.

Attempts to unify BE and HAVE

BE and HAVE are parallel structurally, both manifesting a blended semantics consisting of two prototypical ideas. One of the prototypes is an abstract idea (BE:EXISTENCE~HAVE:POSSESSION) and the other idea joins items together (BE:COPULA~HAVE:RELATIONSHIP). Both concepts frequently express auxiliary, modal, and other grammatical functions. The semantic ideas of both poles in the BE and HAVE models interact to varying degrees whenever the various constructions for BE and HAVE are used in language. The polysemous nature of each concept does not imply a host of separate unrelated constructions. Rather it is often difficult to separate the polysemies in a typical use of the lexical items; and for some reason this is more difficult with HAVE than with BE. Extra-linguistic philosophical distinctions between categories can be made which do not always correspond with the linguistic distinctions. The understanding of these concepts presented in the BE and HAVE models allows for the realization of multiple meanings even

in a single use of a given construction. Despite the structural parallels and shared features, BE and HAVE are not identical. Neither are they distinguished only by some notion of intransitivity vs. transitivity, whereby BE and HAVE represent “two surface structures of one and the same underlying semantic structure which can be implemented either as transitive or as an intransitive noun-verb-noun relation” (Isačenko 1974: 60). Rather, HAVE always involves two components in a hierarchical relationship of possessor (most often animate) and possessed item, WHOLE and PART, a usage which distinguishes HAVE expressions from expressions of BE, there may be only one component or two items in a reversible equation. The origin of individual constructions for BE and HAVE is important, e.g., the locational flavor of R *u* + GEN ‘have’ and the existence of non-HAVE locational constructions with this preposition have an effect on the further use of this construction. Constructions start in one of the nodes of the BE or HAVE models and can spread from there to include the full range of polysemies for the concept. This means of development results in language-specific realizations of BE and HAVE with constructions that are structurally dependent on their origins. The polysemies of BE and HAVE in one language may not map directly to the uses of BE and HAVE in another. However, there is a high degree of correlation across languages and a set of common, shared polysemies of BE and HAVE. A more detailed study of a wider range of languages could refine the BE and HAVE models presented here and more securely define the range of ideas in the conceptual network. The concepts are “wired” differently in different languages, but the concepts included in the network and the types of polysemies and suppletion are remarkably similar across languages (see Rude 1978).

Polysemy and Suppletion with BE and HAVE

With polysemy, one lexical item covers a range of concepts, e.g., Cz *mít* ‘have’ covers all notions of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP for HAVE in Czech. With suppletion, one coherent semantic concept is realized by multiple lexical items, e.g., the multiple constructions of R zero copula, R *est’* ‘(there) is’, R *javljat’sja* ‘is’, R *byvat’* ‘be (frequentative)’, R *naxodit’sja* ‘be located’, and so forth for BE. Ancient Greek shows extreme polysemization with a single lexical root for BE and Old Irish shows extreme suppletion with at least five separate roots for the concept BE. Most Indo-European languages are somewhere in between, exhibiting two to three polysemous roots. There are two kinds of suppletion: one type leads to morphophonemic alternations in a single root due to historical phonological changes and the other type deals with the use of multiple roots to express a coherent concept.

Suppletion has too often been treated merely as a name for an existent phenomenon in language. In this study, suppletization is considered as the

process of historical change by which network concepts find their lexical expression, renewal, adaptation, and genesis. Polysemization and suppletization are ongoing processes, cf. development of Gm *es gibt* 'there is', B *ima/njama* 'there is', and the R *javljat'sja* 'is' copula as new developments in BE.

HAVE shows more competitiveness in the languages discussed here, so that only one or two expressions are used. Therefore, HAVE constructions appear to rise, become dominant, face the challenges of a newcomer, then fade with time. In contrast, the phonological and morphological conservatism of the suppleted roots of BE in the Indo-European languages makes BE seem more stable, ancient, and unchanging, even though the concept BE has continued to develop in these languages. BE in particular shows an affinity and tolerance for morphophonemic alternations in its paradigm, but also favors suppletion by the inclusion of multiple roots. HAVE, on the other hand, tends to replace existing constructions with new ones.

In analyses of BE and HAVE, it must always be kept in mind that we are never starting from scratch, but rather are dealing with ideas that are spread out over many lexical items, with numerous and ancient polysemies and suppletions. The forms and meanings of these concepts have been tangled up and interacting together for centuries and new developments have been constrained and shaped by these already existent interactions and structures.

In grammaticalization of BE and HAVE, we see that form matters for meaning and meaning matters for form. The meanings of BE and HAVE make them good candidates for grammatical and modal functions and the grammatical and modal functions subsequently remain tied to the meanings of BE and HAVE.

The development and productivity of network concepts and interactions depends on the source and structure of the constructions for BE and HAVE. Having a transitive verb 'have' and an expressed verb of EXISTENCE and COPULA makes certain connections in the conceptual network more viable and can act as a catalyst for network development, opening up BE and HAVE to the wider verbal system of the language. The historical divide between the HAVE-languages (Czech, Bulgarian, Polish) and the BE-languages (Russian) has affected the structure of the conceptual network in these languages and accounts for differences in the connections between concepts. The nature of BE and HAVE in Russian accounts for the lack of some network connections and may also explain the lack of auxiliary and modal verbs in Russian.

Why do these changes take place? The existence of sufficient conditions, structural similarities, creativity and playfulness among speakers, the syntactic possibilities of a given language, as well as analogy and metaphor all add to the possibilities of language change involving polysemization and suppletization.

In languages with highly developed synonymous network concepts and multiple synonymous constructions, there still remains a preference for one

construction over the others, although this preference may change with time. Likewise, even within the concepts BE and HAVE, there may be a preference for one of the supplet roots over another.

Just as the supplet forms of 'be', e.g., R *est* '(there) is', *byť* 'be', *budet* 'will be', are considered parts of one paradigm of 'be', we may need to have a wider notion of the paradigm for network concepts and include items such as R *javljať'sja* 'is' and so forth.

The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network

Relations between BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors occur on multiple levels and involve multiple categories. A simple or flat network cannot account for the complex interrelations between BE, HAVE, and related notions. The semantic distinctions are important, yet often blurred by the lexical representation of the network concepts. Stative constructions are not absolutely stative and change-of-state constructions may sometimes be stative, cf. 'be' meaning 'happen, occur, take place' and P *zostawać/zostać* meaning 'remain' and 'become'. Renewal and replacement of meanings can come from other stative concepts or from the change of state concepts.

BE and HAVE are the central ideas in a limited but fairly large network of inter-related concepts. The concepts may be categorized by their relationship to BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING. Network concepts express the POSITION, AVAILABILITY, and SENSIBILITY of objects; establish RELATIONSHIPS between various objects and the world; and describe how those relationships move and change. The network concepts most closely related to BE and HAVE: especially BECOME and GET, but also MAKE/DO, GIVE, and TAKE show the most activity in the network. More distantly related concepts show different levels of activity the further removed they are from BE and HAVE or the more specified they are semantically. The semantic relationships between items in the network lead to expansion of meaning and function, and change of meaning and function. Sometimes this entails expansion and sometimes a transfer of meaning. Polysemization and suppletization are integral processes in these developments.

The present analysis offers the possibility of language-specific structure for BE and HAVE, in which a universal and fairly limited set of ideas is distributed, connected, and realized lexically in different ways in each language. BE and HAVE are somewhat language-specific, with universal concepts being expressed by different lexical means. Polysemies are often shared, but are not identical in every language. The present analysis also provides the "valuable descriptive mechanism" and "model for historical change" sought by Rude (1978: 203). It adds to our knowledge about what Talmy (1988a: 166) speaks of as "the general conceptual structure of human cognition" and provides an example of a semantic paradigm described

in Chvany (1995). The conceptual network provides a structured system in which lexical items are naturally grouped by semantic ties to *BE* and *HAVE*.

A sufficiently detailed study of each of these network concepts would likely produce a huge tome, particularly in cross-linguistic perspective. One would need access to the full understanding of a wide group of native speakers of each language studied in order to achieve the necessary depth for understanding *BE*, *HAVE*, and the other concepts in the network completely. More cross-linguistic study is needed, but in *extreme* detail and depth, not merely a first glance across 30 languages as in Rude (1978) or even the more thorough type of typological study for *HAVE* in Heine (1997).¹ By looking at a high number of languages, we will begin to see the full picture and range of what *BE* and *HAVE* can do as concepts in language. The current study of Slavic has benefited greatly from an awareness of *BE* and *HAVE* in a variety of languages, including the suppletion of *BE* in Old Irish, the extensive network structure of the Hindi-Urdu auxiliary verbs, and from the cross-linguistic work on *HAVE* in Heine (1997).

The tentative network maps for Russian and Czech presented in Tables 7-1 through 7-4 are based on observed connections with *BE* and *HAVE* from this study, but the precise connections between concepts and the productivity of the various constructions remains to be tested. The constructions in these two examples of the *BECOMING* – *BEING* – *UNBECOMING* network would make an excellent starting point for future research into how the network operates in language.

How the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network operates in language

Polysemization is the process whereby a single lexical item extends its meaning to include a neighboring semantic concept, thereby broadening its range of meanings. The process can also result in a clean transfer, in which an item takes on a new meaning and loses the old one. Suppletization involves the process whereby a single idea or coherent grouping of ideas becomes associated with multiple lexical roots. Sometimes this means a certain root form provides part of the paradigm, a particular tense for instance, and sometimes a particular root may express a portion of the model presented here for *BE* or *HAVE*. Polysemization and suppletization are ongoing processes involving interactions between network concepts in language.

1. According to the citations in Heine (1997), all data on Slavic comes only from Isačenko (1974), Orr (1992), and some personal correspondence. To truly understand *BE* and *HAVE* in individual languages and cross-linguistically, we need more detail, not less. Heine's (1997) cross-linguistic work on *HAVE* is interesting and particularly useful, though one wonders about all of his data and whether the paucity of Slavic sources is typical of other language families covered in his study.

Table 7-1. The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING Network in Russian

CATEGORY	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
<i>existence</i>	<i>delat'/sdelat'</i> 'make, do' <i>stat'</i> 'become'	<i>byt'</i> 'be'	
<i>possession</i>	<i>davat'/dat'</i> 'give'/ <i>brat'/vzjat'</i> 'take' <i>dostavat'/dostat', polučat'/</i> <i>polučit', priobretat'/</i> <i>priobresti</i> 'get'	<i>u + GEN + (est')</i> <i>imet'</i> 'have'	<i>brat'/vzjat'</i> 'take'/ <i>davat'/dat'</i> 'give' <i>terjat'/poterjat'</i> 'lose'
<i>creation</i>	<i>tvorit'/sotvorit'</i> 'create'	<i>suščestvovat'</i> 'exist'	<i>uničtožat'/uničtožit'</i> 'destroy'
<i>life</i>	<i>roždat'sja/rodit'sja</i> 'be born'	<i>žit'</i> 'live', <i>rasti/vyrasti</i> 'grow'	<i>umirat'/umeret'</i> 'die'
<i>visibility, presence</i>	<i>javljat'sja/javit'sja</i> <i>voznikat'/vozniknut'</i> 'appear' <i>pokazyvat'/pokazat'</i> 'show'	<i>byť vidno</i> 'be visible' R -et' verbs	<i>isčežat'/isčežnut'</i> 'disappear' <i>skryvat'/skryt'</i> <i>prjatat'/sprjatat'</i> 'hide'
<i>accessibility</i>	<i>naxodit'/najti</i> 'find'	<i>deržat'</i> 'keep, hold'	<i>terjat'/poterjat'</i> 'lose' <i>ostavljať/ostavit'</i> 'leave'
<i>motion</i>	<i>prixodit'/priiti</i> 'come'	<i>ostavat'sja/ostat'sja</i> 'stay, remain' <i>pobyvat'/pobyť</i> 'stay'	<i>xodit'/idti/pojti</i> 'go' <i>uxodit'/ujti</i> 'leave'
<i>process</i>	<i>načínat'/načat'</i> 'start, begin'	<i>prodolžat'/prodolžit'</i> 'continue'	<i>končat'/končit',</i> <i>zakančivat'/zakončit'</i> 'finish, end'
<i>position</i>	<i>vstavat'/vstat'</i> 'stand up'	<i>stojať</i> 'stand'	<i>sadit'sja/sest'</i> 'sit down', <i>ložit'sja/leč'</i> 'lie down' <i>vstavat'/vstat'</i> 'stand up'
	<i>sadit'sja/sest'</i> 'sit down'; <i>ložit'sja/leč'</i> 'lie down' <i>klast'/položít'</i> 'put (set, lay)' <i>stavít'/postavít'</i> 'put (stand)'	<i>sidet'</i> 'sit' <i>ležat'</i> 'lie' <i>ležat'</i> 'be in location (lie)' <i>stojať</i> 'be in location (stand)' <i>naxodit'sja</i> 'be located'	<i>brat'/vzjat'</i> 'take' <i>ubirat'/ubrat'</i> 'remove'
<i>manipulation</i>	<i>podnimat'/podnjat'</i> 'pick up'	<i>deržat'</i> 'hold'	<i>klast'/položít'</i> 'put (set, lay)' <i>stavít'/postavít'</i> 'put (stand)'

The similar nature of network concepts across languages can easily lead to transfers of syntactic structures from one language to another when the conditions are right, cf. reinforcement and recruitment of Cz *mít* 'have' in calques of German constructions in Czech. Multi-lingual speakers in environments where those multiple languages are used may be responsible for the development of new

Table 7-2. Duration and Frequency with BEING in Russian

BEING		
(unmarked for duration or frequency)	(marked for duration)	(marked for frequency)
<i>byť</i> 'be'	<i>ostavat'sja/ostat'sja</i> 'remain, stay'	<i>slučat'sja/slučit'sja</i> 'happen' <i>proisxodit'/proizojti</i> 'occur, take place' <i>byvat'</i> 'be (frequentative)'
<i>u</i> + GEN + (<i>est'</i>) <i>imet'</i> 'have'	<i>vladet'</i> 'own' <i>deržat'</i> 'hold, keep'	

Table 7-3. The BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING Network in Czech

CATEGORY	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
<i>existence</i>	<i>dělat/udělat</i> 'make, do' <i>stát se</i> 'become'	<i>být</i> 'be'	
<i>possession</i>	<i>dávat/dát</i> 'give, put' / <i>brát/vzít</i> 'take' <i>dostávat/dostat</i> 'get'	<i>mít</i> 'have'	<i>brát/vzít</i> 'take' / <i>dávat/dát</i> 'give, put' <i>ztrácet/ztratit</i> 'lose'
<i>creation</i>	<i>tvořit/stvořit</i> 'create'	<i>existovat</i> 'exist'	<i>ničit/zničit</i> 'destroy'
<i>life</i>	<i>rodit se/narodit se</i> 'be born'	<i>žít</i> 'live' <i>růst/vyrůst</i> 'grow'	<i>umírat/umřít</i> 'die'
<i>visibility, presence</i>	<i>jevit se</i> <i>objevovat se/objevit se</i> <i>vznikat/vzniknout</i> 'appear'	<i>být vidět</i> 'be visible'	<i>mizet/zmizet</i> 'disappear'
<i>accessibility</i>	<i>ukazovat/ukázat</i> 'show' <i>nacházet/najít</i> 'find'	<i>držet</i> 'hold, keep'	<i>skrývat/skrýt</i> 'hide' <i>ztrácet/ztratit</i> 'lose' <i>nechávat/nechat</i> 'leave'
<i>motion</i>	<i>přicházet/přijít</i> 'come'	<i>zůstávat/zůstat</i> 'stay, remain' <i>pobývat/pobýt</i> 'stay'	<i>chodit/jít</i> 'go' <i>odcházet/odejít</i> 'leave'
<i>process</i>	<i>začínat/začít</i> 'begin, start'	<i>pokračovat</i> 'continue'	<i>končit/skončit</i> 'finish, end'
<i>position</i>	<i>vstávat/vstát</i> 'stand up'	<i>stát</i> 'stand'	<i>sedat si/sednout si</i> 'sit down' <i>ležat si/lehnout si</i> 'lie down'
<i>manipulation</i>	<i>sedat si/sednout si</i> 'sit down' <i>ležat si/lehnout si</i> 'lie down'	<i>sedět</i> 'sit' <i>ležet</i> 'lie'	<i>vstávat/vstát</i> 'stand up'
	<i>dávat/dát</i> 'put, give'	<i>nacházet se</i> 'be located'	<i>odstraňovat/odstranit</i> 'remove'
	<i>zvedat/zvednout</i> 'pick up'	<i>držet</i> 'hold, keep'	<i>dávat/dát</i> 'put down'

Table 7-4. Duration and Frequency with BEING in Czech

BEING		
(unmarked for duration or frequency)	(marked for duration)	(marked for frequency)
<i>být</i> 'be'	<i>zůstat</i> 'remain, stay'	<i>stát se</i> 'happen' <i>přihodit se</i> 'occur' <i>bývat</i> 'be (frequentative)'
<i>mít</i> 'have'	<i>vlastnit</i> 'own' <i>držet</i> 'keep, hold'	<i>mívat</i> 'have (frequentative)'

network uses or for the introduction of structures from neighboring languages. The structure of the network concepts should be taken into account when languages are taught to non-native learners so that students can better understand the mapping of the frequent network concepts from one language to another, e.g., not merely to learn that Russians say R *prinimat' duš/lekarstvo* [receive shower/medicine] 'take a shower/medicine' and English speakers say Engl *take a shower/medicine*, but to point out the systematic similarities between the two constructions and the lack of identical lexical mappings. Since these types of phrases are ripe areas for translation errors from the native language to the target language, an earlier emphasis on network concepts might alleviate some of the problems for language learners.

The grammaticalization of BE and HAVE is driven by semantics. The network concepts have much to do with interacting with the world and are natural candidates for grammatical development. In the same way that individual lexical items take on new meanings or change meanings, the extension of established syntactic structures from one network concept to another is quite easily achieved. Concepts associated with EXISTENCE, PRESENCE/ABSENCE, AVAILABILITY, LOCATION, ATTAINMENT, MOTION, SENSIBILITY/VISIBILITY, and so forth are the most likely candidates for inclusion in the network and in grammatical use. The conceptual network should account for every type of verbal suppletion across languages, but other types of suppletion such as Engl *good/better/best* or R *čelovek/ljudi* 'person/people', are due to other factors. The conceptual network may also account for all verbal lexemes that are grammaticalized as auxiliary or modal verbs, cf. the Hindi-Urdu system of compound verbs.

Network development, suppletization and polysemization are seen not only in BE and HAVE constructions, but also in the system of modal concepts. Concepts from the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network are frequently the source of modal constructions, e.g. Cz *mít* 'should', *dát se* 'is possible'. Both the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network and modality have a great deal to do with how we see, understand, and think about the world. The modal system

also displays network-like behavior in the way that modal constructions develop and change through polysemization and suppletization. BE and HAVE are also involved in modal constructions for DUTY and COMPULSION and also cross over into expressions of THINK and SEEM. These domains deal with our understanding of the world, our reasoning, and our decisions about action in terms of the WHAT SEEMS TO BE – WHAT OUGHT TO BE – WHAT IS structure. The unifying concept EXISTENCE is inherent and assumed in everything we do or say or think, whether as an object in the world or as an object of thought.

This study is not necessarily comprehensive of every concept which might find its way into the network or into constructions for BE and HAVE, but the information in the models for BE and HAVE and the tentative network maps for Russian and Czech do provide a fairly detailed point of departure for further studies into the ways languages build up higher concepts from an important core of fundamental ideas. Much fruitful analysis can come from examining BE and HAVE together with the full background of their individual semantic and functional natures, their grammatical and modal roles, their role in language contact, and their connection to each other and to the related semantic concepts in the network. We should consider all of these aspects, not grammaticalization on its own, but grammaticalization of BE and HAVE; not just POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP or EXISTENCE and COPULA, but how these concepts are involved in the grammar of language and how these phenomena exhibit polysemy and suppletion. A large body of data must be considered all at once to try to approach an analysis of the meanings of these constructions and their full potential in language. The staggering possibilities for BE and HAVE constructions, when one takes into account colloquial uses or spontaneous utterances, may make researchers inclined to ignore the mess and the details and focus on more contained beasts such as standardized literary languages. Obtaining data from the colloquial languages is no easy task, and one would almost need to be a native speaker of every language studied to have a chance of coming up with all of the uses of BE and HAVE in those languages.

Conceptual spaces, semantic maps, and quantitative approaches

Language typologists and cognitive linguists have put the notion of the semantic map to great use over the last decade, particularly in such works as Haspelmath (1997) on indefinite constructions and Croft's (2001, 2003) typological and construction grammar research and development of the notion of conceptual space. Haspelmath's cross-linguistic study of nine types of indefinite constructions in 40 languages has not only proved useful to our understanding of how these items are structured across languages, but also has provided valuable insight into the nature of conceptual space, the methodology for identifying conceptual spaces, and the explanatory and theoretical power of semantic maps. With regard to the

empirical data required and the categorial manipulation involved in drawing the semantic maps, Haspelmath's work also provides a sobering statement on the difficulties, tedium, and limitations involved in the process of identifying conceptual spaces and in applying this theoretical tool to more expansive sets of data. Thus far, semantic maps have been the result of empirical research involving laborious consideration of cross-linguistic data in order to identify the relevant categories and then to arrange those categories into a conceptual space. The arrangement of these categories reflects the actual overlapping polysemy found in the data, so that connections between concepts accord with Croft's (2001, 2003) Semantic Map Connectivity Hypothesis. Conceptual spaces such as those found in Haspelmath (1997, 2003) emerge onto which the constructions of all languages considered in the study can subsequently be mapped in accord with Croft's hypothesis. If exceptions are found as new languages are added, the conceptual space can be further refined and the locations of the nodes for the various constructions can be altered. Haspelmath (2002: 217) indicates that it is generally sufficient to examine "a dozen genealogically diverse languages to arrive at a stable conceptual space that does not undergo significant changes as more languages are considered".

The models presented in Figure 3-1 for BE and Figure 4-1 for HAVE are conceptual spaces and the semantic maps drawn onto these conceptual spaces in Figure 3-2 and Figure 4-2 are individual semantic maps drawn onto these conceptual spaces for Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian. These conceptual spaces and semantic maps are presented in the spirit of Croft's and Haspelmath's work. However, the conceptual spaces presented here are only sufficient for accounting for the Slavic data considered in this study. Further cross-linguistic data and additional languages would need to be considered in order to achieve a stable conceptual space that would be valid across all, or at least more, languages. I believe that such research will be fruitful for understanding BE and HAVE, not only in the Slavic languages, but across other languages and language families, but we should note criticisms such as those by Janda (2009: 120), which recommend limiting the use of conceptual spaces and semantic maps to closely related languages such as those presented here and which argues against the use of conceptual spaces and semantic maps for cross-linguistic comparison due to incommensurability of the constructions compared.

In Haspelmath's conceptual spaces, only the connections between functions have theoretical import. The distance between functions is not significant and the specific geometrical arrangement could be different so long as it remains possible to draw boxes around connected functions in the language-specific semantic maps. However, the recent work of Croft & Poole (2008) revolutionizes the semantic map and introduces a meaningful notion of quantitative semantic distance as well as a precisely defined geometric arrangement, through the use

of a mathematically well-defined model, Multidimensional Scaling (MDS), and more specifically by utilizing Poole's Optimal Classification (OC) method. MDS techniques have long been used by researchers in psychology, economics, and political science among other disciplines. Additionally, MDS analysis allows the linguist interested in semantic maps to consider much larger conceptual spaces, where the necessary permutations of possible category arrangements would be onerous if not impossible if undertaken by hand. Whereas Haspelmath's (1997, 2003) work was manageable due to the limited number of indefinite categories, MDS analysis makes possible the consideration of such topics as lexical aspect and spatial adpositions (Croft & Poole 2008) or the semantics of case marking systems (Clancy 2006). In the resulting conceptual spaces, the distances between functions is quantifiable and the geometric arrangement of functions, aside from any artifacts of the analysis (e.g., circular or horseshoe shapes), is also significant. We thus expect functions located more closely together in the conceptual space to be more frequently encompassed by a single lexical item or morphological construction. We also expect semantic development to proceed from one node to a closely related node as specific languages change over time. Computational methods such as the Optimal Classification method of Multidimensional Scaling (MDS-OC) can help linguists reveal conceptual spaces and provide quantitative measures of semantic distance as a means of providing objective evidence for formerly introspective judgments (see Clancy 2006; Croft & Poole 2008; Feist 2008 for more work using MDS-OC).

These topics provide much room for future research, further study and more detailed analysis. This study has had to limit the content of each chapter and it is also quite likely that some topics of importance have simply been overlooked. Nevertheless, the general picture of BE and HAVE has emerged in the presentation here. It is regretted that more could not be done in this study. Many things are not given their due, among them negation, the historical development of BE and HAVE constructions as traced through extant evidence, extensive information from Slavic dialects, and so on. The limitation of the focus languages to Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian has meant that some interesting constructions in other Slavic languages have not been given appropriate attention, among them the 'have' future in Ukrainian and the 'have' perfect in Macedonian. Due to the broad nature of this study, some boundaries had to be drawn and some topics must remain for future research. The current study may be viewed as an introduction to the whole story of BE and HAVE in Slavic. In future research I would like to explore the functioning of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network in greater detail. I would also like to focus on the historical development of BE and HAVE in Slavic with a focus on

the extant textual evidence to determine the history and emergence of the Slavic constructions for BE and HAVE in so far as this is possible. Isačenko (1974: 50) makes the point that the “history of the penetration of the verb **jьměti* ‘have’ into the Slavic languages has to be written yet.” Even regarding the development of the Polish present tense ‘be’ and the past tense and conditional desinences, Andersen (1987) also mentions the need for further historical research:

I want to draw attention to this development [the Polish ‘be’ desinences] as a topic for future research. Although it is richly documented, some of the known details of this development have not been satisfactorily interpreted. I will mention a few of these below and offer my own thoughts on them. But apart from this, the data which are available in Polish texts from the 1400’s to the present can yield a great amount of new information if they are approached with the right questions. These will arise as our theoretical understanding develops and they should be addressed to the Polish data in the future. (Andersen 1987: 22)

In the Slavic languages considered here, we find a group of genetically related languages with subsequent development significantly influenced by the structure and interrelation between BE and HAVE. The rich variety of the synchronic structures involving BE and HAVE is fascinating, but equally fascinating is the process whereby these structures have arisen. By studying the processes of polysemization and suppletization of BE and HAVE in the history of Slavic and by applying the conceptual apparatus of the BECOMING – BEING – UNBECOMING network to historical problems, we may be able to learn more about the development of BE and HAVE in Slavic and in other language groups.

To study the concepts BE and HAVE is to study the ideas that express our most important questions. These questions may concern everything from the nature of human beings and our language to the nature of the divine. Often, these expressions provide embodied or enworlded terms for describing and thinking about the world around us, both the physical and the metaphysical. BE and HAVE expressions provide linguistic realization of the foundational concepts behind substance, life, and thought. They give us a means of interacting with the world of objects and ideas and in themselves participate in an elaborately structured and highly ordered system in the languages of the world.

Data sources

Items with no citations (e.g., –) may be assumed to be created for this study or to be taken from common phrases, sentences, proverbs, or songs. The following internet sites provided useful corpus data and were all in existence at the time the data was collected 1998–2000.

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- (3) Arabic Benveniste 1971/1960: 165
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Gm –
- (6) Cz King 1998: 15
Cz King 1998: 15
- (7) Cz Short 1993a:500
Cz Short 1993a:500
- (8) Cz
Cz
- (9) Cz
- (10) Engl –
Gm
R –
Cz –
P –
B –
- (11) P Swan 1993: 157
P Swan 1993: 157
- (12) P Swan 1993: 157
P Swan 1993: 157
- (13) Cz Svěrák 1996
- (14) a. Cz Based on Svěrák 1996
b. Cz Jana and Petr Hlustfk, p.c.
c. Cz Jana and Petr Hlustfk, p.c.
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- (15) R *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, 09/16/99
- (16) R Dovlatov, “Zona”
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- (22) Cz MČ 1987: 250
- (23) Cz MČ 1987: 250
- (24) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 19
- (25) Engl Celce-Murcia 1983: 226

- (26) Engl Celce-Murcia 1983: 226
- (27) Engl Celce-Murcia 1983: 226
- (28) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 16
- (29) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (30) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (31) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (32) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (33) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (34) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (35) R Pelevin, Viktor. *Generation P.*
- (36) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (37) R Dostoevsky, Fyodor. Notes from the House of the Dead
- (38) R Chekhov, *Three Sisters*
- (39) R Tolstoy, Anna Karenina
- (40) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 16
- (41) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 16
- (42) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
- (43) R Pelevin, Viktor. *Generation P.*
- (44) P Lempp 1986: 130
- (45) P Lempp 1986: 130
- (46) P Lempp 1986: 130
- (47) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (48) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (49) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (50) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (51) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (52) R Chekhov, *Three Sisters*
- (53) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (54) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 24
- (55) P John Paul II, XIII World Youth Day, 1998.
- (56) R New sentence based on Chvany 1975
- (57) P Lempp 1986:xiv
- (58) P Miłosz, Czesław “Przedmowa”
- (59) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (60) R Chvany 1975: 52
- (61) Engl Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass*
- (62) Engl Due South (television program)
- (63) Engl –
- (64) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 18
- (65) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 18
- (66) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 23
- (67) Cz *Pátek* 1999, NO. 19
- (68) P *Znak*, grudzień 2000, nr. 547

- (69) P *Znak*, kwiecień 2001, nr. 551
(F-1) ME Peterborough Chronicle, l. 84
(F-2) ME Peterborough Chronicle, l. 170
(F-3) ME Peterborough Chronicle, l. 12

CHAPTER 3

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(2) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
(3) R Viktor Pelevin, *Generation P.*
(4) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
(5) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(6) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
(7) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
(8) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(9) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(10) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
(11) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
(12) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
(13) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
(14) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
(15) B Bakalova, "Šesti Januari" (Welkya)
(16) R Pande 1983: 273
(17) R Tolstoy, Anna Karenina in Pande 1983: 273
(18) R Dostoevsky, "Dream of a Ridiculous Man"
(19) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 23
(20) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 19
(21) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(22) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(23) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
(24) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
(25) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
(26) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
(27) R Pande 1983: 274
(28) R Pande 1983: 274
(29) R Pande 1983: 275
(30) R Pande 1983: 275
(31) R Pande 1983: 275
(32) Cz Based on SSČ 1978: 48 in (33)
(33) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
(34) R
(35) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
(36) P *Nowy Dziennik*

(37)	R	–
(38)	R	
(39)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(40)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(41)	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Notes from Underground</i>
(42)	R	Gogol, “Šinel”
(43)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(44)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(45)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 24
(46)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 17
(47)	Cz	SSČ 1978: 48
(48)	P	Lempp 1986: 55
	P	Lempp 1986: 55
	P	Lempp 1986: 55
(49)	B	Chekov (Welkya)
(50)	B	Rainov, “Noštni Bulevardi” (Welkya)
(51)	P	Czesław Miłosz, <i>Miasto bez imienia</i>
(52)	P	Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
(53)	B	Bakalova, “Šesti Januari” (Welkya)
(54)	P	Lempp 1986: 58
(55)	P	Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
(56)	P	Czesław Miłosz, “Miasto bez imienia”
(57)	B	Aleksandrov (Welkya)
(58)	B	Elin Pelin, <i>Pečena Tikva</i> (Welkya)
(59)	R	Pande 1988: 131
(60)	R	Pande 1988: 129
(61)	R	Pande 1988: 129
(62)	R	Pande 1988: 129
(63)	R	Pande 1988: 129
(64)	R	Pande 1988: 130
(65)	R	Birnbaum 1978: 31
(66)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Heart of a Dog</i>
(67)	Engl	Dik 1987: 56
(68)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(69)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(70)	R	
(71)	R	
(72)	P	Swan 1993: 156
(73)	P	Swan 1993: 156
(74)	P	Swan 1993: 156
(75)	P	Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
(76)	Cz	SSČ 1978: 48
(77)	Cz	SSČ 1978: 48
(78)	Cz	–

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 (80) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (81) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (82) B
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 (83) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
 (84) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
 (85) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
 (86) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
 (87) P *Nowy Dziennik*
 (88) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
 (89) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
 (90) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
 (91) R Chvany 1975: 46
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 (92) R Isačenko 1974: 55
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 (93) R Chvany 1975: 46
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 (100) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
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 (102) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
 (103) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 23
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 (105) Cz Jandourek, Jan. *Tomáš Halík. Ptal jsem se cest:*14
 (106) R –
 (107) R
 (108) R Borkovskij and Kuznecov 1963: 332
 (109) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
 (110) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
 (111) R Turgenev, *Asja*
 (112) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
 (113) R (web ref)
 (114) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
 (115) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
 (116) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*

- (117) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (118) R
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- (119) R –
R –
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R –
- (120) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 23
- (121) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 24
- (122) Cz SSČ 1998: 182
- (123) P Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary
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- (126) P Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
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- (129) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
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- (131) P Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
- (132) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
- (133) P Popraw. dictionary:704
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- (136) P Rudzka-Ostyn 1988: 212
- (137) Cz Laura Janda, p.c.
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- (139) Cz Michał Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
- (140) Cz Michał Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
- (141) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
- (142) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
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- (144) P John Paul II, XXXI World Day For Peace, 1998
- (145) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
- (146) Cz SSČ 1978: 48
- (147) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
- (148) P Kazimierz Brandys, “Pies” in Schenker 1970
- (149) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (150) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (151) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*

- (152) P Czesław Miłosz, "Głosy biednych ludzi: Piosenka o końcu świata"
 (153) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*. Texts reads R *pribyla* instead of R *pribyli* in original source.
 (154) R Victoria Tokareva, Letajušcie kačeli, 260
 (155) R Pelevin, *Generation P*.
 (F-1) R Shcherbakova, Galina. *Vam i ne snilos'*.

CHAPTER 4

- (1) Cz –
 (2) Cz –
 (3) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 24
 (4) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (5) P Jerzy Andrzejewski, Intermezzo in Schenker 1970
 (6) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (7) B Welkya site, Biographic information on Bari Käsel
 (8) Cz
 (9) R Bulgakov, *Zapiski junogo vrača*
 (10) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (11) B Xajtov, Mážki (Welkya)
 (12) P John Paul II, XXXII World Day For Peace, 1999
 (13) Cz –
 (14) B Radičkov-Mjure (Welkya)
 (15) Cz –
 (16) B Rainov, "Noštni Bulevardi" (Welkya)
 (17) B Rainov, "Noštni Bulevardi" (Welkya)
 (18) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (19) B Shemelekov-Igrata (Welkya)
 (20) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
 (21) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
 (22) B Rainov, "Noštni Bulevardi" (Welkya)
 (23) B Elin Pelin, Melnica (Welkya)
 (24) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
 (25) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (26) Cz SSČ 1978: 226
 (27) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (28) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
 (29) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (30) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 18
 (31) R Bulgakov, *Zapiski junogo vrača*
 (32) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (33) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17

(34)	R	–
(35)	R	
(36)	R	
(37)	R	
(38)	R	–
(39)	R	–
(40)	R	–
(41)	R	Pande 1981: 293
(42)	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
(43)	R	–
(44)	R	
(45)	R	–
(46)	R	Isačenko 1974: 46
(47)	R	Isačenko 1974: 46
(48)	R	Isačenko 1974: 46
(49)	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
(50)	R	Janda. <i>The Case Book for Russian</i> .
(51)	R	Pelevin, <i>Generation P</i>
(52)	R	Isačenko 1974: 45
(53)	R	Isačenko 1974: 45
(54)	R	–
(55)	R	Chekhov, <i>Three Sisters</i>
	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(56)	R	Chekhov, <i>The Seagull</i>
	R	Dovlatov, <i>Zona</i>
(57)	R	Tolstoy, <i>Anna Karenina</i>
	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
(58)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
	R	Dovlatov, <i>Zona</i>
(59)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(60)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
(61)	R	Isačenko 1974: 59
	R	Isačenko 1974: 59
	R	Isačenko 1974: 59
(62)	R	Isačenko 1974: 60
(63)	R	Isačenko 1974: 60
(64)	R	Isačenko 1974: 60
(65)	R	Chvany 1975: 100
(66)	R	–
(67)	R	–
(68)	R	–
(69)	R	–

(70)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(71)	R	
(72)	R	
(73)	R	Dostoevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>
(74)	R	Chekhov, <i>Uncle Vanya</i>
(75)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(76)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(77)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(78)	R	Chvany 1975: 100
(79)	R	Chvany 1975: 100
(80)	Cz	
(81)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 17
(82)	P	Lempp 1986: 109
(83)	P	Lempp 1986: 95
	P	Lempp 1986: 95
(84)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(85)	Cz	–
(86)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 17
(87)	R	Chvany 1975: 159
	R	Chvany 1975: 159

CHAPTER 5

(1)	Cz	
(2)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(3)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 25
(4)	Cz	PMČ 1997: 314
(5)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(6)	P	Gombrowicz, <i>Iwona Księżniczka Burgunda</i>
(7)	P	Gombrowicz, <i>Iwona Księżniczka Burgunda</i>
(8)	P	Gombrowicz, <i>Iwona Księżniczka Burgunda</i>
(9)	P	Gombrowicz, <i>Iwona Księżniczka Burgunda</i>
(10)	B	Aleksandrov (Welkya)
(11)	B	Rainov, "Noštni Bulevardi" (Welkya)
(12)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(13)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 19
(14)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 18
(15)	P	Jerzy Andrzejewski, "Intermezzo" in Schenker 1970
(16)	P	Gombrowicz, <i>Iwona Księżniczka Burgunda</i>
(17)	B	Aleksandrov (Welkya)
(18)	B	Unplugged (Welkya)

- (19) B Rajnov (Welkya)
- (20) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
- (21) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (22) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (23) P John Paul II, XXXI World Day For Peace, 1998
- (24) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
- (25) B Rajnov (Welkya)
- (26) Cz Michal Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
- (27) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 19
- (28) P Jerzy Andrzejewski, "Intermezzo" in Schenker 1970
- (29) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
- (30) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
- (31) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
- (32) P Jerzy Andrzejewski, "Intermezzo" in Schenker 1970
- (33) Cz Michal Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
- (34) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 25
- (35) Cz –
- (36) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (37) P *Nowy Dziennik*
- (38) R Isačenko 1974: 56
- (39) R Isačenko 1974: 56
- (40) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (41) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (42) R Isačenko 1974: 57
- (43) R Isačenko 1974: 57
- (44) R Birnbaum 1978: 31
- (45) R Birnbaum 1978: 31
- (46) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (47) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (48) R Isačenko 1974: 58
- (49) R Isačenko 1974: 58
- (50) R Golovačeva 1989: 173
- (51) R Golovačeva 1989: 173
- (52) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (53) R Dovlatov, *Zona*
- (54) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (55) P *Nowy Dziennik*
- (56) P Miłosz, "Głosy biednych ludzi"
- (57) P Miłosz, "Miasto bez imienia"
- (58) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
- (59) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
- (60) P Rothstein 1993: 715
- (61) P Lempp 1986: 126

- (62) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 21
- (63) P Lempp 1986: 126
- (64) Cz MČ 1987: 247
- (65) P Lempp 1986: 130
- (66) P Rothstein 1993: 715
- (67) P Rothstein 1993: 715
- (68) P Lempp 1986: 130
- (69) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 21
- (70) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 21
- (71) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
- (72) Cz Jiří Paroubek, leader of ČSSD political party (29 May 2010)
Citation: http://www.rozhlas.cz/radiozurnal/publicistika/_zprava/740011
Audio: http://media.rozhlas.cz/_audio/02065562.mp3
Special thanks to Christian Hilchey for alerting me to this example.
- (73) Cz –
- (74) Cz –
- (75) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
- (76) P Rothstein 1993: 715
- (77) P Lempp 1986: 124
- (78) R Kuznecov 1949: 72 (Kuznecov, Petr. 1949. “K voprosu o skazuemostnom upotreblenii pričastij i depričastij v russkix govorax,” in *Materialy i issledovanija po russkoj dialektologii*, Sergej Obnorskij, Fedot Filin, and Ruben Avanesov, eds. 3.59–81. Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSR.) in Allen 1978: 20
- (79) R Matveenko 1961: 1216 (Matveenko, V. 1961. “Nekotorye osobennosti struktury stradatel'no-bezličnogo) oborota v russkix govorax,” in *Materialy i issledovanija po russkoj dialektologii* (new series). 2.113–139.) in Allen 1978: 1
- (80) R Kužmina and Nemčenko 1971: 137 (Kužmina, Irina, and Elena Nemčenko. 1971. *Sintaksis pričastnyx form v russkix govorax*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Nauka.”) in Allen 1978: 23
- (81) R Kužmina and Nemčenko 1971: 132 (Kužmina, Irina, and Elena Nemčenko. 1971. *Sintaksis pričastnyx form v russkix govorax*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Nauka.”) in Allen 1978: 23
- (82) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (83) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (84) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (85) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (86) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (87) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (88) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (89) R Bulgakov, *Zapiski junogo vrača*

- (90) R Timberlake 1993: 884
- (91) R Timberlake 1993: 884
- (92) R Timberlake 1993: 885
- (93) B Scatton 1993: 214
- B Scatton 1993: 214
- (94) B Vukovska-Unplugged (Welkya)
- (95) B Stankov 1969: 89 (Valentin. 1969. *Bălgarskite glagolski vremena*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo) in Friedman 1982: 156
- (96) B Demina 1959: 326 (Demina, Evgenija I. 1959. "Pereskazyvatel'nye formy v sovremennom bolgarskom literaturnom jazyke," *Voprosy grammatiki bolgarskogo literaturnogo jazyka*, S.B. Bernštejn, ed. Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR.) in Friedman 1982: 153
- (97) B Aleksandrov (Welkya)
- (98) B *Baj Ganjo*, Aleko Konstantinov in Friedman 1986: 183
- (99) B Andrejčin 1938: 68 (Andrejčin, Ljubomir. 1938. *Kategorie znaczeniowe koniugacji bułgarskiej*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.) in Friedman 1982: 152
- (100) B Alexander 1995: 397
- (101) B Alexander 1995: 397
- (102) B Alexander 1995: 397
- (103) Engl Sweetser 1990: 49
- (104) Engl Sweetser 1990: 49
- (105) B Shemelekov (Welkya)
- (106) B Popov (Welkya)
- (107) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
- (108) P John Paul II, Letter to Artists (April 4, 1999)
- (109) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
- (110) B Bakalova. "Probiv v pametta" (Welkya)
- (111) B Rainov, "Noštni Bulevardi" (Welkya)
- (112) R Chekhov, Uncle Vanya
- (113) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (114) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (115) B Radičkov-Mjure, (Welkya)
- (116) P John Paul II, Letter to Priests for Holy Thursday 1999
- (117) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
- (118) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (119) Engl –
- (120) Engl –
- (121) Engl
- (122) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
- (123) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
- (124) P Lempp 1986: 70

- (125) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 24
 (126) B Bakalova, "Proživ v paměti" (Welkya)
 (127) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 21
 (128) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (129) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
 (130) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (131) B Čekov (Welkya)
 (132) P John Paul II, Letter to Artists (April 4, 1999)
 (133) P Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
 (134) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
 (135) R Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*
 (136) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
 (137) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (138) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 21
 (139) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (140) Cz –
 (141) Cz SSČ 1978: 226
 (142) Cz Michal Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
 (143) P Lempp 1986: 61
 (144) P Lempp 1986: 64
 (145) P John Paul II, Letter to Artists (April 4, 1999)
 (146) P Lempp 1986: 64
 (147) Cz Michal Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
 (148) Cz Karel Čapek, *Válka s mloky*, 239
 (149) Cz Fronek 1993: 240
 (150) Cz Michal Viewegh, *Báječná léta pod psa*
 (151) P John Paul II, Dies Domini (May 31, 1998)
 (152) P Lempp 1986: 62
 P Lempp 1986: 62
 (153) P Lempp 1986: 62
 P Lempp 1986: 62
 (154) P Lempp 1986: 62
 (155) Engl Isačenko 1974: 70
 Cz Isačenko 1974: 70
 Gm Isačenko 1974: 70
 (156) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 16
 (157) Cz *Pátek* 1999, No. 17
 (158) R Chekhov, Cherry Orchard
 (159) R Tolstoy, Anna Karenina
 (160) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (161) R Dostoevsky, Crime and Punishment
 (162) R Tolstoy, Anna Karenina
 (163) R Dovlatov, *Kompromiss*
 (164) R Tolstoy, Anna Karenina

CHAPTER 6

(1)	R	Rimma Barn, p.c.
(2)	R	–
(3)	R	–
(4)	R	Eleonora Magomedova, p.c.
(5)	R	Pelevin, <i>Generation P</i>
(6)	R	Bulgakov, <i>Master and Margarita</i>
(7)	Engl	–
(8)	Engl	
(9)	Engl	
(10)	Cz	
	Gm	–
(11)	Cz	
	Gm	
(12)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 18
(13)	Cz	–
	Gm	–
(14)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 17
(15)	Cz	–
	Gm	Siebenschein 1968
(16)	Cz	
	Gm	
(17)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 24
(18)	Cz	
	Gm	
(19)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 19
(20)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(21)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(22)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 16
(23)	Gm	–
	Cz	–
(24)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 21
(25)	Cz	Fronek 1993: 240
(26)	Cz	Fronek 1993: 240
(27)	Cz	Fronek 1993: 240
(F-1)	P	
(F-2)	P	

NETWORK

(1)	HU	
	HU	–
(2)	HU	(Snell 1992: 140)

	HU	(Snell 1992: 140)
(3)	HU	(Snell 1992: 140)
(4)	HU	(Snell 1992: 140)
(5)	HU	(Snell 1992: 140)
(F-1)	Engl	Web news story on www.cnsnews.com

EXPERIENCER

(1)	R	Levine 1984: 496 (Levine, James. 1984. "On the Dative of Possession in Contemporary Russian," <i>Slavic and East European Journal</i> 28, 493–501.) in Cienki 1993: 76
(2)	R	Levine 1990: 14 (Levine, James. 1990. "Pragmatic Implicatures and Case: The Russian Dative Revisited," <i>Russian Language Journal</i> 44, 9–27.) in Cienki 1993: 76
(3)	R	Levine 1986 (Levine, James. 1986. "Remarks on the Pragmatics of the 'Inalienable Dative' in Russian," <i>Case in Slavic</i> , R.D. Brecht and J.S. Levine, eds., 437–451. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica.) in Janda 1993b:131
(4)	R	–
(5)	R	Janda 1993a:542
(6)	R	Cienki 1993: 84
(7)	R	Cienki 1993: 84
(8)	R	Cienki 1993: 84
(9)	R	Cienki 1993: 84
(10)	R	Cienki 1993: 85
(11)	R	Cienki 1993: 85
(12)	R	Cienki 1993: 85

IDENTITY

(1)	Cz	Jandourek 1997: 12
(2)	Cz	<i>Pátek</i> 1999, No. 25
(3)	Cz	Jandourek 1997: 9
(4)	R	–
(5)	R	Dovlatov, <i>Kompromiss</i>
(6)	R	–
(7)	R	–
(8)	R	<i>Izvestija</i>
(9)	P	–
(10)	P	
(11)	P	
(12)	P	Kazimierz Brandys, "Pies" in Schenker 1970
(13)	P	Swan 1993: 155

	P	Swan 1993: 155
(14)	P	Swan 1993: 155
(15)	P	Swan 1993: 155–6
	P	Swan 1993: 155–6

FUTURE

(1)	OCS	Schmalstieg 1982: 153
(2)	OCS	Lunt 1974: 137

PROTO-HAVE

(1)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 80
(2)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 80
(3)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 79
(4)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 79
(5)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 79
(6)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 81
(7)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 81
(8)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 81
(9)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 83
(F-1)	OCS	Mirčev 1971: 80

TAKE BELIEF

(1)	OCS	Suprasliensis, Life of Gregory the Great
(2)	OCz	The Legend of Jan Žižka
(3)	ME	Peterborough Chronicle, l. 140

HAVE TO

(1)	Engl	–
(2)	Engl	–

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