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Time of use, space of forms:
suffix shift in the verb of universal motion
(*dviž-et-sja* vs. *dvig-aj-et-sja*)

Время употребления, пространство
форм: *двигается* или *движется*?

Olga Lyashevskaya
Higher School of Economics, Moscow
CLEAR group, Exploring Emptiness project, Norway

DVIGAT'(SJA): the verb of universal motion in Russian

dvigat'sja

- autolocomotion
- Reflexive



dvigat'

- causative motion
- Non-reflexive



-a- // -aj- suffix shift

- Morphological variation in Present and related forms attested in the group of ca. 70 Russian verbs

Inf stem: *dvig-a-t'*

Present stem: -a- *dviž-et*

-aj- *dvig-aj-et*

Present

dviž-et(-sja)

dvig-aj-et(sja)

Imperative

dviž(-sja)

dvig-aj(-sja)

Gerund

dviž-a(-s')

dvig-aj-a(-s')

Present Partcp Act

dviž-ušč-ij(-sja)

dvig-aj-ušč-ij(-sja)

Present Partcp Pass

dviž-im-yj

dvig-aj-em-yj

Hypothesis for the corpus study

- **The -a- and -aj- suffixes develop different meanings through suffix shift**
- Evidence probing the hypothesis
 - grammatical profiling
 - frame-based (constructional) profiling
- "Locally" or "globally" valid meanings?
- "Usage islands": a particular (sub)frame can favor either -a- or -aj-
- Variation over time
- Variation over author&text space

Data

- 8571 examples from the Russian National Corpus (1700-2007, main corpus)
- A sample of 2044 observations (one example per author) was used in the grammatical profile study, incl. 729 forms without the reflexive/passive postfix -sja and 1315 uses with –sja
- A sample of 1062 points (up to 100 examples per grammatical class) was used in the frame-constructional profile study.

Form distribution 1

	Gram	-a-	-aj-	Total
dvigat'	finite	362	360	722
	imper	1	60	61
	gerund		289	289
	ppact	562	74	636
	pppass	631	7	638
dvigat'sja	finite	2792	1075	3867
	imper	1	139	140
	gerund	1	716	717
	ppact	1251	250	1501
Total		5601	2970	8571

Form distribution 2*

	Gram	-a-	-aj-	Total	%aj
dvigat'	finite	117	89	206	43.20%
	imper	1	21	22	95.45%
	gerund		100	100	100.00%
	ppact	175	58	233	24.89%
	pppass	165	3	168	1.79%
dvigat'sja	finite	562	216	778	27.76%
	imper	1	31	32	96.88%
	gerund	1	157	158	99.37%
	ppact	248	99	347	28.53%
Total		1270	774	2044	37.87%

*One example per author

Grammatical profiling effect

- -aj- wins in Gerund and Imperative forms
(in accordance with the general rule for -a-// -aj- suffix shift choice)
- -a- overperforms in Present Partcp Pass forms.
Two main groups:
 - *dvizhimoje imuščestvo* 'movable property': 83 uses (of 168)
 - Pass Ins construction: 77 uses (of 168)

Четыре компании выступили заодно, движимые. Vppass желанием. INS сохранить свой бизнес.
'Four companies came together **motivated**.Vppass ['moved'] by **desire**.INS to keep their business alive'

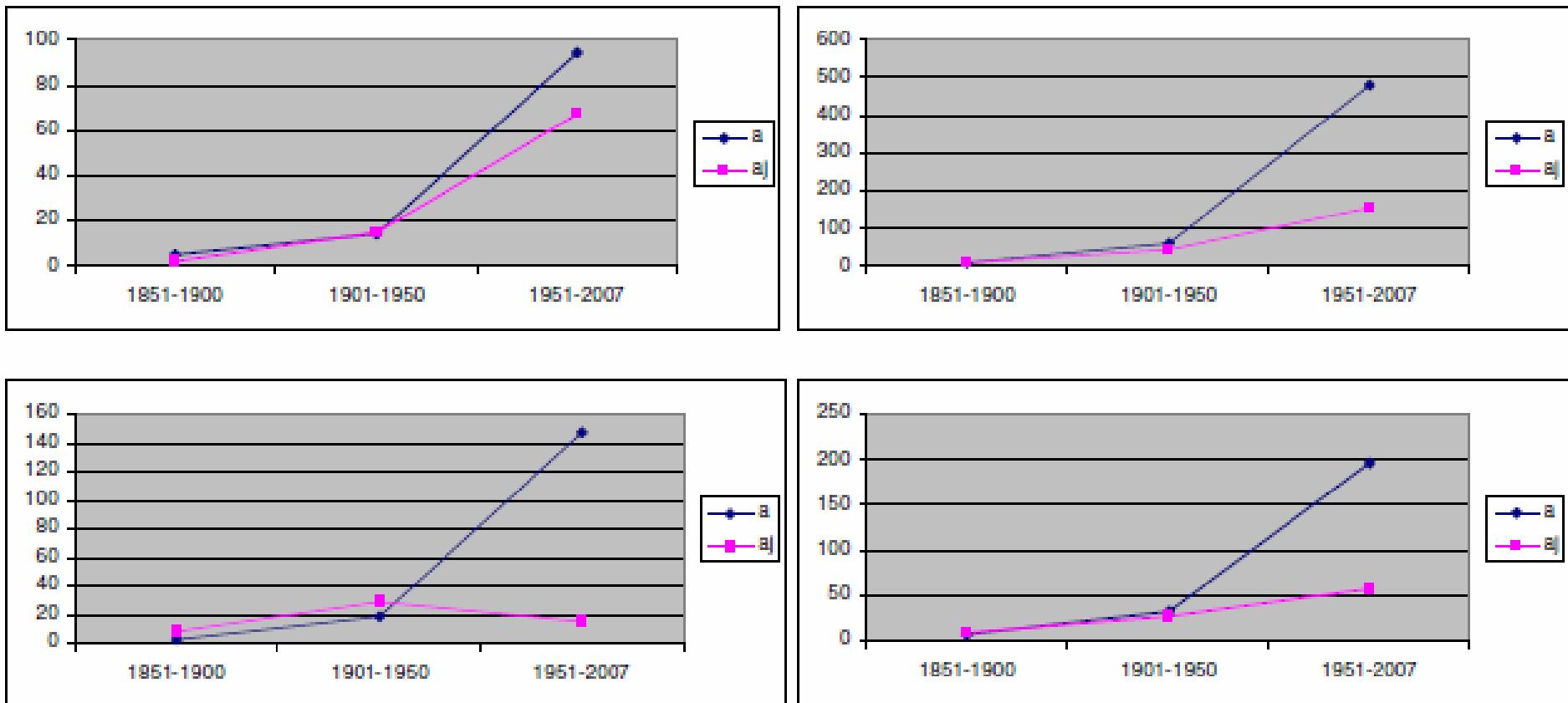
Grammatical profiles over time (finite and ppact forms)

dvigat' *dvigat'sja*

Anlike many other verbs, *dvigat'(sja)* preserves -a- over time

Grammatical profiles over time (finite and ppct forms)

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Syntactic constructions (finite and ppact forms)

- ***dvigat'***

transitive (trans)

двигать стул.ACC к стене

'move the chair to the wall'

intransitive with Instrumental object (trans ins)

ребенок двигает руками.INS

'the kid moves hands'

intransitive (intr)

мы двигаем дальше

≈ *мы двигаемся дальше*

'we start moving'

- ***dvigat'sja***

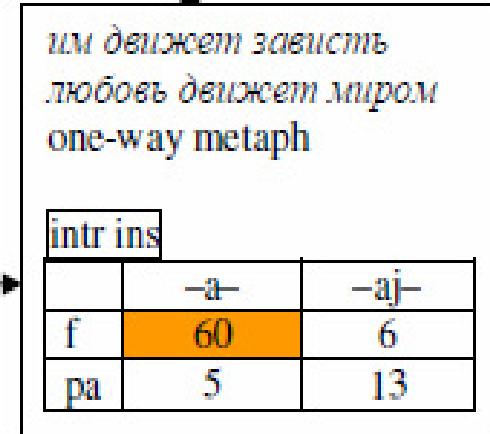
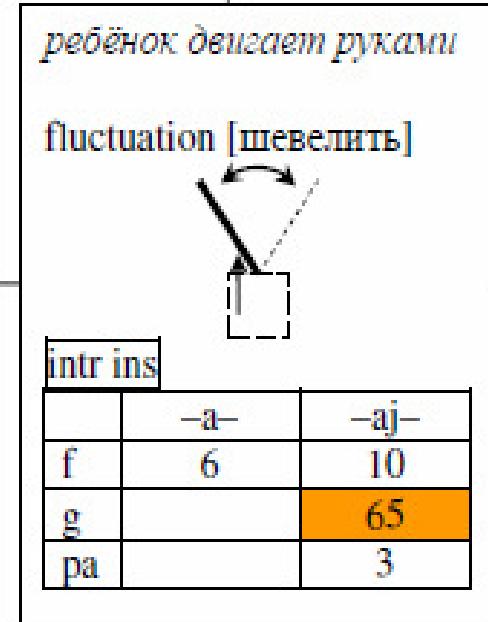
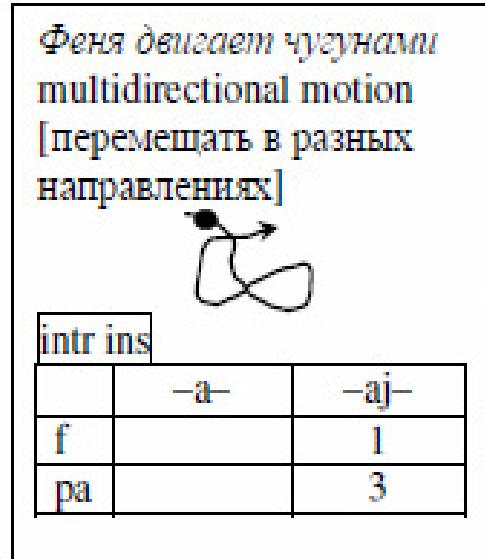
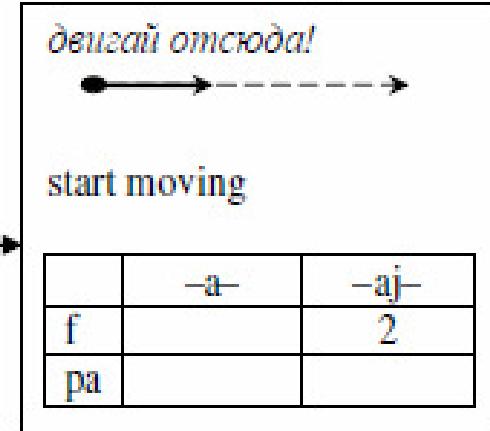
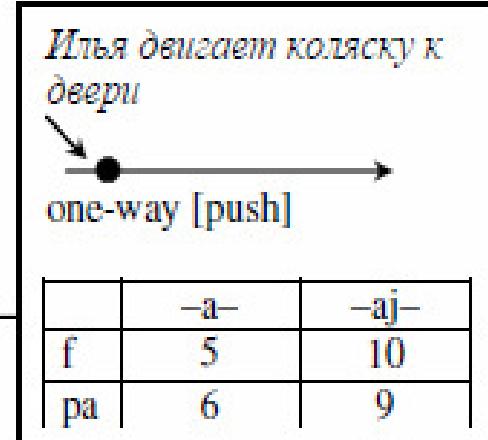
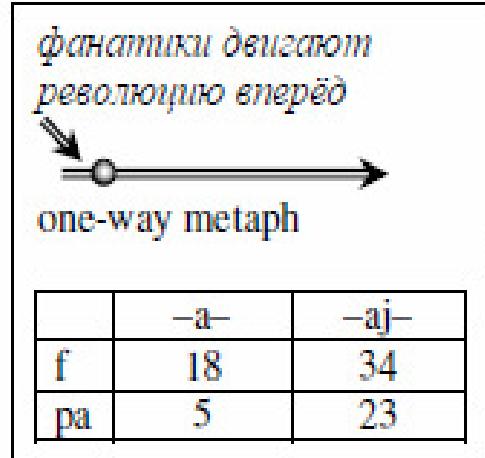
intransitive (intr)

Frame typology (finite and ppact forms)

- None of syntactic constructions show a preference for -a- or -aj-
- so a level of frame semantics should be taken into consideration
 - type of motion: physical or metaphorical
 - type of path: unidirectional, multidirectional, fluctuation
 - type of Figure (Subj of *dvigat'sja*, Obj of *dvigat'*)
 - type of Causer: human, abstract
 - additional overtones (to develop career etc.)
- Up to 100 uses per each grammatical form were tagged according to frames and syntactical constructions

dvigat'

двигаться start moving



dvigat'sja

время/жизнь движется медленно

one-way metaph

	-a-	-aj-
f	28	16
pa	7	7

вагон движется вдоль перрона

one-way

	-a-	-aj-
f	40	25
pa	42	39

мы движемся в путь

start moving

	-a-	-aj-
f	1	3
pa		

там движется поршень



multidirectional

	-a-	-aj-
f	14	21
g		50
pa	29	27

в голове мягко движутся мысли
multidirectional metaph



	-a-	-aj-
f		1
pa	3	1

лицо/толпа все время движется
fluctuation



	-a-	-aj-
f	3	7
pa	13	13

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- Variation over time
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Variation over author&text space

Mikhail Prišvin (1900-1950): 89 uses

- *dvižet* (3) as opposed to *dvigaet* (3)
- *dvižetsja* (59) as opposed to *dvigaetsja* (8)
- Variation is anchored by particular constructional frames (no variation within frames)

M.Ostrogradsky (1840-1866): 113 uses (scientific prose)

- only one use of *dvigaet*: masses as opposed to the moving point

Maxim Gor'ky (1895-1928): 131 uses

- The only opposition is in *dvižetsja* (8) as opposed to *dvigaetsja* (51)
- -a-: early prose, archaic style/vsjo 'everything is moving'

Conclusions

- Constructional profiles are not consistent with grammatical profiles; rather, the construction is seen as a combination of three things:
 $Cx = \text{form} * \text{syntactic cx} * \text{frame}$
- Local effects: each suffix develops its own domain of usages (usage islands). This helps us to contrast different frames, types of motion and types of Figure
- Variation over time: not enough data, but the suffixes show specialization in some constructional frames
- Variation over author&text space:
local effects: each author develops its own suffix shift profile