

Case choice in placement verbs in Russian

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This chapter will examine the “competition” between the accusative case and the locative case or instrumental case of the landmark in utterances involving the following verbs in dynamic situations: *stat*’P-intr, *vstat*’P-intr, *postavit*’P-tr ‘stand’; *leč*’P-intr, ‘lie down’, *klast*’i-tr, *položit*’P-tr, *uložit*’P-tr, ‘lay’; *sadit*’sjaⁱ-intr, *sest*’P-intr, *usest*’sjaⁱ-intr, *posadit*’P-tr’sit’; *vešat*’i-tr, *povesit*’P-tr, *vešat*’sjaⁱ-intr, *povesit*’sjaⁱ-intr ‘hang’; *prjatat*’sjaⁱ-intr, *sprjatat*’sjaⁱ-intr, *prjatat*’i-tr, *sprjatat*’P-tr ‘hide’; *sobirat*’sjaⁱ-intr, *sobrat*’sjaⁱ-intr ‘gather’.

The locative or the accusative may be used with the prepositions *v* ‘in’ and *na* ‘on’ and the instrumental or the accusative with the prepositions *za* ‘behind’ and *pod* ‘under’. The prepositions *pered* ‘in front of’ and *nad* ‘over’ do not exhibit such variation, always governing the instrumental case. The traditional distinction in case assignment in Russian hinges on whether or not the statement describes the location of an object (locative or instrumental case with these prepositions) or, using Langacker’s 1987 terminology, the motion of a trajector toward a landmark, (accusative case with the same set of prepositions.):

- (1) a. *Mal’čik vošel v komnatu_A.*
 boy.NOM.SG entered.PF.M in room.ACC.SG
 ‘The boy entered the room.’ⁱ
- b. *Mal’čik byl v komnate_L.*
 boy.NOM.SG was.M in room.LOC.SG
 ‘The boy was in the room.’

- c. *Mal'čik sel na divan_A.*
 boy.NOM.SG sat.PF.M on couch.ACC.SG
 'The boy sat on the couch.'
- d. *Mal'čik sidel na divan_L.*
 boy.NOM.SG sat.IPF.M on couch.LOC.SG
 'The boy was sitting on the couch.'
- e. *Kniga upala za ška_A.*
 book.NOM.SG fell.PF.F behind bookcase.ACC.SG
 'The book fell behind the bookcase.'
- f. *Kniga byla za ška_{om}_L.*
 book.NOM.SG was.F behind bookcase.INST.SG
 'The book was behind the bookcase.'
- g. *Kniga upala pod krovat'_A.*
 book.NOM.SG fell.PF.F under bed.ACC.SG
 'The book fell under the bed.'
- h. *Kniga ležala pod krovat'_{ju}_L.*
 book.NOM.SG lay.IPF.F under bed.INST.SG
 'The book was under the bed.'

However, this view is too simplistic for Russian. While there are no counter-examples of case assignment in utterances describing location, there do exist utterances describing motion where the accusative is inappropriate (see section 2.5 for the discussion and for the correct version (2')):

- (2) a. *[*] On postavil zontik za dver'_A.*
 he.NOM stood.PF.TR.M umbrella.ACC.SG behind
 door.ACC.SG
 'He placed the umbrella behind the door.' (D&O-291)

b. [*] *My postavili mašinu za èto*
 we.NOM stood.PF.TR.M car.ACC.SG behind this.ACC.SG.N
zdanie_A.

building.ACC.SG

‘We parked the car behind this building.’ (D&O-336)

c. [*] *My posadili derev’ja za cerkov’_A.*
 we.NOM sat.TR.PF.PL tree.ACC.PL behind church.ACC.SG

‘We planted the trees behind the church.’ (D&O-336)

Works on Figure and Ground (Talmy 1978, Talmy 1983) and analyses of prepositions (Herskovits 1981, 1988; Cuyckens 1984, 1988; Vandeloise 1991) usually deal with static objects. While Langacker (1990) dealt with variation of case assignments for trajectors, the case of the landmark remained constant, as in (3) (Langacker 1990: 251):

(3) a. Pl. [[?]] *Rzucil pilke_I do plotu_G.*
 threw.3P.SG.M ball.INST.SG to fence.GEN.SG
 ‘He threw the ball up to the fence.’

b. Pl. [*] [?]*Rzucil pilke_A do plotu_G.*
 threw.3P.SG.M ball.ACC.SG to fence.GEN.SG
 ‘He threw the ball up to the fence.’

c. Pl. *Rzucil pilke_I w mame_A.*
 threw.3P.SG.M ball.INST.SG in mother.ACC.SG
 ‘He threw the ball at his mother.’

d. Pl. [[?]] *Rzucil pilke_A w mame_A.*
 threw.3P.SG.M ball.ACC.SG in mother.ACC.SG
 ‘He threw the ball at his mother.’

In other words, the case of the trajector may change (instrumental vs. accusative), but the case of the landmark remains the same (genitive case in (3a) and (3b), accusative case in (3c) and (3d)).

In Russian, in contrast to the Polish examples in (3), there are instances where the case of the trajector remains the same but the case of the landmark varies:

- (4) a. *On leg na pol_A.*
 He.NOM.SG lay.PF.INTR.M on floor.ACC.SG
 ‘He lay down on the floor.’
- b. *On leg na polu_L.*
 he .NOM.SG lay.PF.INTR.M on floor.LOC.SG
 ‘He lay down on the floor.’
- (5) a. *Èto kreslo_A postav’te v sosednjuju komnatu_A.*
 this.NOM.SG.N armchair.ACC.SG stand.IMP.TR.PL in
 next.ADJ.ACC.F room.ACC.SG
 ‘Put this armchair in the next room.’ (Blažev-88)
- b. *Èto kreslo_A postav’te v sosednej komnate_L.*
 this.NOM.SG.N armchair.ACC.SG stand.IMP.TR.PL in
 next.F.LOC room.LOC.SG
 ‘Put this armchair in the next room.’ (Blažev-88)
- (6) a. *On sprjatal knigu_A pod podušku_A.*
 he.NOM hid.PF.TR.M book.ACC.SG under pillow.ACC.SG
 ‘He hid the book under the pillow.’
- b. *On sprjatal knigu_A pod poduškoj_I.*
 he.NOM hid.PF.TR.M book.ACC.SG under pillow.INST.SG
 ‘He hid the book under the pillow.’

There are also instances where the landmark case is never accusative, contrary to traditional expectation:

- (7) a. **On povesil rubašku vo dvor_A.*
 he.NOM hung.PF.TR.M shirt.ACC.SG in courtyard.ACC.SG
 ‘He hung his shirt in the yard.’
- b. *On povesil rubašku vo dvore_L.*
 he.NOM hung.PF.TR.M shirt.ACC.SG in courtyard.LOC.SG
 ‘He hung his shirt in the yard.’
- (8) a. **Ja postavila mašinu za ugo_L.*
 I.NOM stood.PF.TR.F car.ACC.SG behind corner.ACC.SG
 ‘I parked the car around the corner.’
- b. *Ja postavila mašinu za uglom_I.*
 I.NOM stood.PF.TR.F car.ACC.SG behind corner.INST.SG
 ‘I parked the car around the corner.’

Nedashkivska-Adams (1995) applied Hopper & Thompson’s (1990) model of transitivity and suggested that since animacy of the object triggers high transitivity (as opposed to low transitivity), it explains why (9b) is incorrect as opposed to (9a) and (10b):

- (9) a. Uk. *Mama postavyla syna na stil_A.*
 mother.NOM.SG stood.PF.TR.F son.ACC.SG on
 table.ACC.SG
 ‘Mother stood (her) son on the table.’
- b. Uk. [?]*Mama postavyla syna na stoli_L.*
 mother.NOM.SG stood.PF.TR.F son.ACC.SG on
 table.LOC.SG
 ‘Mother stood (her) son on the table.’
- (10) a. Uk. *Mama postavyla banjak na*
 mother.NOM.SG stood.PF.TR.F pot.ACC.SG on

*plytu*_A.

stove.ACC.SG

‘Mother placed a pot on the stove.’

- b. Uk. *Mama postavyla banjak na
mother.NOM.SG stood.PF.TR.F pot.ACC.SG on
plyti*_L.

stove.LOC.SG

‘Mother placed a pot on the stove.’

However, in Russian we do find locative case used in similar high transitive contexts:

- (11) *Tetja Dusja i Manja stali gotovit'sja k nočlegu. Tetja Dusja **uložila**
(lay.PF.TR.F) Ljus'ku s soboj **na krovati**_L (on bed.LOC.SG), a Manja postelila
sebe i Vale **na polu**_L (on floor.LOC.SG). (V. Panova. Valja)*

‘Aunt Dusya and Manya started getting ready for bed. Aunt Dusya **lay** Lusya with herself **on the bed**, while Manya made a bed for herself and Valya **on the floor**.’

We also find such distinctions in utterances where the verb is intransitive:

- (12) a. *Ja **legla** (lay.PF.INTR.F) **na pol**_A (on floor.ACC.SG), **na kover**_A (on
rug.ACC.SG), i *slušala, šzimaja viski, i plakala, i rugala sebja za èti glupye
slezy.* (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)*

‘I **lay on the floor**, **on the rug**, and listened while holding my temples, and cried and scolded myself for these stupid tears.’

- b. *On xotel postlat' mne na svoej krovati, no ja ne dal i **leg** (lay.PF.INTR.M)
na polu_L (on floor.LOC.SG). Koek bylo skol'ko ugodno, no ja vseгда ljubil
spat' na polu.* (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

‘He wanted to make up his bed for me but I did not let him and **lay on the floor**. There were plenty of beds, but I always liked sleeping on the floor.’

On the other hand, we have to differentiate between (5a) and (5b) for inanimate objects, similar to the Ukrainian (10a) and (10b).

Additionally, Hopper & Thompson (1990) claimed that perfective aspect is more transitive than imperfective, and this explains the preference for locative case in Nedashkivska-Adams' examples (13) and (14), where the less transitive imperfective is associated with locative case:

(13) a. Uk. [?]*Mama* *zavždy kladeⁱ vylku* *na*
 mother.NOM.SG always lays.IPF fork.ACC.SG on
stil_A.
 table.ACC.SG
 'Mother always lays the fork on the table.'

b. Uk. *Mama* *zavždy kladeⁱ vylku* *na*
 mother.NOM.SG always lays.IPF fork.ACC.SG on
stoli_L.
 table.LOC.SG
 'Mother always lays the fork on the table.'

(14) a. Uk. [?]*Mama* *zavždy višajeⁱ fotografiji* *na*
 mother.NOM.SG always hangs.IPF pictures.ACC.PL on
stinu_A.
 wall.ACC.SG
 'Mother always hangs pictures on the wall.'

b. Uk. *Mama* *zavždy višajeⁱ fotografiji* *na*
 mother.NOM.SG always hangs.IPF pictures.ACC.PL on
stini_L.
 wall.LOC.SG
 'Mother always hangs pictures on the wall.'

However, such a strong systemic preference is not attested for Russian. Besides, in Russian the cases would be used in reverse:

- (13') a. *Mama vsegda kladet' vilku na stolA.*
 mother.NOM.SG always lays.IPF fork.ACC.SG on
stolA.
 table.ACC.SG
 'Mother always lays the fork on the table.'

- (14') a. *Mama vsegda vešacet' fotografiji na stenuA.*
 mother.NOM.SG always hangs.IPF pictures.ACC.PL on
stenuA.
 wall.ACC.SG
 'Mother always hangs pictures on the wall.'

Smith (1988, 1995) and Serra-Borneto (1997) examined a similar phenomenon in German, the so-called two-way prepositions. In German, the dative/accusative opposition is similar to locative/accusativeⁱⁱ in Russian, in that accusative case indicates motion into the area, while dative indicates location, as in (15):

- (15) a. Germ. *Wir wanderten in dieA Berge.*
 we.NOM hiked in the.ACC.PL mountain.PL
 'We hiked into the mountains.'
- b. Germ. *Wir wanderten in denD Bergen.*
 We.NOM hiked in the.DAT.PL mountain.DAT.PL
 'We hiked in the mountains.' (Smith 1995: 294)

It is the case of the landmark that establishes the semantic distinction between (16a) and (16b):

- (16) a. Germ. *Das Flugzeug flog über derD Stadt.*
 the.NOM.N airplane.SG flew over the.DAT.SG city.SG
 'The airplane flew over the city.' [remaining above the city, inside its airspace]

- b. Germ. *Das Flugzeug flog über die Stadt.*
 the.NOM.N airplane.SG flew over the.ACC.SG city.SG
 ‘The airplane flew over the city.’ [crossing the airspace above the city] (Serra-Borneto-189)

1. Container schema

Blažev (1975: 46) introduces four terms – *obščemestnoe* general-locational, *konkretnomestnoe* concrete-locational, *obščēnapravitel’noe* general-directional and *konkretnonapravitel’noe* concrete-directional – to describe the utterances under investigation. Thus *povesit’ na vešalku* ‘hang on a rack’ is general-directional, and *na poslednij kolyšek* ‘on the last peg’ is concrete-directional. In other words, Blažev operates with four parameters, a two by two matrix of location vs. direction, concrete vs. general.

In order to explain the type of motion that is seen in these cases, I will turn to the image schema of a CONTAINER (Langacker 1990, see also Nessel’s contribution to this volume) and a PATH used in cognitive linguistics as well as in connection with verbs of motion.

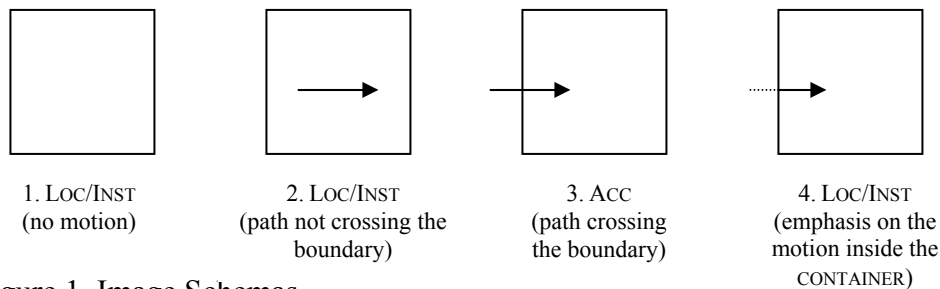


Figure 1. Image Schemas

In Figure 1, schema 1 represents situations similar to (1b), (1d), (1f), and (1h), where there is no motion involved. Schema 2 represents motion within the CONTAINER where there is no crossing of a boundary. Schema 3 represents motion where the PATH of the trajector crosses the boundary of the CONTAINER, as in (1a) and (1g). Schema 4 represents motion where the PATH of the trajector crosses the boundary of the CONTAINER, but focus is on the portion of the motion within the CONTAINER and the event is represented as placement in a location.

Let us examine a set of parallel examples:

- (17) a. *Èto delal on v èti poslednie svoi časy? Prežde vsego pereodelsja, po privyčke akkuratno **povesil** (hung.PF.TR.M) v **škaf**_A (in closet.ACC.SG) svoj gorodskoj kostjum. Potom prines drov, čtoby protopit' peč'.* (Ju. Kazakov. Vo sne ty gor'ko plakal)
 'What was he doing during his last hours? First of all he changed clothes, by habit neatly **hung** his city suit **in the closet**. Then he brought some fire wood in order to stoke the stove.'
- b. *Nojbauèr razgljadyval svoj kostjum. Zel'ma **povesila** (hung.PF.TR.F) ego v **škafu**_L (in closet.LOC.SG) na samom vidnom meste. On ponjal namek. štatskij kostjum. On ne nadeval ego s tridcat' tret'ego goda.* (È.M. Remark. Iskra žizni)
 'Neubauer was examining his suit. Selma **has hung** it **in the closet** in the most prominent place. He got the hint. A civilian suit. He hadn't worn it since 1933.'

In (17a), the person identified as *on* took off the suit and placed it into the closet, which in this case is the CONTAINER, thus crossing its boundary (schema 3). In (17b), Neubauer looked at his suit which was already in the closet, having been placed there previously by Selma, and which is **located** in the most prominent place (schema 1). Thus no crossing of the boundary occurred because perfective *povesila* 'hung' is a resultative whose consequences were being witnessed at the moment of speech.

The following discussion will identify the main conditions that correlate with the above image schemas. The remainder of this section will examine instances where only one case of the landmark is possible, yet with different schemas. These include inanimate objects at rest (schema 1), changing pose (schema 2), bodily contact (schema 3), simple placement (schema 3), fitting into a container (schema 3), large size container (schema 4), nested locations (schema 3). Sections 2 and 3 will deal with instances where both schemas 3 and 4 are possible, section 2 examines the semantic and pragmatic distinctions while section 3 focuses on verbal properties.

1.1 Inanimate objects at rest

Schema 1 represents a situation where no motion into the CONTAINER or within the CONTAINER takes place even though one of the verbs listed above is used to describe it. The landmark NP is therefore in locative case as in (18a) where hair lies in a certain way on the head, or in (18b) where nuts hide in foliage:

- (18) a. *Vse, krome šaxmat, predstavljalos' soblaznitel'nym, i Aleksej Petrovič Skvortsov prikidyval vslux sravnitel'nye dostoinstva každogo meroprijatija, eroša volosy, kotorye kak-to sami akkuratno ložilis' (lay.IPF.INTR.PL) sedymi volnami na malen'koj aristokratičeskoj goloveL (on small.LOC.SG.F aristocratic.LOC.SG.F head.LOC.SG), kogda zametil, čto Anna vypala iz obščeniya, zabyła o ego suščestvovanii. (Ju. Nagibin. Terpenie)*

‘Everything except for chess seemed attractive, and Alexey Petrovich Skvortsov was musing out loud about the relative merits of every undertaking while roughing up his hair, which somehow by itself neatly **lay** in gray waves **on his small aristocratic head**, when he noticed that Anna fell out of communication, forgot about his existence.’

- b. *Orexi očen' lovko prjačutsja (hide.3P.PRES.PL) v šeršavoj listveL (in coarse.LOC.SG.F foliage.LOC.SG). Malo pol'zy stojat' pod kustom i razgljadyvat', ne uvidiš' li orexa? (V. Solouxin. Tret'ja oxota)*

‘Nuts very cleverly **hide in coarse foliage**. It is of little use to stand under a bush and peer to see if you could see a nut.’

1.2 Changing pose

Changing a pose represents motion within a CONTAINER (schema 2). The protagonists (trajectors) sit up from a lying position. Since no boundaries are crossed, the landmark NP is in locative case:

- (19) a. *Moj učitel' spal na polu, pokryvšis' polušubkom i položiv pod sennik kakuju-to metalličeskuju svetluju štuku, a ja vse voročalsja, pil vodu,*

*sadilsja na posteli*_L (sat.IPF.INTR.M on bedding.LOC.SG), *smotrel v zamerzšee uzorami okno*. (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

‘My teacher slept on the floor, covered by a sheepskin jacket after he had put under the hay mattress some light metal thing, and I kept on tossing and turning, drinking water, **sitting up on the bed** and looking out the frost-covered window.’

b. *Ej ne spalos’, ona sbrosila prostynju i sela na posteli*_L (sat.PF.INTR.F on bedding.LOC.SG). (V. Panova. Mal’čik i devočka)

‘She could not sleep, she tossed off the sheet and **sat up on the bed**.’

c. *Lermontov prosnulsja. Serdce medlenno bilos’. ... Lermontov proležal s zakrytymi glazami do rassveta. ... Lermontov sel na lavke*_L (sat.PF.INTR.M on bench.LOC.SG). (K. Paustovskij. Razlivy rek)

‘Lermontov woke up. His heart was beating slowly. ... Lermontov lay with his eyes closed until dawn. ... Lermontov **sat up on the bench**.’

1.3. Bodily contact

All bodily contact between two beings or even of one being with itself represent the motion of a trajector across a boundary into an area “belonging” to the landmark (schema 3), and thus the landmark is always designated by an accusative NP. Whether we are dealing with placing a hand, as in (20a, c, e), a palm, as in (20b), a leg, as in (20d), or one’s “mug”, as in (20f) onto one’s own or someone else’s body part, there is always an intrusion into the other person’s space:

(20) a. *Žena podošla i položila* (lay.PF.TR.F) *emu na plečo*_A (on shoulder.ACC.SG) *ruku, a Vel’jaminov, zakryvšis’ gazetnym listom, delal vid, što čitaet, no lico ego morščilos’ ot boli, i on ne xotel, čtoby žena videla èto*. (V. Lidin. Zimnee solnce)

‘His wife approached and **put** her hand **on his shoulder**, while Velyaminov covered himself with the newspaper and pretended that he

was reading; but his face was grimacing from pain and he did not want his wife to see this.’

- b. *Agnija podbežala k Taničevu, položila (lay.PF.TR.F) ladon' na gorjačičnyj lob_A (on feverish.ACC.SG.M forehead.ACC.SG). On uronil vsklokočennuju golovu na podušku i snova zabylsja. (E. Vorob'ev. Včera byla vojna)*
 ‘Agniya ran to Taničev, **placed** her palm **on his feverish forehead**. He dropped his disheveled head on the pillow and lost consciousness again.’
- c. *Ja smotrel vniz na davno ne čiščennyj, počernelyj parket, slovno razyskivaja čto-to. Ruka Niny Ivanovny vdrug legla (lay.PF.INTR.F) na moju ruku_A (on my.ACC.SG.F hand.ACC.SG), pal'cy ee drožali. (D. Granin. Dom na Fontanke)*
 ‘I was looking down at the blackened wooden floor, which had not been cleaned for a long time, as if I was looking for something. The hand of Nina Ivanovna suddenly **lay on my hand**, her fingers were trembling.’
- d. *Valerija Konstantinovna nadela ee, i snova vse pokatilos' pered zakrytymi glazami. Irina, o kotoroj ona za vsju dorogu ne vspomnila ni razu, uselas' v kreslo, položiv (having-layed.PF) nogu na nogu_A (on leg.ACC.SG), s papirosoj v otkinutoj ruke i skazala, čto Valerija Konstantinovna – xorošen'kaja i čto esli by ona, Irina, byla xorošen'kaja – vse moglo byt' soveršenno inače. (V. Kaverin. Kosoj dožd')*
 ‘Valeria Konstantinovna put it on, and once again everything rolled in front of her closed eyes. Irina about whom she had not thought a single time during the whole trip, got herself comfortable in an armchair, **placed** one leg **over the other** with a cigarette in her drooping hand and said that Valeria Konstantinovna is pretty, and if she, Irina, were pretty – everything could have been completely different.’

e. *Karpuxin sidel, položiv* (having-layed.PF) *ruki na koleni_A* (on knees.ACC), *veki byli opuščeny, pokornoe do bezrazličija vyraženie delalo bezlikim ego lico.* (G. Baklanov. Karpuxin)

‘Karpukhin was sitting **with** his hands **on his knees** with his eye-lids closed; his submissive to the point of indifference expression was making his face faceless.’

f. *Vo vsjakom slučae, Adel’ prišlas’ togda udivitel’no kstati, kak budto ee tol’ko i ne xvatalo v ego žizni: vojdba v dom, ona srazu vybrala sebe mesto na kovrike u okna, rjedom s batareej, i, pokrutivšis’ nemnogo, pokorno zatixla tam, položiv* (having-layed.PF) *mordu na lapy_A* (on paws.ACC) *i zakryv glaza. Tam ona i spala vsegda, poka Rita ne pojavilas’ u nego v dome...* (N. Šmelev. Prezumpcija nevinovnosti)

‘In any case, Adele was then amazingly a propos, as if she was the only thing missing in his life. As soon as she entered into the house, she immediately found a place for herself on the rug by the window next to the radiator, and after turning around a bit she submissively quieted down there, **having placed** her mug **on her paws** and having closed her eyes. It is there that she always slept, until Rita appeared in his house...’

1.4 Simple placement

Simple placement uncomplicated by any other semantic or pragmatic factors represents a quintessential schema 3. This usage corresponds to the category of “volitionality”, arguably the only feature among the “highly transitive features” in Hopper & Thompson (1980) used by Nedashkivska-Adams (1995) that seems to consistently apply to Russian.

- (21) a. *S tex por Indija ne davala mne pokoja. Kogda menja otdali v remeslennuju školu, to na pervom že uroke ja sprosil o nej učitelja.*
 –Čto takoe Indija? – propiščal ja, podymaja ruku.
 –Tebe v Indiju zaxotelos’? A vot **posażu** (sit.1P.FUT.PF.TR) *tebja na Kamčatku_A* (on Kamchatka.ACC), čtoby ty ne soval v glaza svoi grjaznye lapy. (K. Paustovskij. Ètiketki kolonial’nyx tovarov)
 ‘Since then India was tormenting me. When they sent me to a professional school, at the very first lesson I asked the teacher about it.
 “What is India?” I squeaked raising my hand.
 “You want to go to India? I’ll **put** you **on Kamchatka** [the farthest desk] so that you won’t stick your dirty paws into your eyes.’”
- b. *On popal na priem k zavedujuščemu odnim iz otdelov, i ni slova ne govorja, položil* (lay.PF.TR.M) *emu na stol_A* (on table.ACC.SG) *to, čto prines v karmane.* (Ju. Svintickij. Sotvorenje izumruda. “Sputnik”, #10, 1986)
 ‘He got to see one of the heads of the departments and without saying a word **put on his desk** what he had brought in his pocket.’
- c. *Zavedujuščaja, očen’ nemolodaja, so skladkami zaboty na želtom lice, sčitala na sčetax. Ja položila* (lay.PF.TR.F) *ej na stol_A* (on table.ACC.SG) *svoe napravlenie.* (M. Ganina. Poka živu – nadejus’)
 ‘The department head, a woman of a certain age with wrinkles of worries on her yellow face, was counting on an abacus. I **placed** my referral **on her desk.**’
- d. *Tetja Klava vzdoxnula i postavila* (stood.PF.TR.F) *na ogon’_A* (on fire.ACC.SG) *kartošku.* (V. Tokareva. Stečenie obstožatel’stv)
 ‘Aunt Klava sighed and **placed** the potatoes **on the fire.**’
- e. *Karlo sdelał emu iz lučinok dlinnye nogi s bol’simi stupnjami. Na ètom okončiv rabotu, postavil* (stood.PF.TR.M) *derevjannogo mal’čišku na pol_A,*

(on floor.ACC.SG) *čtoby naučit' xodit'*. (A. Tolstoj. Zolotoj ključik ili priključnija Buratino)

‘Carlo made for him long legs with big feet out of a firewood chip. Having thus finished his work, he **placed** the wooden boy **on the floor** in order to teach him to walk.’

- f. *Posle togo kak on ušel, Lora stala xudet' po odnomu kilogrammu v den'. Telo stekalo s nee, i v konce koncov ona legla* (lay.PF.INTR.F) *na divan_A* (on couch.ACC.SG), *čtoby ne vstavat'*. *Ona umirala, potomu čto ee žizn' – Sereža.* (V. Tokareva. Odin kubik nažeždy)

‘After he left, Lora started losing weight at a rate of a kilogram a day. Her body was melting off her, and finally she **lay on the couch** in order to not get up. She was dying because Sergey was her life.’

1.5 Fitting into a CONTAINER

When the trajector and the CONTAINER-landmark are commensurate, that is, the size of the CONTAINER is such that it could accommodate either one or a small countable number of trajectors, we are dealing with schema 3 and would expect only accusative case. In (22a) the alarm clock fits into the pocket, in (22b) the speaker fits into the coffin, in (22c) the old woman fits into the box, in (22d) the accordion fits into its case, in (22e) a car fits into the one car garage, in (22f) a person fits into the sleigh, in (22g) a person sits on a chair, and in (22h) letters fit into a pocket:

- (22) a. *–Vremja usek?*

–Usek, – podtverždal ded, klal (lay.IPF.TR.M) *budil'nik v karman_A* (in pocket.ACC.SG) *i smatyvalsja.* (B. Vasil'ev. Vy č'e, starič'e?)

‘‘Got the time?’’

‘‘Got it,’’ the old man would confirm, **put** the alarm clock **into his pocket** and skedaddled.’

- b. *Potom oni položili* (lay.PF.TR.PL) *menja v grob_A* (in coffin.ACC.SG). (A. Gladilin. Bespokojnik)
 ‘Then they **lay** me **in a coffin**.’
- c. *Romašov dostal grob – togda, v dekabre, èto bylo ešče vozmožno, – i, kogda xuden’kaja staruška legla* (lay.PF.ITR.F) *v (in) ètot ogromnyj, grubo skoločennyj jaščik_A* (box.ACC.SG), *mne pokazalos’, čto i v grobu ona zabilas’ v ugol so straxu.* (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)
 ‘Romashov managed to get a coffin – at that time in December it was still possible, – and when the skinny old woman **lay down in** this enormous, roughly put together **box**, it seemed to me that even in the coffin she huddled into a corner from fear.’
- d. *Djadja Vasja glaza zakryl, golovoj pokačal, potom uložil* (lay.PF.TR.M) *garmon’ v čemodan_A* (in suitcase.ACC.SG) *i pošel bylo k domu, čtoby, kak v detstve, otpravit’sja za karasjami: ...* (R. Pogodin. Knižka pro Grišku)
 ‘Uncle Vasily closed his eyes, shook his head then **put** the accordion **into the suitcase** and was about to go home in order to go for crucians, like in his childhood: ...’
- e. *I prežde čuvstvoval Ivan Petrovič, čto sily ego na isxode, no nikogda ešče tak: kraj da i tol’ko. On postavil* (stood.PF.TR.M) *mašinu v garaž_A* (in garage.ACC.SG), *vyšel čerez pustuju proxodnuju v ulicu, i v pervye doroga ot garaža do doma ...* (V. Rasputin. Požar)
 ‘Even previously, Ivan Petrovich had felt that his strength was leaving him, but never to such an extent: this is just the end. He **parked** the car **in the garage**, went out through an empty checkpoint onto the street, and for the first time the road from the garage to the house ...’

- f. *Skripnuv zubami, Turbin sel v sani_A* (sat.PF.INTR.M in sleigh.ACC.PL) *i poexal po napravleniju k muzeju.* (M. Bulgakov. Belaja gvardija)
 ‘Turbin clenched his teeth, **got into the sleigh** and went towards the museum.’
- g. *Rasxrabrivšis’, poklonnik razvjazno uselsja na stul_A* (sat.PF.INTR.M on chair.ACC.SG) *vsem zadom.* (Ju. Nagibin. Vstan’ i idi)
 ‘Getting more daring, the admirer loosely **sat on the chair** with all of his behind.’
- h. *Emu pokazali poslednie pis’ma Andreja. Burdak pročitaj ix, dal pročitat’ Konovalovu i sprjatal* (hid.PF.TR.M) *k sebe v karman_A* (in pocket.ACC.SG). (V. Rasputin. živi i pomni)
 ‘He was shown the last letters of Andrei. Burdak read them, let Konovalov read them and **hid them in his pocket.**’

Note also (20d) where we find *uselas’ v kreslo_A* ‘sat in the armchair’.

1.6 “Large” size CONTAINER

The garage in (22e) is most likely a small one car garage where the protagonist leaves his car on his way home. Conversely, if the garage were a large commercial one, the same action would have been described differently:

- (22') e. *On postavil* (stood.PF.TR.M) *mašinu v garaže_L* (in garage.LOC.SG), *vyšel čerez pustuju proxodnuju ...*
 ‘He **parked** the car **in the garage**, went out through an empty checkpoint ...’

The opposite of a fitting CONTAINER is not simply a large one but one that can be viewed by the speaker from inside and where multiple trajectors could be placed. This situation represents schema 4 since there is a portion of motion within the CONTAINER, and the landmark NP is in locative case:

- (23) a. *Moja žena i dočka i ešče dve rodstvennicy **legli** (lay.PF.INTR.PL) **v sosednej komnate**_L (in next.ADJ.LOC.SG.F room.LOC.SG). (A. Gladilin. Bespokojnik)*
 ‘My wife and my daughter and two other female relatives **lay down in the next room.**’
- b. *Menja **položili** (lay.PF.TR.PL) **v zale**_L (in hall.LOC.SG) *zasedanij i ja stal samym važnym čelovekom našego vedomstva.* (A. Gladilin. Bespokojnik)*
 ‘I was **placed in the auditorium** and I became the most important person in our department.’
- c. *“Prospis’”, – skazala Rimma. Petjunju **položili** (lay.PF.TR.PL) **v koridore**_L (in hallway.LOC.SG), *sredi xlama.* (T. Tolstaja. Ogon’ i pyl’)*
 ‘“Sleep it off,” said Rimma. Petya was **placed in the hallway**, amidst the junk.’
- d. *Studentka **postavila** (stood.PF.TR.F) **v cerkvi**_L (in church.LOC.SG) *svečku pered èkzamenom. Sosedka po obščezitiju podnjala ètot fakt na principial’nuju vysotu.* (Krestiny. “Izvestija” 5-08–88)*
 ‘A female student **placed** a candle **in a church** before an exam. Her roommate elevated this fact to the height of principles.’
- e. *– Dostan’, lapuška, sama... – I počemu-to snjala so stola svoju issoxšuju, s nabuxšimi sustavami ruku, stydlivo **sprjatala** (hid.PF.TR.F) **v jubke**_L (in skirt.LOC.SG). (V. Tendrjakov. “Podenka – vek korotkij”)*
 ‘“Get it, honey, yourself” and for some reason she took her dried up hand with swollen joints off the table and shamefully **hid it in her skirt.**’
- f. *Abrikosovaja dala obil’nuju želtuju penu, i v vozduxe zapaxlo parikmaxerskoj. Napivšis’ literatory medlenno načali ikat’, rasplatilis’ i **uselis’** (sat.PF.INTR.PL) **na skamejke**_L (on bench.LOC.SG) *licom k prudu i spinoj k Bronnoj.* (M. Bulgakov. Master i Margarita)*
 ‘The apricot soda had an abundant yellow foam and there appeared the smell of a barber shop. After quenching their thirst the writers began

hiccupping, they paid and **sat on a bench** facing the pond with their back to Bronnaya street.’

The action of hiding in (22h) and (23e) is the same, and even the size of the trajectors, the letter and the hand, is similar. But in (22h) the letters fit into the “form-fitting” pocket, while in (23e) the hand is hidden somewhere in the skirt, not in a skirt pocket.

However, if this large size CONTAINER is simultaneously filled with multiple trajectors then we would have schema 3 and would find accusative case:

(22") e. *On postavil* (stood.PF.TR.M) *mašiny v garaž_A* (in garage.ACC.SG), *vyšel čerez pustuju proxodnuju ...*

‘He **parked** the cars **in the garage**, went out through an empty checkpoint ...’

(24) *A direktor odnoj iz škol Čimkentskoj oblasti Kazaxstana rešil problemu s pomeščeniem ešče prošče: posadil* (sat.PF.TR.M) *šestiletnix detej v komnatu_A* (in room.ACC.SG), *obrazovannuju iz dvux soedinennyx tualetov, ne ubrav daže kafel’ so sten.* (T. Serdjukovskaja. šestiletnie. Učit’sja igraja “Nauka i žizn” #4, 1988)

‘And the director of one of the school in Chimkent region in Kazakhstan had even a simpler solution for the space problem: he has **put** the six-year-olds **in a room** created by combining two bathrooms without even removing the tiles from the walls.’

In the apparent counter-examples in (25), the crucial element is not so much what place inside the hospital or prison was occupied, but rather the fact that the boundary separating the hospital or the prison from the outside world was crossed at all.

(25) a. *Mirona položili v bol’nicu_A*. (Blažev-195)

Miron.ACC laid.PF.TR.PL in hospital.ACC.SG

‘Miron was hospitalized (**placed in a hospital**).’

b. *Pomnite, za čto Al' Kapone, izvestnogo amerikanskogo bandita, v tjur'mu_A (in prison.ACC.SG) posadili (sat.PF.TR.PL)? Za neuplatu nalogov.* (“Ogonek”, 14-7-97)

‘Do you remember what for Al Capone, the famous American bandit, was **put into jail**? For tax evasion.’

However, as soon as the outer boundary has been crossed, the primacy of size is again in evidence; once in the hospital, Ivan Dmitrievich is put in a large room that could fit several patients:

(26) *Tak kak doma ne na čto bylo žit' i lečit'sja, to skoro Ivana Dmitrieviča otpravili v bol'nicu_A (in hospital.ACC.SG) i položili (lay.PF.TR.PL) ego tam v palate_L (him.ACC there in hospital-room.LOC.SG) dlja veneričeskix bol'nyx.* (Čexov. Palata N 6... Blažev-191)

‘Since there was no money for food or medicine at home, Ivan Dmitrievich was sent **to a hospital** and there he **was placed in a room** for venereal diseases.’

In other words, placement in a large size place (schema 4) could be superceded if motion into that place (schema 3) is more salient than whatever space inside the person might occupy, as in the instance of hospitalization or imprisonment.

1.7 Nested locations

There are instances where there are two locations, one within the other; the outer one defines the space where the inner CONTAINER is situated. Discussing (27), Serra-Borneto (1997: 202) suggests that these are

a sort of ‘nested locative’, in which “each locative expression confines the subject to a specific ‘search domain’, which then constitutes the scope of predication for the locative that follows” (Langacker 1990: 9).

‘Nested locative’ for German means accusative case of the inner location and dative case of the outer location:

(27) a. Germ. *Er schlug den Nagel in die_A.*
 He.NOM hit the.ACC.SG.M nail.SG in the.ACC.SG

Tür

door.SG

‘He hit (drove) the nail into the door.’

- b. Germ. *Er schlug den Nagel in derD*
 He.NOM hit the.ACC.SG.M nail.SG in the.DAT.SG.F
Tür in dieA obere Ecke.
 door.SG in the.ACC.SG.F upper.ACC.SG corner.SG

‘He drove the nail into the upper corner of the door.’ (Serra-Borneto-202)

Nested locations in Russian means accusative case of the inner location and locative case of the outer location. Contrary to Blažev (1975: 49), examples of type (28) are not attested, and only those of type of (29) can be found. Example (28'a) represents a correct version of (28) and (28'b) is a similar literary example where both locations are in locative.

- (28) [*] *My postavili ètot stol*
 we.NOM stood.PF.TR.PL this.ACC.SG table.ACC.SG
v stolovuju v samom ugluL. (Blažev-49)
 in dining-room.ACC.SG in very.ADJ.LOC.SG.M corner.LOC.SG
 ‘We put this table in **the dining room right in the corner.**’

- (28') a. *My postavili ètot stol*
 we.NOM stood.PF.TR.PL this.ACC.SG table.ACC.SG
v stolovojL v samom ugluL.
 In dining-room.LOC.SG in very.ADJ.LOC.SG.M corner.LOC.SG
 ‘We put this table in the dining room right in the corner.’

b. *Potom Leka vmeste so vsemi ževal tverdoe Murkino mjaso, a roga ee sprjatal* (hid.PF.TR.M) *v uglu_L* (in corner.LOC.SG), *na senovale_L* (on hay-barn.LOC.SG). (A. Lixanov. Zvezdy v sentjabre)

‘Later Leka together with others chewed hard Murka’s meat, while he **hid** her horns **in the corner in the hay barn.**’

(29) a. *Romašov s mal’čikami snesli grob i postavili* (stood.PF.TR.M) *ego vo dvore_L* (in courtyard.LOC.SG) *na salazki_A* (on sled.ACC.SG). (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

‘Romashov and the boys took the coffin downstairs and **put it in the yard on the sled.**’

b. *Nu, naprimer... Vot ja vynimaju iz pidžaka ključ ot komnaty N 721 (sed’moj ètaž doma dlja prestarelyx, po solnečnoj storone, šestaja dver’ ot lifta napravo), vynimaju iz karmana svoego pidžaka (ili xalata), kladu* (lay.1P.PRES) *ključ na žurnal’nyj stolik_A* (on journal.ADJ.ACC.SG.M table.ACC.SG) *v xolle_L* (in waiting-room.LOC.SG) *vse togo že sed’mogo ètaža – ne na tot stolik, čto stoit rjadom s oknom, a na drugoj, uže oblezlyj i tol’ko koe–gde soxranivšij sledy laka, na tot, kotoryj stoit ot okna podal’še... Kladu...* (S. Zalygin. Mistika)

‘Well, for example... Here I take out of my sport jacket the key to room # 721 (seventh floor of the retirement home, along the sunny side, sixth door from the elevator on the right), I take the key out of the pocket of my sport jacket (or robe), **put the key on the coffee table in the waiting room** of the very same seventh floor – not on that coffee table which is next to the window, but on a different one, which is already peeling and only here and there retains traces of varnish, the one which is by the window further away... I put...’

c. *Nado bylo pereždat’ grozu. Ja vernulsja k izbe, sel* (sat.PF.INTR.M) *na terraske_L* (on little-terrace.LOC.SG) *na pol_A* (on floor.ACC.SG), *prislonilsja spinoj k zakoločennoj dveri i prigotovilsja ostat’sja s glazu na*

glaz s grozj. I podumal, čto vse k lučšemu. (K. Paustovskij. Izbuška v lesu)

‘I had to wait out the storm. I returned to the wooden house, **sat down on the little terrace on the floor**, leaned with my back to the boarded up door and prepared to remain eye to eye with the storm. And I thought that everything is for the better.’

d. *Krome babuški, u nego ešče byl deduška... snačala on tixo ležal v uglu na kresle, molčal i sledil za Petersom blestjaščimi stekljannymi glazami, potom ego **položili** (lay.PF.TR.PL) v stolovojL (in dining-room.LOC.SG) na stolA (on table.ACC.SG), poderžali tak dnja dva i kuda-to unesli. V ètot den’ eli risovuju kašu.* (T. Tolstaja. Peters)

‘In addition to a grandmother, he also had a grandfather ... at first he lay quietly in the corner in the armchair, was silent and followed Peters with his shiny glassy eyes, then they **put him in the dining room on the table**, kept him there for about two days and took him away someplace. That day they ate rice porridge.’

In all of the examples in (29), the trajector moves into or is placed onto the inner landmark (accusative case NP), which is located in the space designated by the outer landmark (locative case NP), explaining why (28) is incorrect.

2. Schema 3 versus Schema 4

The instances discussed in section 1 are uncontroversial and do not need any additional features to qualify them. In this section the discussion will pertain to instances represented by schemas 3 and 4 that involve additional semantic or pragmatic features.

Blažev (1975: 88-89) emphasizes that (5a) represents two stages: stage 1 – motion from some other space into the room in question, and stage 2 – the action of actually putting the armchair down vertically. According to him, some speakers concentrate their attention on stage 2, which yields (5b). Such reasoning makes the choice between (5a) and (5b) fairly arbitrary if no additional factors are involved.

Zaitseva (1994: 112) suggests that a space may be perceived as either related to another space, as in (30a), or as unrelated to any other space, as in (30c). (30b), on the other hand “contains contradictory evidence concerning the speaker’s conceptualization of the situation. On the one hand, the imperative of the verb suggests the speakers’s concern with ‘you’ (the agent holding the picture), i.e. L1. On the other hand, the word order suggests that the speaker’s attention is directed to L2.”

- (30) a. *Poves’ kartinu na stenu_A.*
 hang.IMP.SG painting.ACC.SG on wall.ACC.SG
 ‘Hang the picture on the wall.’
- b. **Poves’ kartinu na stene_L.*
 hang.IMP.SG painting.ACC.SG on wall.LOC.SG
 ‘Hang the picture on the wall.’
- c. *A na stene_L my povesim kartinu.*
 and on wall.LOC.SG we.NOM hang.1P.FUT.PL painting.ACC.SG
 ‘And on the wall we will hang a picture.’ (Zaitseva 112)

Clearly, what has to be explained is the use of locative after an action that involves an image of motion, in other words instances related to schema 4. The use of the locative is expected and unmarked in such cases. In section 2 it will be shown that the presence of entities similar to the trajector, or moving the trajector out of the way, or having to make a choice of location, or expressing the purpose verbally causes the space to be perceived as location, as in schema 4. Additionally the instances of barrier vs. dimensionality will be examined.

2.1 Multiple occupants

While the simple solitary assumption of a place requires the unmarked accusative case of the landmark, as in section 1.4 and in (31), assuming a position next to another person or an object already in the given location requires the locative case of the landmark, as in (32). Thus the existence of another object in the given location

causes the landmark to be viewed as a location rather than a destination of the motion.

(31) *Keša postojal dlja priličija, posle sel* (sat.PF.INTR.M) *na kušetku*_A (on little-couch.ACC.SG) *i stal slušat*'. (M. Ganina. Začem spilili kaštany?)
 'Kesha stood there for a while to be proper, then he **sat down on the little couch** and began to listen.'

(32) a. *Keša sel* (sat.PF.INTR.M) *na kušetke*_L (on little-couch.LOC.SG), *ottolknuv povisšuju na nem Nel'ku tak, čto ona stuknulas' o stenku i zarevela, i ustavilsja na mat*'. [...] *Mat' podošla i sela* (sat.PF.INTR.F) *rjadom na kušetke*_L (next on little-couch.LOC.SG), *obxvatila ego xudoj gladkoj rukoj*. (M. Ganina. Začem spilili kaštany?)

'Kesha **sat down on the little couch** having pushed away Nelya, who was hanging on it in such a way that she bumped against the wall and started crying, and then he started staring at his mother. [...] Mother approached and **sat down next to him on the little couch** and grabbed him with her thin smooth arm.'

b. *Oleg, priderživaja ruku, zalez v "villis", poka polkovnik ne peredumal, uselsja* (sat.PF.INTR.M) *rjadom* (next to) *s lejtenantom na zadnem siden'e*_L (on back.ADJ.LOC.M seat.LOC.SG) *i bojazlivo prislonilsja tolsto zabintovannym plečom k xolodnoj spinke*. (V. Astaf'ev. Saška Lebedev)

'Oleg, holding his arm got into the "Willis" before the colonel changed his mind, **sat next to the lieutenant on the back seat** and fearfully leaned with his heavily bandaged shoulder against the cold back.'

- c. *Anjuta opjat' nadela šubu, molča zavernula svoe vyšivan'e v bumagu, sobrala knigi, igolki... svertok s četyr'mja kuskami saxaru našla na okne i položila* (lay.PF.TR.F) *na stole*_L (on table.LOC.SG) *vozle knig* (near books.GEN). (Čexov. Anjuta; Blažev-190)

‘Anya put on her fur coat again, silently wrapped her embroidery in paper, gathered her books, needles ... found a package with four lumps of sugar on the window sill and **placed it on the table near the books.**’

- d. *Varfolomeič dolgo ešče podsmeivalsja nad okolpačennym pokupatelem. Zolotyje monety on položil* (lay.PF.TR.M) *v rjad* (in row.ACC.SG) *na stole*_L (on table.LOC.SG) *i dolgo sidel, sonno gljadja na pjat' dlinnyx kružočkov.* (Il'f i Petrov; Blažev-190)

‘Varfolomeich was still laughing at the fooled buyer for a long time. He **placed** the gold coins **in a row on the table** and sat for a long time, sleepily looking at the five long circles.’

In all of these instances, the placement occurs next to or in a row with another object.

2.2 Out of the way

Nedashkivska-Adams (1995: 14-15) remarks that in Ukrainian there is a use of the locative case for “unplanned, unintentional placement”, as in (33) as opposed to (34) which carries the meaning of “planned intentional placement”:

- (33) a. Uk. ^{??}*Vybač, ja postavyla kvity na pidlohu*_A.

sorry.IMP I.NOM stood.PF.SG.F flowers.ACC on
floor.ACC.SG

‘Sorry, I put the flowers on the floor.’

- b. Uk. *Vybač, ja postavyla kvity na pidlozi*_L.

sorry.IMP I.NOM stood.PF.SG.F flowers.ACC on
floor.LOC.SG

‘Sorry, I put the flowers on the floor.’

- (34) a. Uk. *Ja postavyla kvity na pidlohu_A.*
 I.NOM stood.PF.SG.F flowers.ACC on floor.ACC.SG
 ‘I put the flowers on the floor.’

- b. Uk. ²*Ja postavyla kvity na pidlozi_L.*
 I.NOM stood.PF.SG.F flowers.ACC on floor.LOC.SG
 ‘I put the flowers on the floor.’

I would like to rephrase Nedashkivska-Adams’ unintentionality statement as far as it relates to Russian: Sentences of types (33b) and (35) constitute placement **out of the way**; the actions are unintentional insofar as attention was on something else. In (35a), the father would leave the room and sit on the trunk in order not to disturb his son. In (35b), the protagonist *on* ‘he’ was not exactly a member of the group but liked to join them unobtrusively, out of the way, in the corner. In (35c) the keys are not needed during the night and would be hung on the wall when Father goes to sleep.

- (35) a. *U uročki byl muž–aspirant i syn – mladšij škol’nik. Vse oni žili v odnoj šestnadcatimetrovoj komnate i suščestvovali posmenno: kogda otec pisal dissertaciju, mal’čik nosilsja po koridoru, kak dikij zver’ v prerijax. A kogda on delal uroki, otec, v svoju očered’, vyxodil v koridor, sadilsja (sat.IPF.INTR.M) na sunduke_L (on trunk.LOC.SG) vozle telefona i prosmatival periodiku. (V. Tokareva. Exal Greka)*

‘Shura had a husband, a graduate student, and a son in grammar school. They all lived in a sixteen square meter room and existed in shifts: when the father wrote his dissertation, the boy ran around in the hallway, like a wild animal on the prairies. And when the latter did his homework, the father in turn would go out into the hallway, **sit on the trunk** near the phone and peruse the periodicals.’

- b. *Prijatelej u nego ne bylo, družej, tem bolee, i on ljubil “prislonjat’sja” k nam. Pridet, sjadet (sit.3P.FUT.PF.TR) v ugolke_L (in corner.LOC.SG) i sidit*

ves' večer, ne raskryvaja rta, – odni uši torčat vyše golovy. On strigsja pod mašinku i poètomu obladal osobo vyrazitel'nymi ušami. (B. Vasil'ev. Zavtra byla vojna)

'He did not have any acquaintances, much less friends, and he liked to "lean" on us. He would come, **sit in the corner** and would sit all evening without opening his mouth, – only his ears would stick above his head. He got a crew cut and therefore had particularly expressive ears.'

c. *Ključì ot cerkvi otec nosit vmeste s ključami ot mel'nicy [...]* A večerom, *kogda ložitsja spat', vešaet* (sit.3P.PRES.IPF.TR) **na stene_L** (on wall.LOC.SG). (F. Nasedkin. Velikie golodrancы... Blažev-139)

'Father carries the keys to the church together with the keys to the mill ... And in the evening, when he goes to bed, he **hangs them on the wall.**'

2.3 Making a choice of location

When the speaker needs to make a choice between locations, the landmarks are perceived as such, and consequently they are in the locative case. In the following examples, the Protagonist either has to make a choice of a place to sit or lie down, or there are several protagonists, and the choice represents an alternative choice by one of them:

(36) a. *On xotel postlat'* (spread.INF.PF) *mne na svoej krovati_L* (on own's.LOC.SG.F bed.LOC.SG), *no ja ne dal i leg* (lay.PF.INTR.M) **na polu_L** (on floor.LOC.SG). *Koek bylo skol'ko ugodno, no ja vsegda ljubil spat' na polu.* (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

'He wanted to **make me his bed** but I did not let him and **lay down on the floor**. There were plenty of beds, but I always liked sleeping on the floor.'

b. *Uže smirivšis', on začem-to pytal'sja ugovorit' ego vse-taki leč'* (lie.INF.PF.INTR) **na krovati_L** (on bed.LOC.SG), *a ne na polu_L* (on floor.LOC.SG), *i nakonec, sdavšis' soveršenno, vidja, čto tot ne otvečacet i, otvernuvšis' ot nego, spit, podloživ pod golovu kepku i natjanuv na uši*

pal'to, Melik vyključil svet, perešagnuv čerez spjaščego prisel na krovat', pomedliv, snjal brjuki i, ostavšis' v trusax i rubaxe, leg sam. (V. Kormer. Nasledstvo)

‘Having already resigned, he for some reason tried to convince him anyway to **lie down on the bed** and not **on the floor**, and finally having completely given up and seeing that he was not responding and was asleep turned away from him and had placed his cap under his head and had covered his ears with the coat, Melik turned off the light and stepping over the sleeper sat on the bed, lingering took off his pants and when he was in his shirt and underwear, lay down himself.’

- c. *Tetja Dusja i Manja stali gotovit'sja k nočlegu. Tetja Dusja **uložila** (lay.PF.TR.F) *Ljus'ku s soboj **na krovatiL*** (on bed.LOC.SG), *a Manja postelila sebe i Vale **na poluL*** (on floor.LOC.SG). (V. Panova. Valja)*

‘Aunt Dusya and Manya started getting ready to go to bed. Aunt Dusya **put** Lusya **down** with herself **on the bed**, while Manya made up the bed for herself and Valya **on the floor**.’

- d. *Melik ne srazu ponjal, čto tot i v samom dele vyiskivaet, **gde** (where.LOC) by poudobnee ustroit'sja **leč'** (lie.INF.PF.INTR).*

– *Èj, u menja **negde** (nowhere.LOC), ty že vidiš', – okliknul ego Melik, čuvstvuj, čto opjat' stal pobaivat'sja. (V. Kormer. Nasledstvo)*

‘Melik did not immediately understand that the other one was indeed searching for **somewhere to lie down** more comfortably.

‘Hey, I don’t have a place, can’t you see?’ Melik called to him, feeling that he began to fear again.’

- e. *Ogudalova. Na čem zapisat' takoe sčastie! Blagodarna, Mokij Parmenyč, očen' blagodarna, čto udostoili. Ja tak rada, rasterjalas', pravo... Ne znaju, **gde** (where.LOC) **i posadit'** (and sit.INF.PF.TR) *vas.**

*Knurov. Vse ravno, **sjadu** (sit.1P.FUT.PF.INTR) **gde–nibud'** (where.LOC). (Saditsja) (A. N. Ostrovskij. Bespridannica)*

‘Ogudalova. Where should I write about such happiness?! I am grateful to you, Mokiy Parmenych, very grateful that you honored us. I am so happy, that I felt lost really... I don’t even know **where to seat** you.

Knurov. It doesn’t matter, I will **sit down somewhere**. (He sits down.)’

In (36a) and (36b), the choice of location involves one person; in (36c) it is a juxtaposition involving two people; and in (36d) and (36f) the choice is expressed by the wh- word *gde* ‘where at’ rather than *kuda* ‘where to’.

2.4 Verbally expressed purpose

As we have seen in section 1.4, simple placement triggers accusative case of landmark, as in (37). Clearly, the purpose of the action of lying down is to go to sleep:

- (37) *Posle Serpuxova my soobščā napoili Nastju čaem, i ona **legla** (lay.PF.INTR.F) **na verxnjuju polku**_A (on upper.ACC.SG.F shelf.ACC.SG). (K. Paustovskij. Simferopol’skij skoryj)*

‘After the town of Serpukhov we jointly gave Nastya tea to drink and she **lay on the upper berth**.’

However, if the purpose is expressed by an infinitive following the verb of placement, the motion quality of the utterance is weakened. Focus is on the location of the intended action, thus triggering locative case of the landmark:

- (37') *Posle Serpuxova my soobščā napoili Nastju čaem, i ona **legla** (lay.PF.INTR.F) **spat'** (sleep.INF.IPF.INTR) **na verxnjej polke**_L (on upper.LOC.SG.F shelf.LOC.SG)/ ***na verxnjuju polku**_A (on upper.ACC.SG.F shelf.ACC.SG).*

‘After the town of Serpukhov we jointly gave Nastya tea to drink and she **lay down to sleep on the upper berth**.’

This is exactly what we find in (38):

- (38) a. *Dal’she uže prosto podsčitat’, kogda ona rodilas’ i vse takoe, no kakoe èto možet imet’ značenie, esli neizvestno, kto byli ee roditeli, kakoj ona byla v detstve, gde žila, čto delala i s kem družila do ètogo dnja, kogda vyšla na*

svet iz neopredelennosti i sela (sat.PF.INTR.F) *doždat'sja* (wait.INF.IPF)
percu v solnečnoj, narjadnoj stolovojL (in sunny.LOC.SG.F
 festive.LOC.SG.F dining-room.LOC.SG). (T. Tolstaja. Sonja)

‘Afterwards it is already simple to calculate when she was born and all that, but what difference could it make if it is unknown who her parents were, what she was like in her childhood, where she lived and who were her friends, when did she come out of the fuzziness and **sit down to wait** for pepper **in the sunny festive dining room.**’

- b. *Starik p'janyx ne ljubil, potomu čto sam nikogda ne pil vodku, nikogda ne napivalsja dop'jana, xotja čut' xmel'noe prijatnoe sostojanie s legkim šumom v golove, kotoroe vyzyvalo xorošee vinogradnoe vino, cenil. Ušel i leg* (lay.PF.INTR.M) *spat'* (sleep.INF.IPF) *v priezžejl* (in guest-room.LOC.SG) *na žestkoj kojkeL* (on hard.LOC.SG.F cot.LOC.SG) *s zastirannym bel'em, a utrom otpravilsja dal'se, kogda vstalo solnce i nočnoj narjad vernulsja na zastavu.* (M. Ganina. Put' k nirvane)

‘The old man did not like drunks because he himself never drank vodka, never got drunk even though he appreciated the slightly tipsy pleasant state with a light noise in his head which was caused by a good grape wine. He left and **went to bed in a guest room on a hard cot** with old gray sheets, and in the morning he continued on when the sun rose and the night patrol returned to the checkpoint.’

- c. *A mama razdela šurika i povasila* (hung.PF.TR.F) *šubku na batareeL* (on radiator.LOC.SG) *soxnut'* (dry.INF.PF.INTR). (V. Karaseva. Ja sam; Blažev-140)

‘And Mom took Shurik’s fur coat off and **hung it on the radiator to dry.**’

2.5 Barrier vs. dimensionality

The preposition *za* ‘behind’ plus accusative case of the landmark may be used to indicate the trajector’s connectedness with the landmark as a work tool, as in (39):

- (39) a. *On sel za rabočij stol_A.*
 he.NOM sat.PF.ITR.M behind working.ACC.SG.M table.ACC.SG
 ‘He **sat behind his desk.**’
- b. *Ja vdrug podumala, čto emu stalo ploxo – on sam počti uže ne sadilsja*
 (sat.IPF.ITR.M) *za rul’_A* (behind wheel.ACC.SG). (Vestnik # 7, 1998)
 ‘I suddenly thought that he wasn’t feeling well, he himself almost never
 drove (**got behind the wheel.**)’
- c. *13 ijunja 1931 goda A.: Melik-Pašae v pervye vstal* (stood.PF.ITR.M) *za*
dirižerskij pul’t_A (behind conductor’s.ACC.SG.M podium.ACC.SG) *Bol’šogo*
teatra, prodiržirovav operoj D. Verdi “Aida”. (“Pravda” #171, 1964;
 Blažev-156)
 ‘On June 13 1931, Melik-Pashaev for the first time **got behind the**
conductor’s podium of the Bolshoi having conducted the opera “Aida”
 by Verdi.’

The prepositions *za* ‘behind’ and *pod* ‘under’, however, can be used in circumstances where the landmark is perceived as a barrier which separates the possible observers from the trajector. In (40a) glass separates the visitors from the museum exhibit, in (40b) a window separates viewers from the food placed behind the window; in (40c) the cloth separates the complainers and the bureaucrats from the complaints (thus making the complaints inaccessible and consequently not answered); in (40d) the narrator, who is considered dead, returns to his room, which is already occupied by his next door neighbor, and hides under the couch in order not to scare the new inhabitant:

- (40) a. *Položit’ èksponat pod steklo_A* (under glass.ACC.SG).
 ‘To place the exhibit item **under the glass.**’
- b. *Povesit’ setku s produktami za okno_A* (behind window.ACC.SG).
 ‘To hang the net-bag with food **outside the window.**’
- c. *Ja, pravda, somnevajus’, čto Debora mogla mne otvetit’ po-inomu: ne*
budet že, v samom dele, ona priznavat’, čto žaloby neredko kladutsja

(lay.3P.PRES.REFL.IPF.TR.PL) *pod sukno*_A (under heavy-cloth.ACC.SG) *ili vybrasyvajutsja v korzinu*. (Nado požalovat'sja? Net problem. "Izvestija" 11-07-89)

'However, I doubt that Deborah could have answered me differently: she wouldn't after all admit that complaints are often **placed under the cloth** [i.e. swept under the rug] or thrown into the wastebasket.'

d. *Ja mog by, v konce koncov, stat'* (stand.INF.PF.INTR) *za škaf*_A (behind armoire.ACC.SG) *ili za port'eru*_A (behind heavy-curtain.ACC.SG), *čtoby ne ispytyvat' takix javnyx neudobstv*. (V. Tokareva. Exal Greka)

'I could have after all **stood behind the armoire** or **the curtain** in order not to feel such obvious discomfort.'

In juxtaposition to a barrier the landmark can designate what Smith (1988, 1995) and Serra-Borneto (1997) call Search Domain (SD). In Russian SD is the area immediately behind a large landmark. The landmark is not perceived as a barrier even if it prevents the speaker from seeing the trajector behind it:

(41) a. *Fedorov raspaxnul dvercu [mašiny], i ona nyrnula vnutr' i srazu oščutila, čto mašina čužaja. [...]*

– *Kuda poedete, Manefa? – sprosil Fedorov. – Čto u tebjja strjaslos'?*

– *Nikuda ne poedem, – otvetila Vika. – Esli možeš', postoim i pogovorim.*

On ot'exal ot perexoda, vstal (stood.PF.INTR.M) *za gazetnym kioskom*_I (behind newspaper.ADJ.INST.SG.M kiosk.INST.SG) *i povernulsja k nej*. (G. Ščerbakova. Mandarinovyj god, ili Ideal'nyj variant)

'Fedorov opened the [car] door, and she dove inside and immediately felt that the car had an unfamiliar feel to it. ...

'"Where would you like to go, Manefa?" asked Fedorov. "What's happening with you?"

'"Let's not go anywhere," answered Vika. "If you can, let's sit and talk."

He pulled away from the crossing, **parked behind the newspaper stand** and turned to her.'

- b. *On akkuratno otnes paločku Bessonova, potixon'ku postavil* (stood.PF.TR.M) *ee v uglu za stolomI* (behind table.INST.SG) *i tak že besšumno sel k svojim bumagam i telefonam.* (Ju. Bondarev. Gorjačij sneg) 'He neatly took Bessonov's cane, quietly **placed** it in the corner **behind the desk** and as noiselessly sat in front of his papers and telephones.'
- c. *Projdja vdol' steny čerez ves' zal, Lenin podnjalsja na tribunu. Nadežda Konstantinovna primostilas' u podnožija derevjannoj kafedry, za kotorojI* (behind which.INST.SG.F) *on vstal* (stood.PF.INTR.M). (G. Serebrjakova. O sebe i o drugix; Blažev-156) 'Lenin walked through the whole hall and got to the podium. Nadezhda Konstantinovna found for herself a place at the foot of the podium **which he stood behind.**'

In (41c) the podium is not perceived as either a work tool or a barrier, but rather the area where Lenin is standing. The door, the building, and the church in (2) all designate the area next to them thus creating a SD without the landmark being a barrier, this explains why the examples in (2) are incorrect while those in (2') are not:

- (2') a. *On postavil zontik za dver'juI.*
 he.NOM stood.TR.PF.M umbrella.ACC.SG behind door.INST.SG
 'He placed the umbrella behind the door.'
- b. *My postavili mašinu za ètim zdaniemI.*
 we.NOM stood.TR.PF.M car.ACC.SG behind this.INST.SG.N
 building.INST.SG
 'We have put the car behind this building.'
- c. *My posadili derev'ja za cerkov'juI.*
 we.NOM sat.PF.TR.PL trees.ACC behind church.INST.SG
 'We planted the trees behind the church.'

3. Non-spatial properties

In the previous sections, factors contributing to the perception of space, whether its size or relationship to a landmark, played the defining role. In this section, other semantic and pragmatic factors that affect the perception of space will be discussed. They will include verbal aspectual semantics, point of view, the pragmatics of verbal use, and word order.

3.1. Accomplishments vs. Activities and States

Beličova-Kfižková (1974: 109) suggests that the meaning of (42) is “localization of the final destination in the space behind the back of the landmark”:

- (42) [*] *Mal'čiška dolgo prjatsja za kalitku_A.*
 boy.NOM long.ADV hid.INTR.IPF.M behind gate.ACC.SG
 ‘The boy was hiding for a long time behind the gate.’

She further mentions that instrumental case is also possible if the predicate does not have the meaning of motion. However, she does not elaborate on the possible semantic or pragmatic distinction between the accusative and instrumental case:

- (43) a. Cz. *Schoval se za plot_A/ za plotem_I.*
 hid.PF.M REFL behind fence.ACC.SG/ behind fence.INST.SG
 ‘He hid behind the fence.’
- b. *Mal'čiška sprjatsja za kalitku_A/ za kalitkoj_I.*
 boy.NOM hid.INTR.PF.M behind gate.ACC.SG/ behind
 gate.INST.SG
 ‘The boy hid behind the gate.’

Dancygier (1997: 39) discussing (44) states that “[i]n the accusative variant [...], the case indicates [...] that the landmark noun is a goal to reach in order to be able to hide, [...] The instrumental [...] seems to be consistently used to introduce the concept of the path, but contrary to the genitive, it does not involve the concept of a goal.”

(44) a. Pl. *Schowalam się za drzewo_A.*

hid.1P.PF.FREFL behind tree.ACC.SG

‘I hid myself behind the tree.’

b. Pl. *Byłam schowana za drzewem_I.*

was.1P.F hidden.SG.F behind tree.INST.SG

‘I was hidden behind the tree.’

I believe (44b) describes a state of being hidden, and a state calls for a location (not a path), while in (44a) there is a motion towards the goal. A similar state of being hidden can be seen in (45):

(45) *No v èto mgnovenie svet prožektora upal na otca i na Serezku, sprjatavšegosja*

(hidden.PF.INTR.ACC.M) *za ego spinoj_I* (behind his back.INST.SG). (A. Fadeev.

Molodaja gvardija; Blažev-247)

‘But at that instant the search light fell on the father and Serezha, who **was hiding behind his back.**’

Before turning to examples with the verb *prjatat'sja* ‘hide’ and explaining why (42) is incorrect, let us first examine the French-English correlation discussed in Fong & Poulin (1998), which deals with verbs of manner of motion exemplified by their examples (46) and (47):

(46) a. *The mouse is running under the table.* (ambiguous)

b. Fr. *La souris court sous la table.* (F&P-31) (non-PATH only)

(47) a. *Mary floated under the bridge.* (ambiguous)

b. Fr. *Marie a flotté sous le pont.* (F&P-33) (non-PATH only)

While the French examples allow only an Activity reading (in Vendler’s 1967 sense), the English examples allow both Activity and Accomplishment readings. In other words, the French examples represent only movement within the CONTAINER (schema 2), while the English examples allow movement both within the CONTAINER (schema 2) and into the CONTAINER (schema 3).

Similarly, Russian (17a) represents an Accomplishment of hanging the suit in the closet, while (17b) represents the State of having been hung in the closet. The verb (*s*)*prjatat'sja* 'hide' best exemplifies the Accomplishment/Activity distinction. An Accomplishment reading implies motion into a space associated with a landmark in order to hide (schema 3), while the Activity reading implies the continuous action of hiding in the given place (schema 1). Consequently, an Accomplishment reading requires accusative case of the landmark, while an Activity reading calls for locative case of the landmark. In (48a) the immediacy of the imperative ipf underscores the Accomplishment reading; in (48b) a bathing beauty discovers that her clothes were stolen and decides to wait till darkness and meanwhile to hide under the bridge (which will serve as a barrier from onlookers):

- (48) a. *Pribežal s polja vzvolnovannyj fermer Džon.*
 – *Burja, idet strašnaja burja! – zakričal on. – Prjač'tes' (hide.IMP.IPF.PL) skoree v pogreb_A* (in basement.ACC.SG), *a ja pobegu zagonju skot v saraj!*
 (A. Volkov. Volšebnik Izumrudnogo goroda)
 'The farmer John came running from the field in a frantic state.
 "A storm, a terrible storm is coming!" he screamed. "**Hide quickly in the basement**, and I'll run and herd up the cattle into the barn."
- b. "*Čto že mne teper' delat'?*" – *zaplakala ona. – Neuželi idti v takom vide? ... podoždu, poka stemneet... A poka pojdu sprjačus' (hide.1P.FUT.PF) pod mostik_A* (under little-bridge.ACC.SG)". (A. Čexov. Roman s kontrabasom)
 "“What am I to do now?” she cried. “Could I really go like this? ... I'll wait till darkness... Meanwhile I will **hide under the little bridge**”"

We are dealing with an Activity in (49a) and a State of being hidden in (49b):

- (49) a. *Sperva emu, kažetsja, nrazilos', čto ja ni o čem ne mogu ego sprosit', osobenno, kogda on po nočam prosypalsja ot každogo skripa šagov za oknom i dolgo ležal, operšis' na lokot' i prislušivajas'... ili kogda on prjataljsja (hid.IPF.INTR.M) na čerdake_L* (on attic.LOC.SG) *i sidel, poka ne stemneet, – tak on provel odin den', pomnitsja, prazdnik Egor'ja... ili*

kogda on otkazalsja poznakomit'sja s Petrovnoj. (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

‘At first he seemed to like that I could not ask him about anything, especially when he would wake up at night from every sound of footsteps outside the window and lay for a long time propped up on his elbow listening... or when he **would hide in the attic** and sit there until it got dark. He spent that way one day, I believe it was St. Egory ... or when he refused to get acquainted with Petrovna.’

- b. *Tol'ko Pjat'sot devjatyj ostavil sebe revol'ver. On nastojal na svoem, sprjativ* (having-hidden.PF.TR) *oružie* (weapon.ACC.SG) *pod krovat'ju* (under bed.INST.SG). (È.M. Remark. Iskra žizni)

‘Only prisoner 509 left himself a revolver. He got his way **having hidden** the gun **under the bed**.’

Let us examine a broader aspectual picture:

- (50) a. *Kot sprjatal'sja^P na čerdak_A (kak tol'ko*
 cat.NOM.SG hid.PF.INTR.M on attic.ACC.SG as.soon.as
uslyšal šagi).
 heard.PF.TR.M steps.ACC.PL

‘The cat hid in the attic (as soon as he heard the steps).’

- b. *Kot sprjatal'sja^P na čerdake_L i ne*
 cat.NOM.SG hid.PF.INTR.M on attic.LOC.SG and NEG
vylezaet.
 crawl-out.3P.PRES.IPF

‘The cat was hiding in the attic and wouldn’t come out.’

- c. *Každyj raz, kogda v dome*
 every.ACC.SG.M time.ACC.SG when in house.LOC.SG
razdavalis' čužie šagi, kot
 resounded.IPF.PL alien.NOM.PL steps.NOM.PL cat.NOM.SG

prjatal'sjaⁱ na čerdak_A.
 hid.IPF.INTR.M on attic.ACC.SG

‘Every time there were someone else’s steps in the house, the cat would hide in the attic.’

d. *V grozu kot prjatal'sjaⁱ na čerdake_L.*
 In storm.ACC.SG cat.NOM.SG hid.IPF.ITR.M on attic.LOC.SG
 ‘During the storm the cat hid in the attic.’

e. *V grozu kot dolgo prjatal'sjaⁱ na čerdake_L/ *na čerdak_A.*
 in storm.ACC.SG cat.NOM.SG long hid.IPF.ITR.M on
 attic.LOC.SG on attic.ACC.SG
 ‘During the storm the cat was hiding for along time in the attic.’

f. *V grozu kot podolgu prjatal'sjaⁱ na čerdake_L/ *na čerdak_A.*
 in storm.ACC.SG cat.NOM.SG long hid.IPF.ITR.M on
 attic.LOC.SG on attic.ACC.SG
 ‘The cat was hiding in the attic for a long time.’

Example (50a) is a resultative of Accomplishment, (50b) is a resultative of Activity, (50c) is the repetitive of type (50a), (50d) is general-factual, (50e) is processual, and (50f) is the repetitive of type (50e). An Accomplishment does not allow a durative meaning while an Activity does, which explains why (42) is incorrect, and the correct version is (42'):

(42') *Mal'čiška dolgo prjatal'sja za kalitkoj_L.*
 boy.NOM long hid.INTR.IPF.M behind gate.INST.SG
 ‘The boy was hiding for a long time behind the gate.’

3.2 Point of view

Let us examine seemingly synonymous utterances:

- (51) *Veter podnimal s zemli želtje list'ja i krutil ix v vozduxe. Deti begali i lovili ix. Potom oni prinjalis' igrat' v prjatki. Mal'čik **sprjatal'sja** (hid.INTR.PF.M) **za stvol**_A (behind trunk.ACC.SG) *staroj lipy.* (V. Bianki. Kukušonok... Blažev-246)*

'The wind picked up the yellow leaves from the ground and twirled them in the air. Children ran and caught them. Then they started playing hide-and-seek. A boy **hid behind the trunk** of an old linden tree.'

- (52) *Na plotine kakoj-to mužičonka, stoja spinoj k Svaakeru, podrubal krajnjuju vetlu. Svaaker tixo perebežal čerez plotinu, **sprjatal'sja** (hid.INTR.PF.M) **za stvolom**_I (behind trunk.INST.SG) *sosednej vetly, vynul iz karmana ploskij černyj nagan i spokojno podošel k mužiku.* (K. Fedin. Sobr. soč., t.3... Blažev-246)*

'On the dam some man standing with his back towards Svaaker was trimming the end willow. Svaaker quietly ran across the dam, **hid behind the trunk** of the next willow, took a flat black revolver out of his pocket and calmly approached the man.'

Based on the case of the landmark we can tell that (51) is an Accomplishment, while (52) is an Activity. But what motivated the authors to represent apparently similar events differently? In (51) there is a string of sequential utterances culminating with a boy hiding while playing hide-and-seek. In (52) there are two participants, an unnamed man and the protagonist whose name (Svaaker) we know, so it is easier to assume the point of view of a named protagonist than of an unnamed one. In addition, the subsequent events describe what Svaaker did after hiding, that is in the area where he was hiding. In other words, the speaker in (52) empathizes (in Kuno & Kaburaki's 1977 sense) with Svaaker, while in (51) he represents the events without placing empathy with anyone. Thus when empathizing with a participant, the speaker "is" in the location of the participant, while in neutral context he keeps a distance and describes the action as motion.

3.3 Saliency

In Blažev (1975: 140) we find two very similar examples from the same author and the same work:

(53) *Pošli [my] v les, položili v lovušku medu i **povesili**^P (hung.PF.TR.PL) ee **na derevo**_A* (on tree.ACC.SG). (N. Nosov. Veselye rasskazy i povesti; Blažev-140)

‘We went to the forest, put some honey into the trap and **hung it on a tree.**’

(54) [a] – *Kogda ja žil v derevne, u menja byl znakomyj pčelovod, kotoryj lovil pčel v lesu lovuškoj.*

– *Kakoj lovuškoj?*

[b] – *Sdelaet iz fanery jaščik s dyroj, vrobe skvorečnika, položit v nego nemnogo medu i **povesit**^P (hang.3P.FUT.PF.SG) v lesu **na dereve**_L* (on

tree.LOC.SG). (N. Nosov. Veselye rasskazy i povesti; Blažev-140)

‘[a] “When I lived in the country I knew a bee-keeper who caught bees in the forest with a trap.”

“What kind of trap?”

[b] “He would make a box with a hole out of plywood, similar to a bird house, put a bit of honey in it and **hang it on a tree.**”

Even though this is the order in which the examples appear in Blažev (1975), (54) appears on page 254, and (53) appears on page 257 in Nosov’s book. It is also clear from the context that (54) serves as instructions for the action that takes place in (53). The action in (53) is straightforward and, similar to examples in section 1.4, we find accusative case.

In (54) the situation is different. The narrator describes how the beekeeper would catch bees in the woods. Chvany (1990) discusses the instances of tense switch and points out that the past tense utterances represent foregrounding while the “‘dramatic presents’ have an effect similar to that of a cinematic close-up” (Chvany 1990: 223).

Similarly, in (54a) the speaker talks about the beekeeper using the past tense, and in (54b) he uses a string of future pf verbs for a “close-up” describing the trap. Thus in (54b), unlike in (53), the emphasis is on the trap and its location, hence the locative case.

3.4 Death by Hanging

Another apparent contradiction can be seen in the fact that whenever hanging leads to death, be it execution or suicide, the landmark serving as a hanging pole or the tool of hanging is expressed only in locative case.

(55) a. *Na osine_L Iuda povesilsja.*

On aspen.LOC.SG Judas.NOM hung.PF.INTR.M

‘Judas hung himself on the aspen tree.’

b. *Ničego ètogo ne znali junkera pervoj družiny. A žal’! Esli by znali, to, mozet byt’, [...] otpravilis’ by oni v ujutnuju kvartiru v Lipkax, izvlekli ottuda sonnogo polkovnika ščetkina i, vyvedja, povesili* (hung.PF.TR.PL) *by ego na fonare_L* (on lantern.LOC.SG), [...] (M. Bulgakov. Belaja gvardija)

‘Cadets of the first regiment knew none of this. That’s too bad! If they knew, then maybe ... they would have gone to the cozy apartment in Lipki, extricated the sleepy colonel Shchepkin out of it, and after bringing him out would have **hanged him on a lantern pole.**’

c. *“Neuželi ona bojalas’, čto nožnicami Irina mozet vskryt’ sebe veny, na pojase_L* (on belt.LOC.SG) *povesit’sja* (hang.INF.INTR.PF), *a o stenu razbit’ sebe golovu?” – dumal Andrej Pavlovič.* (V. Kaverin. Siluèt na stekle)

‘‘Is it possible that she was afraid that Irina would open up her veins, **hang herself on the belt** or break her head against the wall?’’ Andrey Pavlovich thought.’

Why can’t one use accusative case to render the same meaning, as in (55’)?

(55’) a. **Iuda povesilsja na osinu_A.*

Judas.NOM hung.PF.INTR.M on aspen.ACC.SG

‘Judas hung himself on the aspen tree.’

b. **ego povesili na fonar’_A*

he.ACC hung.PF.TR.PL on lantern.ACC.SG

‘they hanged him on a lantern pole’

I believe the explanation lies in the purpose of hanging. Unlike the statements in (30) or (53) and (54), for example, where the purpose of hanging an object is that it assume a new location, the reason for hanging in (55) is to kill either someone else or oneself. Moreover, the moment the person is dead, he can be removed from the tree or the pole, and no one expects the dead body to remain in a hanging position. In contrast, (56) exemplifies the idea of hanging a good luck charm on a chain around the neck to keep it forever:

(56) – *Ja talisman ... kak kamešek s dyrkoj. Na šee. Na cepočke. Čtoby vseгда pri tebe.*

– *No tebja že na cepočku_A (on chain.ACC.SG) ne povesiš’ (hang.2P.FUT.PF).*

(V. Tokareva. Ni synu, ni žene, ni bratu)

“I am a good luck charm ... like a pebble with a hole. Around the neck. to always have around.”

“But you cannot be **hung on a chain.**”

3.5 Word order with *sobirat’sja* ‘gather’

It has been established that Russian word order is related to the new information being conveyed (cf. Yokoyama 1986). The issue involving the verb *sobirat’sja* is complicated by the existence of the meaning of ‘planning (to do)’, which in the case of verbs of motion means elliptically ‘plan to go’ without expressing the verb of motion.

(57) *My sobiraemsja/ sobiralis’i/ sobralis’P*
 we.NOM plan.1P.PRES.IPF.PL/ planned.IPF.PL/ planned.PF.PL
v Stokgol’m_A.
 in Stockholm.ACC

‘We are/were planning/were about to go to Stockholm.’

As far as *sobirat’sja* ‘gather’ is concerned, both word orders are possible for the locational reading, that is LocVS, as in (58a), (59a) and (60b), and SVLoc, as in (58b), (59b), (60a), provided the sentence is informative:

- (58) a. *V Stokgol'meL* (in Stockholm.ACC) *13 aprelja sobiraetsja*
 (gather.3P.PRES.SG) *na svoe poslednee zasedanie Nezavisimaja komissija*
po voprosam razoruženija i bezopasnosti, bol'se izvestnaja kak "Komissija
Pal'me", [...] (Komissija Pal'me zaveršaet rabotu. "Izvestija" 10-04-89)
 'On April 13 the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security,
 better known as the Palme Commission, **meets** for its last meeting **in**
Stockholm, ...'
- b. *Prijatno, čto pjat' zdravstvujučix čempionov mira raznyx let sobralis'*
 (gathered.PF.PL) *v Bel'foreL* (in Belfort.LOC). *Vse, krome Mixaila Talja i*
Roberta Fišera. (Korol' prinimaet korolja. "Sovetskij sport" 13-07-89)
 'It's nice that five living world champions of different years **gathered in**
Belfort. That is everyone except Mikhail Tahl and Robert Fisher.'

Clearly, while (59) and (60) allow word order variation (with some minor changes to be informative), (61) does not since (61b) and (61d) are not informative:

- (59) a. *Odnaždy v moej moskovskoj*
 once in my.LOC.SG.F Moscow.LOC.SG.F
kvartireL sobralis' gosti. (Solouxin. Poxorony)
 apartment.LOC.SG gathered.PF.PL guest.NOM.PL
 'Once guests **gathered in my Moscow apartment.**'
- b. *Gosti sobralis' v moej moskovskoj*
 guest.NOM.PL gathered.PF.PL in my.LOC.SG.F Moscow.LOC.SG.F
kvartireL.
 apartment.LOC.SG
 'Guests gathered in my Moscow apartment.'

- (60) a. *Vernuvšiesja s dežurstva letčiki **sobralis'** (gathered.PF.PL) v **bol'šoj komnate_L** (in big.LOC.SG.F room.LOC.SG) s *samodel'nymi nizkimi divanami.* (K. Simonov. Zapiski molodogo čeloveka)
 'Pilots who have returned from their duty **gathered in a large room** with home-made low couches.'*
- b. *V **bol'šoj komnate_L sobralis'**
 in big.LOC.SG. from.LOC.SG gathered.PF.PL
vernuvšiesja s dežurstva letčiki.
 returned.PF.INTR.NOM.PL from duty.GEN.SG pilot.NOM.PL
 'Pilots who have returned from their duty **gathered in a large room.**'*
- (61) a. – *Kakoj ty žestokij, – skazala tetka odnaždy, kogda my **sobralis'** (gathered.PF.PL) *pered obedom na **kuxne_L** (on kitchen.LOC.SG), ...* (F. Iskander. Lošad' djadi Kjazyima)
 "‘You are so cruel,’ my aunt said once when we all **gathered in the kitchen.**'*
- b. * – *Kakoj ty žestokij, – skazala tetka odnaždy, kogda **na kuxne_L** (on kitchen.LOC.SG) **sobralis'** (gathered.PF.PL) my [...]*
 "‘You are so cruel,’ my aunt said once when we all **gathered in the kitchen.**'
- c. *My **sobralis'** na **kuxne_L.***
 we.NOM gathered.PF.PL on kitchen.LOC.SG
 'We **gathered in the kitchen.**'
- d. **Na **kuxne_L sobralis'** my.*
 on kitchen.LOC.SG gathered.PF.PL we.NOM
 'We **gathered in the kitchen.**'

Unlike locational constructions, directional constructions allow only DirSV word order due to the potential ambiguity with constructions of type (57):

(62) a. *Každyj god 10 dekabrja v Stokgol'm_A* (in Stockholm.ACC) *sobiraetsja* (gather.3P.PRES.IPF.SG) *cvet planety*. (“Strasti po Nobelju”. NTV International)

‘Every year on December 10 the creme de la creme of the planet **gathers in Stockholm.**’

b. *Vskore v stolovuju_A* (in dining-room.ACC.SG) *sobralis’* (gathered.PF.PL) *astronomy*. (K. Paustovskij. Sozvezdie Gončix Psov)

‘Soon astronomers **gathered in the dining room.**’

Incidentally, in the same story by Paustovsky we find the reversed word order predictably with the locational construction:

(63) *Obitateli observatorii sobralis’* (gathered.PF.PL) *v stolovoj_L* (in dining-room.LOC.SG). (K. Paustovskij. Sozvezdie Gončix Psov)

‘The inhabitants of the observatory gathered in the dining room.’

4. Conclusion

This chapter examined the circumstances where there may be accusative vs. locative or instrumental of the landmark in utterances indicating positioning or placement in the area associated with the landmark. The accusative case describes the event as one where the trajector crosses the boundary of the CONTAINER, while the locative and instrumental cases describe the event as one where the trajector does not cross the boundary of the CONTAINER or where the focus is on the portion of the trajector’s motion inside the CONTAINER. There are additional features of space or perception of space that designate the event as motion into space, such as fitting the size of the CONTAINER, as opposed to a large size CONTAINER that designates the space as location. Additionally, nested CONTAINERS designate the outer CONTAINER as location as opposed to the inner CONTAINER whose boundary is being crossed. There are also semantic and pragmatic features that enable the speaker to perceive the landmark as location, such as the presence of other occupants in it, placement of the trajector out of the way, and having to make a choice of a location for one trajector or between several trajectors. Another set of features involves verbal

qualities, such as Accomplishments vs. Activities and States; Activities and States take place in a location while Accomplishments emphasize motion into the area.

Abbreviations:

1P, 2P, 3P – 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person

D&O – Davis & Oprendeck's *Making Progress in Russian* (New York: John Wiley & Sons 1973)

pf – perfective aspect

ipf – imperfective aspect

ACC – Accusative case

GEN – Genitive case

NOM – Nominative case

LOC – Locative case

INST – Instrumental case

DAT – Dative case

M – masculine

F – feminine

N – neuter

IMP – imperative

PF – perfective

IPF – imperfective

TR – transitive

INTR – intransitive

FUT – future

PRES – present

INF – infinitive

REFL – reflexive particle

NEG – negative particle

SG – singular

PL – plural

ADV – adverb

ADJ – adjective

SD – Search Domain

S – subject

V – verb

Loc – expression of location

Dir – expression of direction

Subscripts:

A– accusative case

L– locative case

I– instrumental case

G– genitive case

D– dative case

Superscripts:

p– perfective aspect

i– imperfective aspect

tr– transitive verb

intr– intransitive verb

Sources:

V. Astaf'ev. Saška Lebedev

G. Baklanov. Karpuxin

Ju. Bondarev. Gorjačij sneg

M. Bulgakov. Belaja gvardija

M. Bulgakov. Master i Margarita

A. Čexov. Roman s kontrabasom

M. Ganina. Poka živu – nadejus'

M. Ganina. Put' k nirvane

M. Ganina. Začem spilili kaštany?

A. Gladilin. Bespokojnik

D. Granin. Dom na Fontanke

F. Iskander. Lošad' djadi Kjazyma

V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana

V. Kaverin. Kosoj dožd'

V. Kaverin. Siluèt na stekle

Ju. Kazakov. Vo sne ty gor'ko plakal

V. Kormer. Nasledstvo

Komissija Pal'me zaveršaet rabotu. "Izvestija" 10-04-89

Korol' prinimaet korolja. "Sovetskij sport" 13-07-89

Krestiny. "Izvestija" 5-08-88

V. Lidin. Zimnee solnce

Nado požalovat'sja? Net problem. "Izvestija" 11-07-89

Ju. Nagibin. Terpenie

Ju. Nagibin. Vstan' i idi

"Ogonek", 14-7-97

N. Ostrovskij. Bespridannica

V. Panova. Mal'čik i devočka

V. Panova. Valja

K. Paustovskij. Ètiketki kolonial'nyx tovarov

K. Paustovskij. Izbuška v lesu

K. Paustovskij. Razlivy rek

K. Paustovskij. Simferopol'skij skoryj

K. Paustovskij. Sozvezdie Gončix Psov

R. Pogodin. Knižka pro Grišku

V. Rasputin. Požar

V. Rasputin. živi i pomni

È.M. Remark. Iskra žizni

T. Serdjukovskaja. šestiletnie. Učit'sja igraja "Nauka i žizn". #4, 1988

K. Simonov. Zapiski molodogo čeloveka

V. Solouxin. Poxorony Stepanidy Ivanovny

V. Solouxin. Tret'ja oxota

"Strasti po Nobelju". NTV International

Ju. Svintickij. Sotvorenje izumruda. "Sputnik", #10, 1986

N. ·melev. Prezumpcija nevinovnosti

G. ·čerbakova. Mandarinovyj god, ili Ideal'nyj variant

- V. Tendrjakov. "Podenka – vek korotkij"
V. Tokareva. Exal Greka
V. Tokareva. Ni synu, ni žene, ni bratu
V. Tokareva. Odin kubik nadeždy
V. Tokareva. Stečenie obstoitel'stv
T. Tolstaja. Ogon' i pyl'
T. Tolstaja. Peters
T. Tolstaja. Sonja
A. Tolstoj. Zolotoj ključik ili priključnija Buratino
B. Vasil'ev. Vy č'e, starič'e?
A Vasil'ev. Zavtra byla vojna
Vestnik # 7, 1998
A. Volkov. Volšebnik Izumrudnogo goroda
E. Vorob'ev. Včera byla vojna
S. Zalygin. Mistika

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ⁱ All non-English examples are Russian unless otherwise marked: Cz. for Czech, Fr. for French, Germ. for German, Pl. for Polish, Uk. for Ukrainian.

ⁱⁱ For metaphoric opposition of location vs. destination in Slavic see Janda (This volume).