

## Lexical distribution of Pluperfect in Slavic: an intra-genetic corpus-based comparison

The cross-linguistic category of Pluperfect (cf. English Past Perfect *I had come*) is widespread in the languages of Eurasia and attested also outside this area. Generally, it is taken to denote both a combination of two simpler categories (Past-in-the-Past and/or Perfect-in-the-Past) and as a non-compositional category in its own right (cf. Dahl 1985). In many languages, including those in which sequence of tenses is not mandatory, Pluperfect is polyfunctional, with such uses as canceled result, discontinuous past situation, irrealis (as *If you had come, we would not lose* in English), experiential or evidential.

In Slavic, Pluperfect constructions have low text frequencies in Slavic except for Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Sorbian, where a strong, albeit not absolute tendency towards English-like consequence of tenses is found. The Pluperfect is still attested in many Slavic varieties, both standard-oriented and dialectal, as a marker of discontinuous situations or canceled result, as well as in modal contexts. Classifications of various Pluperfect uses for different Slavic languages and have been proposed, but quantitative corpus-based research of Modern Slavic Pluperfect and its lexical distribution is lacking with the exception of the Russian *bylo* particle (Barentsen 1986, Sitchinava 2009), which is not a Pluperfect form strictly speaking.

The research question of the paper is the description lexical input restrictions of Pluperfect in different Slavic languages and lects. Which lexemes and classes thereof are used frequently with this construction and which are avoided? What are the semantic mechanisms behind the choice? We have drawn and analyzed frequency lists of corresponding verbs in the available corpora of Modern Slavic languages, as well as historical corpora for Polish and East Slavic. The following semantic factors were established as statistically significant in choosing pluperfect in corpora (strongest factors first):

Polish	Czech	Slovak	Ukrainian	Belarusian	Russian	Slovene	Croatian	Serbian	Macedonian	Bulgarian
Modal	Modal	Modal	Conative	Conative	Conativ e	Modal	Resultati ve	Resultati ve	Experiential atelic	Experiential atelic
Stative	Resultativ e	Telic	Modal	Modal	Telic		Telic	Telic		Resultative
Resultat ive		Experie ntial	Telic	Telic	Modal					

A separate thread of research concerned the negative restrictions, that is verbs that reluctantly co-occur with pluperfect. The most prominent verbs of this class in East Slavic (for example, *zbuduvaty* ‘construct’) imply the classical cancelled result meaning (‘built and then destroyed’), which is not characteristic for Modern East Slavic (as opposed to conative uses).

## References

Barentsen, A. A. 1986. The use of the particle *БЫЛО* in modern Russian // Dutch Studies in Russian Linguistics, Amsterdam, vol. 8, 1—68.

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Sitchinava 2009. Sitchinava, D. V. 2009. Stremit’sja presekat’ na kornju: russkaja konstrukcija s *bylo* po korpusnym dannym [Cutting it short: The Russian *bylo* construction according to corpus data] // K. L. Kiseleva i dr. (red.) Korpusnye issledovaniya po russkoj grammatike. Moskva: Probel. S. 362—396