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The Russian Locative and Accusative and Their Relation to Time and Space

Abstract

The paper analyzes the uses of the Russian accusative and locative in which they are directly opposed to one another. It is demonstrated that in spatial contexts the accusative denotes change of contact, whereas the locative denotes permanent contact. This is a manifestation of the crucial distinction between dynamicity and stativity within the prepositional case system of Russian in which the accusative and the locative are regarded as contact cases while all others are regarded as non-contact cases. In temporal contexts the notion of time is treated as space when the locative is used – either as location or as a set of elements. This means that the accusative is alone in expressing time in its own right, where the speaker makes contact with a time line. In addition, the semantic contribution of the prepositions *v* ‘in’ and *na* ‘on’ to the accusative and the locative cases is shown.

Permanent contact vs. change of contact, stativity vs. dynamicity, set vs. time line, exteriority vs. interiority, time as space

1. Introductory remarks

In the following we shall examine the important distinction between the accusative and the locative cases in two different contexts, first in a spatial context and then in a temporal context. But before doing that, we shall introduce our general theoretical framework and describe and evaluate previous approaches to the distinction between the accusative and the locative.

1.1. Introducing the theoretical framework

In Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen (2017) Russian case is considered the nominal equivalent to mood whereby its semantic functions are emphasized at the expense of its syntactic functions. We stipulate that it is not possible to describe and explain the **pure case system** and the **prepositional case system** of Russian by employing the same notions, because the central members of the two systems are not identical: the nominative is present in the pure case system, but not in the prepositional case system, while the locative is absent in the pure case system, but is present in the

prepositional case system. Thus the two systems must be separated, but, at the same time, a theory should obviously be able to explain the close connection between the two systems.

In the pure case system, the nominative, accusative, vocative and genitive cases are regarded as constituting a mini system in which the nominative and the accusative function as the indicative mood denoting local reference, the vocative as the imperative mood demanding local reference and the genitive as the subjunctive mood as denoting non-local reference. At the same time, the genitive enters into another system together with the dative and the instrumental where they express three different viewpoints, which equally apply to the pure and the prepositional case system.

In the prepositional case system, the nominative and the vocative fall out and the locative, which has no place in the Russian system of pure case, enters. Since the locative case takes over the place occupied by the nominative in the system of direct cases, there are no changes in the overall structure of prepositional case compared to that of pure case. This is tantamount to saying that within the prepositional case system the distinction between the locative and the accusative is just as important as the distinction between the nominative and the accusative within the pure case system. Although the overall structure of the two systems is isomorphic and the difference between them is solely a difference of domain, it goes without saying that it is impossible to apply the notion of local reference to prepositional phrases, because all prepositions presuppose local existence. Nevertheless, the notion which is applicable to prepositional case can and should be traced back or otherwise be related to the notion of local vs. non-local reference.

We shall argue that the notion of contact is the prepositional analogue of the notion of local reference, whereas no contact is analogous to non-local reference, cf. Durst-Andersen 2000 (The

notion of contact played a dominant role in Hjelmslev's (1972 [1935-37]) case theory and in Anderson's localistic case theory (1971)). This means that the locative and the accusative are **contact cases** corresponding to **direct cases** in the pure case system, while the genitive, the dative and the instrumental are **non-contact cases** corresponding to **oblique cases** in the pure case system:

CONTACT CASES		NON-CONTACT CASES	
DYNAMIC	STATIC	DYNAMIC	STATIC
ACCUSATIVE	LOCATIVE	GENITIVE DATIVE	INSTRUMENTAL

Table 1 The major classes of prepositional case and their members

Within contact cases the accusative is considered dynamic, i.e., it marks a change from not being in contact to being in contact, while the locative is considered static, i.e., it presupposes permanent contact. Within non-contact cases the instrumental is static, whereas the other two are dynamic. The dative marks a direction from something distant to something near (*rapprochement* 'approaching' in Hjelmslev's terminology), while the genitive marks a direction from something near to something distant (*éloignement* 'moving away' in Hjelmslev's terminology). This means that the notion of **dynamicity vs. stativity** plays an important role in the prepositional case system, but no role in the pure case system. It is the same notion that is used to divide verbs into activity verbs and state verbs and nouns into animate and inanimate nouns, and – as we shall see later on – it is

also used to explain why the preposition *na* ‘on’ substitutes for *v* ‘in’ when dealing with activities in a container. The dynamicity vs. stativity distinction is thus of major importance to the Russian language as a whole, since it is present in several grammatical categories.

1.2. Studies dealing with the accusative and the locative

Studies which in one way or another deal with the topic in question fall into approximately three groups.

The first group is represented by overall case theories, which seek to provide a unified theoretical framework for the description of all Russian cases, case forms and their usages, including the case forms being studied.

In his 1936 paper, Jakobson (1971 [1936]) introduced three semantic distinctive features – directionality, quantity, and marginality – in order to separate and define the six cases in Russian. The accusative and the dative are marked with respect to directionality; the genitive and the locative with respect to quantity; and the instrumental, the dative, and the locative with respect to marginality – the latter feature specifies whether a given case takes a peripheral or central part in the utterance. In this way, we get ‘directional cases’, i.e., the accusative and the dative, ‘quantitative cases’, i.e., the genitive and the locative, and ‘marginal cases’, i.e., the instrumental, the dative and the locative. The combination of features expresses the ‘general meaning’ of a case, for instance, [+directionality; –quantity; –marginality] in the case of the accusative and [–directionality; +quantity; +marginality] in the case of the locative. This is the ‘invariant meaning’ of the accusative case and the locative case, respectively. Among the specific meanings of a case, it is possible to find the ‘principal meaning’, for instance, the direct object in the case of accusative.

It is a serious problem in Jakobson’s theory that his features are very abstract and do not

immediately make sense in a specific context. Another serious problem is his inclusion of the locative case in the general system as if it had a place within the pure case system. Just as the nominative cannot claim a place within the prepositional case system, the locative cannot claim a place within the pure case system. We consider this a fundamental flaw that threatens the entire theory. We believe that they should be described as two separate, but nevertheless, interrelated systems – not as a mixed system. Moreover, it is important to note that in Jakobson’s theory the accusative and the locative do not make up a natural opposition. However, we would like to stress that we agree with Jakobson that (1) it is possible to find an invariant meaning of a certain case, (2) the grammatical category of case carries its own meaning which cannot be expressed by other means, (3) case is not a list of equal members: it forms a certain structure and hierarchy, and (4) the semantic functions of Russian case are more important than its syntactic functions.

In Janda’s theory of Russian case (Janda 1993) focusses on the dative and the instrumental, but it is included in a general theory of case inspired by Cognitive Grammar as it is formulated by Lakoff (e.g., 1987) and Langacker (e.g., 1991), i.e., as a sort of reaction against any theory that treats semantics in a highly formal and abstract way (cf. Jakobson) or as if it were syntax (cf. Government and Binding Theory). In Janda and Clancy 2002 all Russian cases and case uses are described in detail by using the same framework. Note, however, that Langacker’s Agent and Patient are replaced by ‘nominative’ and ‘accusative’, respectively.¹ Under case meaning Janda distinguishes ‘core meaning’, which is identical to the overall notions of prototype / gestalt and represents something universal, and ‘submeanings’, which are language-specific extensions of core meaning. Janda’s concepts look like modernized versions of Jakobson’s principal and particular meaning, but she considers case meanings to form a continuum. Janda 1993 and Janda and Clancy

¹ For a detailed survey of case theory in Cognitive Grammar, see Malchukov & Spencer 2009.

2002 call for a unified description of pure case and prepositional case – just as Jakobson did – but it is maintained that prepositional case takes only a peripheral part in the semantic network of a certain case. Moreover, the nominative, the accusative and the genitive are said to make up the center of the system, while the instrumental, the dative and the locative are said to make up its periphery (Janda and Clancy 2002, 7). This division is very similar to Jakobson’s distinction between central and peripheral cases. In our view, it is a big problem that the pure case system and the prepositional case systems are treated as a mixed system, because as a matter of fact one describes and explains a construction that has no real existence: it is logically impossible to analyse the locative as being part of the pure case system and it is logically impossible to analyse the nominative as being part of the prepositional case system. This mixture represents a disadvantage that cannot be compensated for by describing all uses of case forms in a comprehensive way. In Janda 1993 and Janda and Clancy 2002 we also find that the accusative and the locative do not constitute a natural opposition. This is another serious weakness, since the core of the prepositional system is based on this distinction. In the pure case system, the meaning of the accusative case is opposed to the meaning of the nominative case. This means that they share something and, at the same time, differ from one another. In the prepositional case system, the meaning of the accusative is different, because its opposition is different due to the fact that the locative has another meaning than the nominative. They are incommensurable.

Janda and Clancy’s book contains many valuable empirical observations, but they are mainly used to describe what we call situations, expressed by prepositional phrases containing the case forms in question and not to define the grammatical meaning of the accusative and the locative. As a result, we get confusing descriptions like, for instance, “comparison is an important component of the ACCUSATIVE: A DIMENSION”, on the one hand, and “ACCUSATIVE: A

DIMENSION in the domain of comparison”, on the other, where it remains unclear, whether comparison is a component of the accusative case semantics proper or a part of the whole prepositional phrase (2002, 54).

The latest contribution to the study of Russian case is Beytenbrat’s book (2015) that is based on the Columbia School (CS) theory and therefore also influenced by Jakobson. According to Beytenbrat (2015), the Russian case system consists of six cases, i.e., six signs with six invariant meanings. They are divided equally into two classes each forming their own grammatical system, called the System of Contribution and the System of Involvement. The nominative, dative and accusative form the central System of Contribution and according to their level of saliency in an event they are ranked as HIGH CONTRIBUTOR, MID CONTRIBUTOR and LOW CONTRIBUTOR, respectively. The genitive, instrumental and locative form the peripheral System of Involvement and according to type of information added to the System of Contribution they are ranked as DIRECT INVOLVEMENT, INDIRECT INVOLVEMENT and MORE INDIRECT INVOLVEMENT, respectively. This is reminiscent of Jakobson’s central and peripheral cases, although Jakobson himself drew a different line (cf. above). When dealing with prepositional case, Beytenbrat maintains that “each preposition has its own invariant meaning which must be compatible with the invariant meaning of the case it "governs" (2015, 108). Her primary purpose is to demonstrate this compatibility, but what she actually does is to show how prepositions are associated with ‘messages’, i.e., numerous and quite diverse uses of a particular case form. We need not go further into the theory, because it suffers from the same fundamental problems as Jakobson’s and Janda’s case theories.

The second group can have a general theoretical framework for the study of Russian case, but it does not present a general theory of case. It focusses on specific case forms and usage, which

are analyzed mainly with regards to phrasal syntax and lexical meaning of the items involved. These studies yield many interesting observations which are reminiscent of our findings, but, as already indicated above, the observed facts are not treated as being reflexes of general semantic features of the accusative and the locative within a general theory of case. This concerns, for instance, Plungjan (2002) who uses the expressions *dinamičeskij kontakt* ‘dynamic contact’ when he describes the use of the accusative with the preposition *o* [*ob*] and *plotnyj, intensivnyj kontakt* ‘tight, intense contact’ when he describes the use of the second locative, which is reminiscent of our distinction *change of contact* (= Acc.) vs. *permanent contact* (= Loc.), see section 2. However, Plungjan seems to apply these expressions to the semantics of the prepositional phrases containing the case forms in question and not to the grammatical meaning of the case forms proper - despite the fact that his paper is devoted to the meaning of the Russian locative and despite the fact that he maintains that *plotnyj, intensivnyj kontakt*, or *žostkaja lokalizacija* ‘rigid localization’, is a prototypical meaning of the second locative case. In much the same way, he interprets expressions like *v étom mesjace* ‘this month’ and *v šestom času* ‘after five o’clock’, lit. ‘in the sixth hour’, as spatial on morphological grounds, which might bear a resemblance to our account of the locative as a case solely designating space, but he mentions it briefly in a comment and refers entirely to contexts and not to case meaning.

Another work in this group is Nessel (2004). In an extensive study of case assignment in Russian temporal adverbials with *v* ‘in’, Nessel (2004) proposes an image schematic analysis of the distribution of the accusative and the (second) locative cases as opposed to an analysis in terms of distinctive features, thus suggesting a new approach to the description of Russian case. He identifies two parameters, “extendedness” and “boundedness”, and argues that their interaction may be adequately accounted for in terms of the image schemas CONTAINER, POINT and MEDIUM

which capture the relationship between time and space and offer a natural account of how all properties identified in the study interact in case assignment (2004, 285). However, although it is presented in a consistent way, the proposed analysis mixes up different levels (the lexical semantics of the temporal nouns, the impact of a morphological category, the plural, as well as phrasal syntax and semantics). Moreover, Nessel must resort to additional “rules” and “linguistic convention” in order to rescue the image schematic account of problematic occurrences of the case forms under scrutiny. Taking these facts into account and emphasizing that this paper is focusing on case assignment, we conclude that its approach is not well suited for the study of case semantics proper (see also Makarova and Nessel 2013, Nessel and Makarova 2015).

The third group to be mentioned does not deal with case semantics at all. These studies depart from the conceptual domains of time and space and to a greater or lesser extent from the discussion of their interrelationship mainly based on the cognitive linguistic approach. The research is conducted with special emphasis on lexical and grammatical marking of the two domains, which, on this account, leaves case semantics proper outside the scope of these inquiries. Consequently, all prepositional phrases denoting time concepts, regardless of their case form, are treated as having a temporal meaning which makes sense in terms of the semantics of prepositional phrases, but it is obviously at variance with our understanding of the nature of case semantics (cf. Vsevolodova 1975; Krejdlin 1997; Sullivan 1998; Šarič 2008; Rachilina and Plungjan 2014; for an account from a typological perspective, see Haspelmath 1997).

In this paper, we propose an analysis of the important distinction between the accusative and the locative cases in spatial and temporal contexts within the unified theoretical framework outlined above and based strictly on case semantics. We believe that it enables us to avoid drawbacks pointed out in the reported studies.

2. The accusative vs. the locative in spatial contexts

Within the semantic system of prepositional case outlined above, the accusative and the locative cases are united by involving the notion of contact, but separated by the dynamicity vs. stativity distinction – the locative denotes **permanent contact**, while the accusative denotes **change of contact**, i.e., from being out of contact to being in contact² (Note that all a-examples involve the locative case, whereas all b-examples involve the accusative case):

- (1) a. Valiko vyšel iz vody i **sel na beregu**_{LOC}.^{3,4} ‘Valiko came out of the water and sat down on the beach.’
- b. Eget opjat’ pognalsja za lošad’mi i uže pojmal bylo ich, no oni obernulis’ rybami i uplyli v glub’ morja. S gorja eget **sel na bereg**_{ACC} i zaplakal.⁵ ‘The young man again began to chase horses and was about to catch them, but they turned into fish and swam away into the depths of the sea. With grief, he sat down on the beach and began to cry.’
- (2) a. Kal’man zakričal, prosnulsja i **sel na krovati**_{LOC}.⁶ ‘Kal’man cried, woke up and sat up on the bed.’

² As was already stated in 1.2., some researchers apply notions ‘contact’, ‘change of contact’, ‘dynamicity’, ‘stativity’, ‘interiority’, ‘exteriority’ etc. in similar sense, but they use them isolated and not in an account of the general distinction between the accusative and the locative. Apart from the above-mentioned Plungjan 2002, cf., for example, *ideja dviženija* ‘the concept of movement’ applied in Krejdlin 1997 to the preposition *pod*; the notion of *ne-posredstvennoe kontaktnoe vozdejstvie* ‘direct impact’ applied in Rachilina and Plungjan 2014 to the use of preposition *pod* with both the accusative and the instrumental; ‘interior locus’ and ‘surface (exterior locus)’ in Sullivan 1998, 17-29, 31-38; ‘dynamic contexts’ and ‘static contexts’ in Šarić 2008, 59-60, 102-104; *dinamičeskaja situacija* ‘dynamic situation’ in Voejkova 2011, and others.

³ The examples which are not provided with references are our own – PDA and EL. Unless otherwise indicated, examples from the Internet have been last accessed on 3rd February 2017.

⁴ Iskander, Fazil’. 1977. *Morskoj skorpion*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

⁵ Platonov, Andrej P. A. 1942-1947. *Baškirske narodnye skazki v pereskaze Andreja Platonova*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

⁶ Nagibin, Jurij. 1972-1979. *Blestjaščaja i gorestnaja žizn’ Imre Kal’mana*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

- b. A noč'ju on prišel ko mne, **sel na krovat'**_{ACC} i poprosil sigaretku.⁷ 'And at night, he came to me, sat down on the bed and asked for a cigarette.'

(1a) is used about a person who, after having come out of the water, is standing on a beach and then sits down. (2a) is used about a person who is lying in bed and then sits up. In those two cases, there is no change of location, but a permanent contact between the man and the beach in (1a), and between the man and the bed in (2a). The only thing that is changed is manner of location, i.e., position. Before producing the activity, the person in question was in an upright or lying position, while after having performed it he is in a sitting position. (1b) is used about a young man who comes out of the water and sits down on the beach right away, and (2b) is used about a person who is standing on the floor and then sits down on a bed. In these cases, we observe not only a change of manner of location, but also a change of the location itself which automatically implies change from being out of contact to being in contact with the new location. In other words, permanent contact seems to yield the locative case, while change of contact seems to yield the accusative case. That is the reason why "to write on the blackboard with chalk" is rendered by the locative, whereas "to knock on the door" is rendered by the accusative, cf. (3a) and (3b). And this is the reason why the preposition *o* in (3c) and (3d) is read differently depending on case form:

- (3) a. Ona pišet **na doske**_{LOC} predloženie. 'She is writing a sentence on the blackboard.'
b. Ona stučit **v dver'**_{ACC}. 'She is knocking on the door.'
c. Nikto ne znal – što èto za kamen' i kak k nemu dojtí. Ivar rassprašival **o kamne**_{LOC} mnogich, otveta ne bylo.⁸ 'Nobody knew what kind of stone it was and how to get there. Ivar asked around, but couldn't get any answer.'
d. On spotknulsja **o kamen'**_{ACC}. 'He stumbled against a stone.'

⁷ Aksenov, Vasilij. 1961. *Zvezdnyj bilet*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

⁸ Retrieved from: <http://www.proza.ru/2012/11/20/374>.

In (3a) it is presupposed that there is permanent contact between the chalk and the blackboard (Note that one is not writing on the blackboard when one is forced to take away one's hand in the period between ending and starting writing). In (3b) she could not be said to be knocking on the door unless she several times had moved her hand from the door, i.e., out of contact, and then moved it back, i.e., into contact with it. In (3c) the person is in "permanent mental contact" with the stone he is looking for, whereas in (3d) the person suddenly comes into contact with a stone lying on his way.

Let us now consider the following examples with the accusative and the locative which, at first glance, seem to contradict our theory:

- (4) a. My vypili, vključili radio i uslyšali, čto imenno v éti mgnovenija "Apollo" **sel na Lunu**_{ACC}.⁹ 'We had a drink, turned on the radio and heard that exactly at that moment Apollo landed on the moon.'
- b. Segodnja, 14 dekabnja, kitajskij lunohod v pervye **sel na Lune**_{LOC}.¹⁰ 'Today, December 14, China's moon rover touched down on the moon for the first time.'

(4a) with the accusative is used in an unspecified context and represents the normal way to express that an aircraft has landed on the moon. Thus it is stated that it went from being out of contact into contact with the moon. (4b) with the locative yields another reading. Here the aircraft is so close to the moon that it can be said to be on location, i.e., in contact with it although it is not in physical contact with its surface. The point is, however, that because of the locative case, (4b) only denotes the absolutely final moment when it touches ground. One might argue that the aircraft was "standing" just above the ground before it "sat" on it. We will argue that the aircraft in (4b) is within the

⁹ Evtušenko, Evgenij. 1999. *Volčij pasport*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

¹⁰ Retrieved from: <http://in-space.info/news/kitaiskii-lunokhod-vpervye-sel-na-lune-poyavilis-podrobnosti>.

contact sphere of the moon and that it merely changes its position without being relocated. This means that change of contact has already taken place.

Consider also (5):

- (5) Inostrannyj gruzovoj samolet ěkstrenno **sel na Sachaline**_{LOC}.¹¹ ‘Foreign cargo aircraft made an emergency landing on Sakhalin.’

where the aircraft is already in the air space of Sakhalin, i.e., in contact with it, and thus only changes manner of location. This is tantamount to saying that people already knew that the aircraft was flying above Sakhalin, i.e., it was within the contact sphere of the island, but they didn’t know that it had landed. In short, in those cases where one would expect the accusative, the locative is used because we are dealing with old information about the location itself.

A corresponding way of thinking applies to (6a) - (6f):

- (6) a. Esli golub’ **sel na podokonnik**_{ACC} za oknom, primeta moĹet ob’’jasnit’ ěto javlenie.¹²
‘If a pigeon sat down on the windowsill on the outer side of the window, it can be interpreted as an omen’.
- b. Na balkon vletael vorona i ěto-to derĹit v kljuve. Vletela v okno na balkone i **sela na podokonnike**_{LOC}.¹³ ‘A crow is flying into the balcony holding something in its beak. It flew into the balcony window and sat down on the windowsill.’
- c. Ja stal Źdat’ doktora. Vmesto nego pojavilsja Ćurilin. Zagljanel v okoĹko, **sel na podokonnik**_{ACC}.¹⁴ ‘I started waiting for the doctor. Instead, Ćurilin showed up. He peeked into the window and sat down on the windowsill.’

¹¹ Retrieved from: <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/541958>.

¹² Retrieved from: <http://grimuar.ru/primetyi/golub-sel-na-podokonnik-primeta.html>.

¹³ Retrieved from: <http://magickum.com/tag/son-golub-stuchit-v-okno/>.

¹⁴ Dovlatov, Sergej. 1986. *Ćemodan*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

- d. V domoupravljenii nikogo ne bylo. Na dveri visela bumažka, soobščavšaja, čto paspor-tistka živet v étom pod''ezde na četvertom étaže. Nužno bylo podnimat'sja. Gruško **sel na podokonnike**_{LOC} meždu pervym i vtorym étažom i dolgo sidel, sobirajas' s silami.¹⁵ 'There was no one in the building management office. On the door, there was a note saying that the passport officer lives in this building on the third floor, so he had to climb the stairs to her apartment. Gruško sat down on the windowsill between the first and second floor, and sat there for a long time, gathering strength.'
- e. On sel na dubovuju kolodu, stojavšuju posredi dvora, snjal šapku i položil ee na koleni. Syn tože **sel na stupen'ku**_{ACC}, ves' droža ot vozbuždenija.¹⁶ 'He sat down on an oak chunk in the middle of the yard, took off his hat and put it on his knees. His son sat down on a step, trembling with excitement.'
- f. Doletev do povorota, on vybil na lestničnoj ploščadke nogoju steklo v okne i **sel na stupen'ke**_{LOC}.¹⁷ 'Reaching the turn, he smashed the window on the landing with his foot and sat on a step.'¹⁸

The accusative in (6a), (6c) and (6e) is the most natural and frequent way of linguistic representation of the situations under consideration: the agent changes location from being out of contact with the windowsill or the step to coming into contact with them. The locative in (6b), (6d) and (6f) calls for a different interpretation. The hearer already knows that the agent is within the contact sphere of the objects in question. What the hearer is told by the speaker is that the agent has changed his position, or posture, in the given location.

¹⁵ Ardamatskij, Vasilij. 1971. *Leningradskaia zima*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

¹⁶ Kim, Anatolij. 1985. *Poslednjaja nežnost'*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

¹⁷ Bulgakov, Michail A. 1929-1940. *Master i Margarita*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

¹⁸ Bulgakov, Mikhail. 1979. *Master and Margarita*, translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

3. Further evidence for arguing that the accusative involves dynamicity

3.0. Introductory remarks

We now leave the opposition between the accusative and the locative temporarily to concentrate on the use of the accusative in contexts where one might expect other case forms. We do that with the purpose of showing that the accusative always seems to involve dynamicity, by denoting change of contact. In other words, we argue that the accusative case by itself induces dynamicity without any help from an activity verb or an action verb. Since the same prepositions do not express dynamicity when they govern another case, it cannot be the prepositions themselves that are responsible for that meaning. At the same time, the prepositions modify the semantics of the whole prepositional phrase due to their lexical meaning¹⁹.

3.1. The accusative with the prepositions *pod* and *za*

The prepositions *pod*, lit. ‘under’, and *za*, lit. ‘behind’, occur with the instrumental and the accusative (see Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2017).

The following uses with the noun in the accusative are found in contexts involving scalar values, i.e., temperature, mass, height, age, etc.:

- (7) a. Emu uže **za pjat’desjat**_{ACC}. ‘He is already over fifty.’
b. Emu **pod pjat’desjat**_{ACC}. ‘He is getting on for fifty.’

Both prepositions are used vertically, just as a thermometer: *za* means ‘on the other side of a limit’, i.e., above, while *pod* means ‘just below a certain limit’. As indicated by the translations, both examples imply dynamicity. The only thing that can account for the dynamicity is the accusative

¹⁹ It should be noted that a comprehensive description of the lexical semantics of prepositions used with the accusative and the locative is outside the scope of this study.

case. That must be the reason why the instrumental cannot be used. The two examples involve change of contact, i.e., the person is about to enter or has already entered a new phase of his life.

Cf. also:

- (8) a. Bylo očen' žarko, **za tridcat'**_{ACC} gradusov. 'It was terribly hot, over thirty degrees.'
b. Žara stojala **pod sorok**_{ACC} gradusov. 'It was terribly hot, close to forty degrees.'
c. Posylka byla vesom **pod dvadcat'**_{ACC} kilogrammov. 'The parcel was weighing up to twenty kilograms.'

The accusative also occurs with the two prepositions in other contexts, still with the notions of dynamicity and change of contact implied:

- (9) On rabotaet **za menja**_{ACC}. 'He works instead of me.'
(10) a. Neizvestnyj imitator pel **pod Šaljapina**_{ACC}. 'An unknown imitator sang a la Šaljapin.'
b. Èta korzina u menja **pod musor**_{ACC}. 'I use this basket for garbage.'

In (9) *za* means 'as a substitute' for another person who normally occupies the position, i.e., the person in question takes over working functions of another person who is temporarily absent. (10a) and (10b) exemplify a specific use of *pod* that can be said to be close to the meaning of the prefix *pod-* in connection with motion verbs, viz. dynamicity and closeness (cf., for example, Plungian 2001, 107). In (10a) the person in question produces singing-activity under the "active" influence of Šaljapin, i.e., when singing one simulates the characteristic resonance and vibrancy of Šaljapin's voice thus trying to "get into contact" with him. (10b) should be read in a literal way: when someone has some garbage and wants to get rid of it, then the basket should be placed under it.²⁰

²⁰ Cf. a different account of constructions '*pod* + accusative' in terms of the relationship between time and space where similar examples with the accusative are treated as temporal constructions and analysed as a result of a multi-stage process of extension of underlying spatial constructions (Kuznetsova, Plungian and Rakhilina 2013; Rakhilina and Plungian 2014).

3.2. The accusative with the prepositions *po* and *s*

That the notion of dynamicity and change of contact plays a crucial role in the accusative case appears very clearly from examples which all involve prepositions that normally govern other cases than the accusative, but which in some particular uses take the accusative. This pertains to the prepositions *po* and *s*.

3.2.1. The accusative with the preposition *po*

The preposition *po*, which normally governs the dative and the locative case, is used with the accusative in the following examples:

- (11) a. Ona v otpuske s prvogo **po devjatoe**_{ACC} aprilja. ‘She is on holiday from the first to the ninth of April.’
b. Ona vošla v vodu **po pojas**_{ACC}. ‘She went into water up to her waist.’
c. On zanjat **po gorlo**_{ACC}. ‘He is fed up with work.’

In (11a) with the accusative the notion of change of contact is evoked because it states that if we move from the first of April, we stop when we get into contact with the ninth of April. In short, the ninth is included. Here we deal with direct, physical contact. (11a) should be compared to the following example (12) with the genitive where it is stated that we do not get into contact with the ninth of April, i.e., the ninth is not included (cf. Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2017):

- (12) Ona v otpuske s prvogo **do devjatogo**_{GEN} aprilja. ‘She is on holiday from the first to the ninth of April.’

In (11b) *po* plus the accusative is used in the same dynamical meaning where it is stated that she stopped going further when the water got into contact with her waist. The same applies to (11c) where it is stated that he is up to his eyes (lit. throat) in work which means that he has reached his limit for working.

3.2.2. The accusative with the preposition *s*

The preposition *s*, which usually governs the genitive and the instrumental, takes the accusative in certain specific cases:

- (13) a. Ona rodom **s menja**_{ACC}. ‘She is (about) my size.’
- (14) a. No vot na puti vstretilas’ ol’cha tolščinoj **s ruku**_{ACC}.²¹ ‘On his way he passed an alder tree thick as an arm’.
- b. Vysokij, s polmetra, i tolščinoj **v ruku**_{ACC}, stalagmit byl prozračen i čist.²² ‘The stalagmite, high and arm-thick, was limpid and clear.’

(13a) asserts that there is contact between the female person and the speaker with respect to height. A similar line of thinking is found in (14a) and (14b) the only difference between which appears to be due to the lexical meaning of the prepositions: the *s*-construction involves a comparison – just like (13a), while the *v*-construction is used as a kind of unit of measurement. The dynamical aspect is found in the underlying measurement or comparison: one takes an object and relates it to another object – if they get into contact with one another, the latter is assigned the accusative.

4. The accusative and the locative in temporal contexts

When speaking of the two and only two contact cases in Russian (cf. 1.1.) it is crucial to stress that the locative case deals only with space although its spatial meaning might be blurred due to the lexical semantics of the locative noun and to the surroundings when the noun or the surroundings themselves involve temporal notions.

²¹ Musatov, A. I. 1957. *Bol’saja vesna*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

²² Serafimov, Konstantin. 1994. *Ėkspedicija vo mrak*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

Let us consider the following examples:

- (15) a. On pogib **v vojne**_{LOC} s fašistami. ‘He was killed in the anti-Nazi war.’
b. On pogib **v Velikuju Otečestvenuju vojnu**_{ACC}. ‘He was killed during the Great Patriotic War.’

The use of the locative case in (15a) implies that the subject was present and thus participated in the war and died because of that. In other words, it can be paraphrased as follows: “While being in the war he was killed”, where “While...” is placed in the entailment structure of the activity description (for propositional structures in Russian in general and entailment structure in particular, see Durst-Andersen 1992, 56-59, 67-78; Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2015b).²³ The accusative case in (15b) has a temporal meaning. It asserts that at a certain point in time the subject was alive (i.e., before the war started) and then at another point in time (i.e., during the war) he was dead, thus involving not only dynamicity, but also change of “time contact”: we actually jump from a timeline before the war to a certain point of time during the war (see also Janda and Clancy 1993, 81). In (15a) we are concerned with the war as a demarcated space (it is closed and not compared to other spaces), whereas in (15b) it is divided into two parts that are compared to one another.

That the locative case indeed presupposes local contact and that it does not create or is associated with a timeline as the accusative case appears indirectly from the ungrammatical use of the locative case in the following four a-examples compared to perfectly acceptable b-examples all establishing a timeline and therefore explicitly expressing time:

- (16) a. *On rodilsja **v Velikoj Otečestvennoj vojne**_{LOC}.

²³ Cf. a remark about so called *lokativnaja ideja* ‘idea of location’ in Rachilina and Plungjan 2014, 34 which resembles the notion of entailment structure, but it refers only to the valence and semantics of individual predicates in spatial prepositional phrases with *pod* + the instrumental, as, for example, *I ja, pod nabljudeniem rumynskich agentov, vyechal v Bucharest* ‘And I left for Bucharest under surveillance of Romanian agents’.

- b. On rodilsja **vo vremja**_{ACC} **Velikoj Otečestvennoj vojny**_{GEN}. ‘He was born during World War Two.’
- (17) a. ***Na uroke**_{LOC} direktor vstretil v koridore trech učnikov iz 5 klassa.
- b. **Vo vremja**_{ACC} **uroka**_{GEN} direktor vstretil v koridore trech učnikov iz 5 klassa. ‘During the lesson the headmaster met three pupils from the 5th form outside the classroom.’
- (18) a. ***Pri Petre**_{LOC} **Pervom** Anglija byla velikoj morskoj deržavoj.
- b. **Vo vremena**_{ACC} **Petra**_{GEN} **Pervogo** Anglija byla velikoj morskoj deržavoj. ‘In the days of Peter the Great, England was a great naval power.’
- (19) a. ***Po okončanii**_{LOC} **universiteta** on mnogo let byl bez raboty.
- b. **Posle okončaniia**_{GEN} **universiteta** on mnogo let byl bez raboty. ‘After having earned a university degree there were many years when he had no job.’

The ungrammaticality of the use of the locative case in the above-mentioned examples can be explained as a kind of disharmony: In (16a) – illustrating the most illogical of the four examples – the use of the locative case (i.e., *v Velikoj Otečestvennoj vojne*) would imply that he was born at some place – a town or a village – called “Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojna”. In (17a) (i.e., *na uroke*) it would imply that the headmaster met the pupils outside the classroom while at the same time teaching the lesson in the classroom, which does not make any sense either. (18a) with the locative case is also ill-formed, because in order to use *pri Petre Pervom* one has to talk about the place governed by Peter the Great, i.e., Russia, which is not the case. Example (19a), again considering an imagined use of the locative case, is equally ungrammatical because the local contact established by the locative (i.e., *po okončanii universiteta*) is not followed up in the utterance – quite the contrary: the utterance talks about some extended period between graduating from the university and finding a job (cf. Krejdlin’s (1997) comment on similar examples in terms of the semantics

of temporal prepositions). In all four examples the locative is ruled out in advance due to its grammatical meaning – it can only denote space and cannot be forced to be used to express time. That is why the following utterances are perfectly meaningful and well-formed:

- (20) a. On pogib **na vojne**_{LOC}. ‘He was killed in the war.’
 b. **Na uroke**_{LOC} učenik chorošo otvečal. ‘The pupil answered very well in class.’
 c. **Pri Staline**_{LOC} pogiblo neverojatno bol’šoe količestvo ljudej. ‘An incredibly large number of people were killed under Stalin.’
 d. **Po okončanii**_{LOC} **vizita** meždu oboronnyimi vedomstvami dvuch stran budet podpisan memorandum o vzaimoponimanii. ‘At the end of the visit the defence departments of the two countries will sign a memorandum of understanding.’

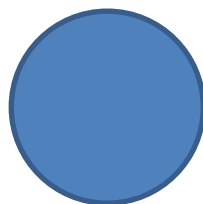
In all the above-listed examples, we are dealing with local contact with the place named by, or related to the noun in the locative. The conclusion is that the locative case cannot but denote a spatial meaning. If we pursue this way of thinking, we can account for the difference between the following uses:

- (21) a. **Po okončanii**_{LOC} **universiteta** on nadejalsja bystro sdelat’ kar’eru. ‘After having earned a university degree he was hoping to make a quick career.’
 b. **Posle okončaniia**_{GEN} **universiteta** on nadejalsja bystro sdelat’ kar’eru. ‘After having earned a university degree he was hoping to make a quick career.’
- (22) a. **V prošlom godu**_{LOC} ona ezдила v Moskvu četyre raza. ‘Last year she went to Moscow four times.’
 b. **Za prošlyj god**_{ACC} ona s’’ezдила v Moskvu četyre raza. ‘Last year she went to Moscow four times.’

- (23) a. Jasnaja pogoda byvaet tol'ko **tri-četyre raza v godu**_{LOC}. 'The weather is clear only three or four times in a year.'
- b. Ona byvaet v Pariže **tri-četyre raza v god**_{ACC}. 'She visits Paris three or four times every year.'

In (21a) we are talking about a person who is standing at a new place after having left the university with a degree, whereas in (21b) we are dealing with a person who has gone through a certain period of time and is ready for a new period of time involving a quick career – differences in meaning that do not appear from the English translations. The spatial reading is also present in (22a), although, admittedly, the very use of *god* 'year' interferes and makes the hearer feel that we are concerned with the notion of time. The meaning is that if one views "last year" (understood as a calendar year) as denoting all the places a person has been to, it is possible to find three or four Moscow-spots inside this major place. In (22b) where we are also dealing with a calendar year, it is stated that if one views "last year" as a horizontal timeline, it is possible to find four time-spots on this line when she was in Moscow. This can be depicted in the following way:

(22a): The spatial reading



The year of 2015

(22b): The temporal reading



From JAN 1 to DEC 31, 2015

The same is true of (23a) and (23b). In the former case, we are talking about a single year perceived as a place with 365 spots out of which three or four were filled in with “clear weather”. In the latter case we are concerned with several years all perceived as timelines. Some years she visited Paris four times, other years only three times. In (22a) and (23a) it makes sense to argue that the locative denotes **a set consisting of elements**. The same way of thinking seems to apply to the following interesting contrast:

- (24) a. **V 60-x godax**_{LOC} ona pisala romany. ‘She wrote novels in the sixties.’
 b. **V 60-e gody**_{ACC} ona pisala romany. ‘She was writing novels in the sixties.’

In (24a) we are concerned with a set consisting of all elements sharing the quality of having written a novel in the sixties. Our female person is claimed to be an element of this set, and on that account, (24a) is interpreted as a **characterization** of the woman in question. In (24b) we observe the “direct” nature of the accusative case: by using it we get access to the many writing situations themselves on the timeline going from the beginning of the sixties to the very end (cf. Durst-Andersen 2002). This is, however, just another way to express the notion of coming into contact. For that reason, (24b) is interpreted as a **situation description** (For further discussion within the cognitive linguistic framework, see Nessel 2004, 305-308). The difference between the two examples should appear from the translations where the non-progressive form in (24a) is used to give a characterization, while the progressive form in (24b) is used to give a situation description.

The examples below should be analyzed exactly along the same lines:

- (25) a. **V pervom času**_{ACC} **noči** ja vse ešče sidel u telefona, zljās’ i nervničaja.²⁴ ‘Past 12 am, I was still sitting by the phone, angry and nervous.’

²⁴ Volos, Andrej. 2000. Nedvižimost’. Novyj mir (2001). Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

- b. **V pervyj čas_{ACC}** novogo goda abonenty MTS progovorili počti 19 let, otpravili bolee 2,5 millionov tekstovykh soobšččenij i sgenerirovali 15 terabajt internet-trafika.²⁵ ‘In the first hour of the new year MTS subscribers talked for almost 19 years, sent more than 2.5 million text messages and generated 17 terabytes of Internet traffic.’
- (26) a. Rabotaet daj bože, chotja znaet, čto vse ravno ne zarabotaet bol’še, čem **v prošlom mesjace_{LOC}**.²⁶ ‘He is working very hard even though he knows that he won’t earn more than last month.’
- b. Kommentiruja rejting “Medialogii”, Burcev otmetil: “Mne ne kažetsja, čto gubernatora zametno men’še citirovali, čem **v prošlyj mesjac_{ACC}**”.²⁷ ‘Commenting on the rating of Medialogia Burtsev noted: “I do not think that the governor was quoted much less than in the previous month.”’

In (25b) and (26b) with the accusative we establish contact with a timeline at a specific point and then proceed to the end point. In both examples there will be numerous contacts with the line due to numerous acts. In (25a) and (26a) we are neither dealing with a timeline nor with numerous activities. We are dealing with something static, viewed from the point of view of space. This is further confirmed by the fact that in (25a) one could have replaced “first hour” with “the apartment” and in (26a) “last month” with “the old firm” (For a different account of similar examples based on the image schematic approach and involving the impact of phrasal syntax and semantics, see Neset 2004, 308-312).

5. Various time expressions with the accusative case

²⁵ Retrieved from: <http://www.spb.kp.ru/daily/26629/3648550/>.

²⁶ Belov, Vasilij. 1976. *Vospitanie po doktoru Spoku*. Retrieved from: www.ruscorpora.ru.

²⁷ Retrieved from: http://fedpress.ru/news/polit_vlast/reviews/tkachev-ustupil-lavry-blogera-evkurovu.

The following will be a brief examination of three pairs of constructions, which all involve a preposition governing the accusative case, i.e., constructions with *v* vs. *na*, with *za* vs. *v*, and with *za* vs. *čerez*. Our purpose is to show that in all instances the accusative establishes contact with a timeline, whereupon we can move backward or forward. Consider the following examples:

- (27) a. Včera bank zakryli **v dva_{ACC} časa**. ‘Yesterday the bank was closed at 2 pm.’
 b. Včera bank zakryli **na dva_{ACC} časa**. ‘Yesterday the bank was closed for two hours.’

In (27a) the adverbial *v dva časa* functions as a phrastic sentence adverbial. This means that it is stated that at two o’clock the bank was subject to an activity that made it change from the state of being open to the state of being closed, cf. the following paraphrase according to Russian declarative superstructure (see Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2015a) and the perfective statement model (see Durst-Andersen 1992, 73, 109-117; Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2015b):

- (27') a. I hereby say it is true that **at two o’clock** yesterday **an activity was produced** which was sufficient for the fact that the bank was in a closed state.

The adverbial expression *na dva časa* in (27b) functions as a non-sentence adverbial which modifies the state description (see Durst-Andersen and Lorentzen 2015b), cf. the following paraphrase:

- (27') b. An activity was produced that was sufficient for the fact that **the bank was in a closed state for 2 hours**.

In the next pair of examples it is not a question of scope or subdomain:

- (28) a. Student pročítal roman **za dva_{ACC} dnja**. ‘The student read the novel in two days.’
 b. Student pročítal roman **v dva_{ACC} dnja**. ‘The student read the novel in two days.’

The difference in meaning becomes clear from the following paraphrases:

- (28') a. The student produced an activity that **after** two days was sufficient for the fact that the novel exists for him as an experience.

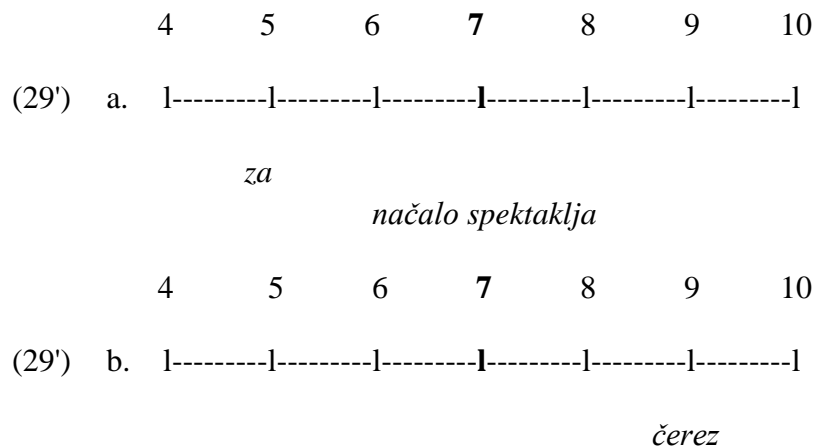
- b. The student produced an activity that **in** two days was sufficient for the fact that the novel exists for him as an experience.

The *za*-construction in (28a), which is by far the most frequent, states that the student started reading the novel at a certain moment in time, and that the experience of the novel exists for him two days later. Thus, during this period of time he may have been reading the newspaper for one hour, have been walking for three hours, and have been doing other things for five hours, and so forth. The *v*-construction in (28b) is far more concrete in that it says that it took him two full days to read the novel.

The last pair of examples with a double temporal construction represent an idiosyncratic use of Russian prepositions.

- (29) a. Oni vernulis' domoj **za dva_{ACC} časa do načala_{GEN}** spektaklja. 'They returned home two hours before the play started.'
- b. Oni vernulis' domoj **čerez dva_{ACC} časa posle načala_{GEN}** spektaklja. 'They returned home two hours after the play had started.'

The question why Russian uses a double temporal construction naturally arises. In order to give a plausible answer to the question we refer to the figures below:



As we realize from looking at the horizontal timeline in (29a') the preposition *za* is used in its primary meaning 'behind': We start two hours behind "zero" which in this case is the start of the play and then proceed along the timeline until we reach "zero" which is denoted by *do*'s extroverted direction towards a certain goal. In (29b') we start at "zero", heading towards the "future"; the point of temporal direction is signalled by the preposition *posle*. After having moved through two hours on the timeline we reach 9 pm, i.e., two hours from "zero". Note that "zero" may be equivalent to moment of speech as in the following example:

- (29) c. Ona pridet **čerez dva_{ACC} časa**. 'She will come in two hours.'

Although one could get the impression from the above-listed examples that Russian sharply distinguishes 'Past' (what is left to point *zero*) and 'Future' (what is right to point *zero*), the real distinction seems to be based on another type of notion, viz. type of reference (not reference world). Compare the following examples:

- (30) a. *External time reference in a future world:*

Ona pridet k nam **čerez dva_{ACC} časa**. 'She will come to us in two hours.'

- b. *Internal time reference in a future world:*

Ona pročitat stat'ju **za dva_{ACC} časa**. 'She will read the article in two hours.'

- (31) a. *External time reference in a past world:*

Ona prišla k nam **čerez dva_{ACC} časa**. 'She came to us two hours later.'

- b. *Internal time reference in a past world:*

Ona pročitala stat'ju **za dva_{ACC} časa**. 'She read the article in two hours.'

As we see, Russian does not make any difference between past world reference and future world reference. This is partly done by English, cf. the translation of (30a) and (31a). In the Russian a-examples one talks about a specific ‘point in time’ that is defined relatively to something that is external to the event referred to by the verb itself: in (30a) one talks about ‘point of speech’ which is defined by the speech situation itself; in (31a) one talks about ‘point of reference’ which is defined by another event not mentioned in the example. In the b-examples we are concerned with a ‘point in time’ that is defined by the event denoted by the verb. In (30b) one talks about any point in time where she chooses to start reading the article, while in (31b) one talks about a specific starting point. In other words, Russian sharply distinguishes **external** and **internal time reference**. In both cases the Russian accusative create a timeline and establishes contact with it.

As should be evident from the examination of the examples all prepositions governing the accusative case in connection with time do exactly the same: they participate in establishing contact with a timeline at a specific point whereby the speaker goes from not being in contact to being in contact with that line. After that, the preposition in combination with the accusative case can be said to bring us either backwards or forwards to another point on the timeline, where we either leave it or take another tour on it. In that way, the accusative can be said to involve dynamicity in at least two ways.

6. The prepositions *v* ‘in’ and *na* ‘on’: interiority vs. exteriority

We shall now look more closely at two prepositions which are directly opposed to one another when they govern the locative case, i.e., the prepositions *v*, lit. ‘in’, and *na*, lit. ‘on’. Our purpose is to find out in what way they differ from one another and in which contexts they occur provided both prepositions are used with the locative that denotes space.

If we compare them with English prepositions, it turns out that it is impossible to find exact counterparts:

- (32) a. *v apteke* ‘at the chemist’s’, *v cirke* ‘at the circus’, *v škole* ‘at school’, *v aéroportu* ‘at the airport’, *v komandirovke* ‘on a business trip’, etc.
- b. *na vostoce* ‘in the East’, *na ploščadi* ‘in the square’, *na ulice* ‘in the street’, *na čerdake* ‘in the attic’, etc.
- c. *na vokzale* ‘at the station’, *na vystavke* ‘at the exhibition’, *na jarmarke* ‘at the trade fair’, *na fabrike* ‘at the factory’, etc.

Although the examples given in (32a), (32b), and (32c) suggest that there is no connection between Russian and English at this point, the fact that the two Russian prepositions (viz. *v* and *na*) are opposed to three English prepositions (viz. *in*, *on*, and *at*) should not be overlooked. It should also be kept in mind that the differences presented above might be explained as purely accidental. To put it in other words: We are not convinced that the differences in static use between the two languages are considerable (in dynamic uses where English has *to* and Russian has no exact equivalent, the difference is significant). At any rate, it would be rather surprising if it turns out that human beings have different gestalts of “in-ness” and “on-ness”. What they might have is different interpretations of various objects, for instance, of the object “square”. Looking at this object without including its surroundings, there is a feeling of being “on” this object (which is the case in Russian, cf. *na ploščadi*). If, however, the object’s surroundings are included, the feeling is one of being “in” that object (which is the case in English, cf. *in the square*) (cf. numerous cognitive linguistic and psychological studies of spatial conceptualization patterns and cross-linguistic variation: Jackendoff 1983; Herskovits 1988; 1997; Cienki 1989; Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993; Levinson 1996; Talmy 1983; 2000; Rachilina [2000] 2008; Šarić 2008, and references therein; for excellent

review and discussion, see Coventry and Garrod 2004). In the same way one could argue that the English preposition *at* must reflect something salient from a cognitive point of view. Although this salient notion does not have a specific expression unit in Russian, we shall argue that it is present in the Russian language. It turns out that it is possible to separate two distinct uses of the preposition *na*, as will appear from the discussion following the analysis of the data below.

If one wants to find the meaning of *v* and *na*, respectively, it makes good sense to try to contrast cases in which both *v* and *na* are possible:

- (33) a. Ona ležit **v posteli**_{LOC}. ‘She is in bed.’
 b. Ona ležit **na posteli**_{LOC}. ‘She is lying on the top of the bed.’
- (34) a. On sidit **v kresle**_{LOC}. ‘He is sitting in the armchair.’
 b. Pidžak ležit **na kresle**_{LOC}. ‘The jacket is on the armchair.’
- (35) a. **V trave**_{LOC} rosli v izobilii jagody i griby. ‘There were lots of berries and mushrooms in the grass.’
 b. Kot sidit **na trave**_{LOC}. ‘The cat is sitting on the grass.’
- (36) a. On stojal **v dverjax**_{LOC}. ‘He was standing in the doorway.’
 b. **Na dverjax**_{LOC} bol’šoj zamok. ‘There is a big lock on the door.’
- (37) a. **V stene**_{LOC} – gvozd’. ‘There is a nail in the wall.’
 b. **Na stene**_{LOC} – kartina. ‘There is a picture on the wall.’
- (38) a. U nee **v nogach**_{LOC} sil’nye sudorogi. ‘She has severe cramps in her legs.’
 b. U nee **na noge**_{LOC} rana. ‘She has a wound on her leg.’
- (39) a. Oni gljadeli **v vodu**_{ACC}. ‘They were looking into the water.’
 b. Oni gljadeli **na vodu**_{ACC}. ‘They were looking at the water.’

In (33a) it is stated that the person is lying in bed under the duvet. In (33b) it is stated that the person is lying on the bedspread that normally covers the bed. In (34a) the person is sitting in a comfortable armchair, surrounded by the arm and back of the chair. In (34b) we are dealing with the back or the arm of the armchair, i.e., with its surroundings or its external parts. (35a) is concerned with berries and mushrooms, which are hidden in the high grass. (35b) talks about a visible cat that uses grass surface as its seat. Both (36a) and (37a) deal with what is inside, while both (36b) and (37b) deal with what is outside and visible. In (38a) we are talking about muscle cramps, which are deep, whereas in (38b) we are talking about a wound on the surface of the skin. (39a) refers to a situation where some people are on a boat and try to look for fish or corals within the water, while (39b) refers to a situation at the beach where some people are enjoying the view of the sea.

From these examples we can draw the following conclusions: The preposition *v* signals what we shall call **interiority**, i.e., we are dealing with what is inside an object, what is thought of as being intramural or placed in a container (and therefore may be invisible). It is to be recalled that in dynamic use with the accusative *v* signals that the surface of an object is penetrated whereby access to the container is obtained. The preposition *na* signals what we shall call **exteriority**, i.e., we are dealing with what is outside an object or on its surface. Respectively, in its dynamic use with the accusative there is no penetration of the surface, just contact with the surface of the object.

In opposition to *v* which is uniform, *na* is **multiform**, i.e., it has an additional, although related meaning. This meaning is found in the following b-examples which are contrasted with a-examples in order to illustrate the difference:

- (40) a. Režisser provodit **v** **teatre**_{LOC} každýj večer. ‘The director spends every night in the theatre.’

- b. Sejčas **na teatre**_{LOC} procvetaet mnozestvo raznyh avangardnyh tečenij.²⁸ ‘Many different avant-garde movements flourish in theatre at the moment.’
- (41) a. Mama i papa sidjat **v kuchne**_{LOC}. ‘Mommy and daddy are sitting in the kitchen.’
 b. Mama sejčas **na kuchne**_{LOC}. ‘Mommy is in the kitchen now.’
- (42) a. Passažiry sidjat **v poezde**_{LOC}. ‘The passengers are sitting in the train.’
 b. Mnogie ezdjat **na poezde**_{LOC}. ‘Many people go by train.’
- (43) a. Oni sidjat **v sumerkach**_{LOC}. ‘They are sitting in twilight.’
 b. Oni sidjat **na solnce**_{LOC}. ‘They are sitting in the sun.’
- (44) a. Oni sidjat **v temnote**_{LOC}. ‘They are sitting in the dark.’
 b. Oni stojat **na moroze**_{LOC}. ‘They are standing outside in frosty weather.’

All b-examples involve *na* because we are dealing with places which are connected to specific **role activities**. In (40b) and (41b) we are concerned with the theatre and the kitchen as a place of work. In (42b) the train moves and the passengers are there because they use the train as a transportation vehicle. In (43b) and (44b) we are dealing with the sun and the frost, respectively, both characterized as phenomena which do something to persons: the sun makes you sunburnt, the frost makes you feel cold or frozen. In other words, in these examples you are exposed to something and perform a certain role activity, i.e., an activity that is intimately connected to the location in question. All a-examples involve *v* because we are dealing with containers where the location itself is in focus and no specific role activity is referred to. The role activity function found in the b-examples is also found in all other prepositional phrases with nouns that require the preposition *na*: *na vystavke* ‘at the exhibition’, *na aërodrome* ‘at the aerodrome’, *na vokzale* ‘at the railway station’, *na počte* ‘at the post office’, *na zavode* ‘at the factory’, *na fabrike* ‘at the factory’, *na*

²⁸ This is theatre jargon. Retrieved from: <http://ps.1september.ru/article.php?ID=200201825>.

rynke ‘at the market’, *na stadione* ‘at the stadium’, *na ferme* ‘at the farm’, *na jarmarke* ‘at the trade fair’, *na fakul'tete* ‘at the faculty’, *na balu* ‘at the ball’, *na svad'be* ‘at the wedding’, *na pocho-ronach* ‘at the funeral’, etc. – at all these places one typically performs specific activities and enters specific roles. Note that English uses *at* exactly in the same way to indicate that we are concerned with a place understood as a place of work or as a place involving a certain role activity (cf. the notion of ‘interaction’ in Coventry and Garrod 2004, 118-120; cf. also Šarić’s remark on Russian and Slovenian which in contrast to Croatian “highlight the abstract meaning components of activity while using *na*” in Šarić 2008, 68; for an account in terms of ‘use types’, see Herskovits 1988).

We acknowledge that the distribution between the use of *na* and *v* can be explained as suggested by Janda and Clancy (2002, 139), namely, as a two-dimensional surface vs. an enclosed space in a three-dimensional space, i.e., a container. However, the theory is not capable of explaining why *na* is also used when we are talking about containers, e.g., *Ona na kuchne*: it is a container (and can also be used as such, viz. *v kuchne*), but if the container is understood as a place of activity, we automatically get *na*. Our theory is capable of explaining that, because we operate with the dynamicity vs. stativity distinction and consider *v* to be the marked member of the opposition and *na* to be the unmarked one.

7. Concluding remarks

We have just seen that in spatial contexts the locative denotes permanent contact, whereas the accusative denotes change of contact. In certain cases it appeared that if it is known to the hearer that penetration of a contact sphere has already taken place, the locative is used. In these uses there is only a change of manner of position, but no change of place. We considered this meaning difference to be an instantiation of the important distinction between dynamicity vs. stativity found not only within verbs in the shape of activity verbs vs. state verbs, but also in connection with the

animacy vs. inanimacy distinction within Russian nouns. We demonstrated that in those cases where prepositions normally governing the genitive, the dative or the instrumental require the accusative, the only possible explanation is the notion of change of contact which implies a sort of comparison between two entities.

When the two cases are used in so-called temporal contexts, the picture is quite different. Here it was demonstrated that the locative case is incompatible with the notion of time and cannot but treat “time” as space, either as a concrete physical notion or as a set: if we forced the locative case to be interpreted as time, the utterances became ungrammatical. This means that in Russian it seems to be the case that the notion of time cannot be treated as space, i.e. in Russian we do not find a metaphorical understanding of time in terms of space. This conception is directly opposed to the standard viewpoint represented by Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976 and Lakoff 1993 that consider the time as space metaphor universal (for a critique of that, see Sinha and Gärdenfors 2014). The accusative is thus alone in treating temporal notions as time. It seems to be done in the same way all the time. The accusative establishes contact with a timeline, i.e., it forces the hearer to go from not being on that timeline to being on it. The contact will always involve a certain point in time and the hearer will always move from this point, typically forward, but s/he can also move backward. If it is a point in time which can be seen as having no extension, e.g., *at two o'clock*, the hearer will get into contact and get out of contact with the timeline at almost the same time thus indicating a change from before two o'clock to after two o'clock. It seems to be a characteristic feature of the accusative to establish contact with a new place or with a new point in time. This meaning is completely absent in the locative case which denotes stativity, i.e., staying at a place at a given time. However, one of the differences between the prepositions *v* and *na*, when they govern the locative case seems also to be indirectly connected to the stativity vs. dynamicity

distinction on which the original distinction between the accusative and the locative is based. In these cases, the preposition *na* implies that people are engaged in a role activity at that particular place without being explicit about its nature.

Summarizing we state that in the case of the accusative vs. locative distinction within the prepositional case system of Russian the locative is the marked member of the opposition, since it can only be applied to the domain of space. The accusative is the unmarked member of the opposition, since it can be used about the spatial domain as well as the temporal domain. This may well be connected to the fact that it is only possible to have permanent contact with a location, but not with a timeline (time moves all the time), whereas it is possible to get into contact with both a timeline and a place.

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