

Two predicative-of-state constructions in Russian and Serbian

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with Russian and Serbian predicative-of-state lexemes (L_{PS}) that denote psychological states of persons, focusing on two syntactic constructions controlled by such lexemes (L_{PS} constructions). An L_{PS} is an adverb that has adjectival semantics but quite particular syntactic properties: it is invariable and accepts only adverbial intensifiers; it can be used only predicatively—with a copula-like support verb, and a noun in the dative or the accusative, which expresses the Experiencer of the state denoted by the L_{PS} . As a particular L_{PS} construction is fully determined by its controlling L_{PS} , a lexicographic description of L_{PS} constructions is called for. Such a description—embedded in the lexical entries of L_{PS} s—is based on Meaning-Text dependency syntax and Explanatory Combinatorial Lexicology. The lexical entries for two Russian and two Serbian L_{PS} s are presented.

KEYWORDS dependency syntax · explanatory combinatorial lexicology · predicative-of-state lexemes/constructions · Russian · Serbian

1 THE GOAL: A FORMAL DESCRIPTION OF PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE CONSTRUCTIONS

Slavic languages feature an important set of semantically related syntactic constructions that essentially involve category-of-state lexemes, a.k.a. predicatives-of-state (from now on, L_{PS} , for 'lexeme that is a predicative of state').¹ For instance:

- (1) a. Mari-i bylo stydno / grustno / len'. (Russian)
Mary-DAT be.PST.N.3SG ashamed / sad / laziness
'Mary was ashamed / sad / feeling lazy.'
b. Mn-e žalko / žal' Mari-ju.
me-DAT sorry / sorrow Mary-ACC
'I feel sorry for Mary.'
- (2) a. Marij-i nije drago / žao / frka. (Serbian)
Mary-DAT not.be.PRS.3SG pleasing / sorry / fright
'Mary is not pleased / sorry / afraid.'
b. Marij-u je sramota / strah.
Mary-ACC be.PRS.3SG shame / fear
'Mary is ashamed / afraid.'

Semantically, an L_{PS} denotes a particular state of something. Mainly, it is either an internal state of a being X (Rus. X-*u grustno* lit. 'To.X it is feeling.sad' = 'X is sad' / Serb. X-*u*

¹The term "category-of-state lexeme" is due to the Russian linguist Lev Ščerba (2004 [1928]), who proposed this lexical class to be considered a separate part of speech. However, Ju. Apresjan (1985:302–308), while offering a precise characterization of Russian category-of-state lexemes, demonstrated that they do not form a part of speech of their own. They are adverbs used only as copular complements of the verb БЫТ 'be' (that is, predicatively) and carry specific syntactic features that ensure their use in the corresponding constructions. The term "predicatives-of-state" seems quite appropriate.

je žao lit. ‘To X it is feeling.pity’ = ‘X is sorry’) or the state of some atmospheric/natural surroundings X (Rus. *Xolodno* / Serb. *Hladno je* ‘It is cold’). The present paper deals exclusively with a subclass of L_{PS} in Russian and Serbian—namely, with those L_{PS} that denote feelings or emotional attitudes. The choice of these two languages is motivated, beyond the fact that they are our respective mother tongues, by interesting discrepancies in semantic, syntactic and morphological behavior of the Russian and Serbian L_{PS} , mirrored, correspondingly, in other East Slavic and South Slavic languages, which also have lexemes of this type. Thus, we hope that our study will also facilitate future exploration of a larger field.

Syntactically, an L_{PS} is used only predicatively, that is, only as a complement of an obligatory support (“light”) verb $V_{(support)}$. In other words, an L_{PS} appears exclusively in a syntactic construction consisting of the following three main components:

- A $V_{(support)}$, which morphologically is a copular verb: Rus. BYT’ / Serb. BITI ‘be’, Rus. BYVAT’ / Serb. BIVATI ‘be from time to time’, Rus. STAT’, *infrml* SDELAT’SJA / Serb. PASTI, DOĆI ‘become’.² Used as a $V_{(support)}$ with an L_{PS} , this verb shows all the complex morphological particularities of the Slavic copula. But semantically and syntactically it has nothing to do with a copula! This $V_{(support)}$ can be impersonal (= have no semantically full surface-syntactic subject) and even have a direct object; in the construction under study, it acquires quite a specific government pattern.³ The $V_{(support)}$ is, of course, the syntactic head of the construction under consideration.
- A noun N_X that denotes the person X—the Experiencer of the state denoted by L_{PS} . This noun is the indirect, or sometimes direct, object of $V_{(support)}$.
- An L_{PS} that denotes the internal state of the person X and is the copular-completive dependent of $V_{(support)}$. From the part-of-speech viewpoint, L_{PS} s are quirky surface-syntactic adverbs, which by their origins can be:
 - Adverbs with the productive derivational suffix *-o*, which look deceptively like neuter gender short-form adjectives in the case of Russian or singular neuter gender adjectives in the case of Serbian (for instance, Rus. TJAŽELO / Serb. TEŠKO ‘feeling hard’).
 - Former nouns used in modern language as adverbs (Rus. OXOTA ‘[the] desire [to do something]’ / Serb. SRAMOTA ‘[the] shame’).
 - Adverbial idioms (Rus. ‘DO LAMPOČKI’ ‘feeling indifferent’, lit. ‘up.to a.light.bulb’; ‘VSĖ RAVNO’ ‘feeling indifferent’, lit. ‘everything equal’ / Serb. ‘PO VOLJI’ ‘feeling agreeable’, lit. ‘on will’; ‘SVE JEDNO’ ‘feeling indifferent’, lit. ‘everything one’).
 - Fossilized infinitives (in Russian only: PLEVAT’ ‘not give a damn’, lit. ‘to.spit’).

The adverbial nature of these items is evident: they are invariable and accept only adverbial modifiers like Rus. OČEN’ ‘very’ / Serb. MNOGO ‘much’.

It is the L_{PS} that fully controls the construction—in the sense that it determines, via its government pattern, the construction’s syntactic organization; therefore, it is natural to call this construction an L_{PS} construction.

Schematically, an L_{PS} construction has the following surface-syntactic [SSynt-]structure:

$$N_X \leftarrow \text{direct/indirect objectival} - V_{(support)} - \text{copular completive} \rightarrow L_{PS}$$

With many L_{PS} s such as those in (1) and (2) the verb $V_{(support)}$ has a zero dummy (i.e., “covert”) surface-syntactic subject.⁴ For this reason, L_{PS} constructions are often called “impersonal”. However, quite a few of them do have a referential surface-syntactic subject—a demonstrative pronoun (Rus. ÈTO ‘this’ / Serb. TO ‘that’) or an infinitive; for instance:

²In Russian, some L_{PS} s accept a few other verbs in this role, e.g., KAZAT’SJA ‘seem’ and OKAZAT’SJA ‘turn out to be’.

³Roughly, the “subcategorization frame” or the “argument structure”.

⁴On zero wordforms, zero lexemes and zero empty lexemes, see Mel’čuk (2006:469–516).

- (3) a. (i) **Ėto** mne bylo vsě ravno.
'This was the same to me.'
(ii) **Govorit'** takoe Ivanu kazalos' stydno.⁵
'It seemed shameful to Ivan to say something like this.' (Russian)
- b. [Čula sam da su se videli] i **to** mi je bilo krivo.
'[I heard that they saw each other,] and this felt wrong to me.' (Serbian)

Some L_{PS} can control both construction types (this means that such L_{PS} have two government patterns), see §4.2.1 and §4.2.2 below.

In a full-fledged clause an L_{PS} can be used only as the base in a collocation with $V_{(support)}$ as the collocate: an L_{PS} never appears in a clause without $V_{(support)}$ (that is, an L_{PS} is a unilexeme or a quasi-unilexeme, see Mel'čuk 2023:46).⁶ This fact entails a particular behavior of the L_{PS} 's syntactic actants, some of which are transferred from it to $V_{(support)}$, obligatorily or optionally—depending on the L_{PS} . As a result, the government pattern of both the L_{PS} and the $V_{(support)}$ must be specified in such a way as to accommodate these particularities.

A general review of the semantic and syntactic behavior of L_{PS} s in Russian and other Slavic languages is found in Zimmerling & Trubicina (2015), Zimmerling (2018) and Stamenov & Zimmerling (2022), where a comprehensive bibliography of the question is provided. L_{PS} constructions in Russian and Serbian are dealt with in Vinogradov (1986 [1947]:330–348), Piper et al. (2005:196–197, 605ff), Mrazović (2009:540ff), Kabanova (2012), Belaj (2015), Daković (2015), Markova (2015), Letučij (2016, 2022), and Kustova (2024). These studies present factual data about L_{PS} s in great detail, and we liberally use this data.

The present paper considers only L_{PS} constructions where the L_{PS} denotes a psychological state of X and only two formal types of those in Russian and Serbian: one where L_{PS} is an adverb in *-o* and another one with L_{PS} being an adverb that is etymologically a noun. Our goal is as follows:

Based on known facts about L_{PS} in Slavic, we propose a **formal description** of two particular types of the L_{PS} construction in Russian and Serbian on the semantic, deep-syntactic, surface-syntactic and deep-morphological levels of linguistic representation. Because of the L_{PS} 's dominant role in our construction, all information concerning the construction is stored in the L_{PS} 's lexical entry. In other words, the description of Russian and Serbian L_{PS} constructions presented below is **essentially lexicographic**.

The organization of this paper is straightforward: the construction with the L_{PS} = adverb in *-o* is treated in §2, and the construction where the L_{PS} is etymologically a noun in §3; adverbial L_{PS} s are represented by Rus. *STYDNO1* '[be] ashamed'/*STYDNO2* '[be] shameful' and Serb. *KRIVO* 'feeling [something is] unfair'; pseudonominal L_{PS} s are exemplified by Rus. *LENII* '[be] feeling laziness' and Serb. *SRAMOTAII* '[be] feeling shame'. In each case we give an illustrative sentence featuring one of these lexemes and the formal representations of this sentence, that is, of the L_{PS} construction, accompanied with comments and explanations. §4 proposes lexical entries for the five L_{PS} lexemes under study, and §5 offers a conclusion.

The description is carried out in terms of the Meaning-Text approach to language—spe-

⁵An interesting subtlety concerning the infinitive depending on *STYDNO1* is described in Kustova (2024:§3.2). If this infinitive is a verb of thinking or perceiving (for instance, *VSPOMINAT'* 'to remember' or *SLYŠAT'* 'to hear'), it is possible that it does not express the semantic actant 'Y' of *STYDNO1* (= what the person X is ashamed of), but expresses instead the "channel" by which X becomes aware of Y: *Marii bylo stydno uznat'/pročitat', čto ty tak postupil* 'Mary was ashamed to learn/read that you had acted in such a way'. Mary was ashamed not of the fact of her learning about your act, but of your specific act. A full version of the lexical entry of *STYDNO1* must include a provision that ensures the proper treatment of such infinitives.

⁶Actually, some L_{PS} s can also function as a clausative—that is, as a complete interjection-like utterance signaling the Speaker's inner state, more precisely, his opinion about the situation in question: *Stydno!* 'Shameful!' / *Sramota!* 'Shame!' = 'I signal that I find this shameful'. Such uses are specified in the corresponding lexical entries; see, for instance, §4.1.1 at the end of the lexical entry for *STYDNO2*.

Russian	Serbian
GRUSTNO ‘feeling sadness’, LEGKO ≈ ‘feeling nice’, NEPRIJATNO ‘feeling unpleasant’, ODINOKO ‘feeling lonely’, PLOXO ‘feeling unwell’, PRIJATNO ‘feeling pleasure’, STYDNO ‘feeling shame’, TJAŽELO ‘feeling hard’, VESELO ‘feeling cheerful’, XOROŠO ‘feeling well = at ease’, ŽALKO ‘feeling pity’, etc.	DRAGO ‘feeling pleasure’, KRIVO ‘feeling [smth. is] unfair’, LEPO ‘feeling nice’, LOŠE ‘feeling unwell’, MUČNO ‘feeling moral pain’, PRAVO ‘feeling [smth. is] fair’, SRAMNO/SRAMOTNO ‘causing to feel shame’, TEŠKO ‘feeling hard’, TUŽNO ‘feeling sadness’, ŽAO ‘feeling pity’, etc.

Table 1: Some Russian and Serbian adverbial predicatives-of-state

cifically, in the framework of Explanatory Combinatorial Lexicology (Melčuk & Žolkovskij 2016, Melčuk 2013: ch.11, Melčuk 2015 and Melčuk 2023) and of dependency syntax (Melčuk 1988, 2021). We presuppose some familiarity of the reader with such basic notions as the “semantic representation” of utterances, “syntactic dependency”, “dependency tree”, “deep” and “surface syntax”, “semantic” and “syntactic actants”, as well as with the corresponding formalisms.

2 THE PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE CONSTRUCTION WHERE L_{PS} IS AN ADVERB IN -O

2.1 INVENTORY AND PROPERTIES OF ADVERBIAL L_{PS} S

Both Russian and Serbian feature numerous adverbial predicatives-of-state in -o, as shown in Table 1.⁷ The adverbial L_{PS} s in Table 1 are glossed quite approximately—because of their “split personality”: their semantics is typically adjectival (they characterize a person according to his/her emotional state), but their syntactic and morphological properties are those of adverbs (they can be modified only by adverbs, do not agree with anything and are invariable).

Note, by the way, that $V_{(support)}$ in our construction shows no less of “split personality disorder”: its morphology is that of a Slavic copula, while its meaning and syntactic properties are as far from those of a copula as can be.

Moreover, all Russian and Serbian L_{PS} s also show a crucial semantic ~ syntactic mismatch concerning the Experiencer: semantically, the Experiencer occupies the central position, being semantic actant **I** of the ‘ L_{PS} ’ semanteme; but syntactically, it takes a much less prominent role, that of DSynt-actant **III** of $V_{(support)}$ in the collocation $V_{(support)} - \text{II} \rightarrow L_{PS}$, implemented as a direct/indirect object (rather than the syntactic subject) of this $V_{(support)}$, which, in many cases, has a dummy surface-syntactic-subject.⁸ In contrast, the English sentence corresponding to a Russian/Serbian one containing a L_{PS} lexeme features no similar distortions, but a trivial alignment of the Experiencer with the surface-syntactic subject.

SEMANTICS	SYNTAX
‘She _{EXPERIENCER} ← I – feels shame’	⇔ English
	SHE _{NOM} ← I/subj – BE – II/copul – compl → ASHAMED
	⇔ Russian
	ONA _{DAT} ← III/indir-obj – BYT’ – II/copul – compl → STYDNO I
⇔ Serbian	ONA _{DAT} ← III/indir-obj – BYT’ – II/copul – compl → SRAMOTNO I
	ONA _{ACC} ← III/dir-obj – BITI – II/copul – compl → SRAMOTNO II

⁷According to Zimmerling (2017:§3.1), Russian has over 300 predicatives-of-state (lexemes and idioms), most of which are adverbs.

⁸It is DSynt-actant **III** of $V_{(support)}$ because DSynt-actant **I** of $V_{(support)}$ is absent (the $V_{(support)}$ being impersonal), and its DSynt-actant **II** is its keyword, that is, the L_{PS} itself.

2.2 ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES WITH ADVERBIAL L_{PS} AND THEIR FORMAL REPRESENTATIONS

The formal representations adduced below are simplified; namely:

- Semantic representations, which are language-specific (each language having its own set of semantemes), are nevertheless written in English—to facilitate the task of the reader. Thus, instead of Rus. 'stydit'sja'/'stydno₁', we put into the Sem-structure Eng. 'feel.shame', etc. We resort to native semantemes only if English has no direct correspondents for them, as is the case with Serb. KRIVO 'feeling [something is] unfair' (§2.2.2).
- The details of sentence representations irrelevant for the present discussion are not shown. Thus, in Figure 1a below, Sem-actant 'Z' of STYDNO₁ (the Audience) is omitted, as well as its syntactic implementation; the same is true about Sem-actant 'Y' of 'words' (about what?).

In all examples presenting an L_{PS} , the DSynt-actants indicated by subscripts are numbered with respect to the L_{PS} 's support verb, that is, with respect to the syntactic head of the clause, rather than to the L_{PS} itself. This means that in the examples the actant numbers are "shifted" with respect to the numbers of the genuine DSynt-actants of L_{PS} , as specified in its government pattern. This happens because (i) the L_{PS} becomes a DSynt-actant of the support verb and (ii) some of its actants migrate to the support verb, as will be explained immediately below, in §2.2.1. The reader should be aware of this complication lest confusion ensue.

2.2.1 RUSSIAN L_{PS} STYDNO_{1/2} 'FEELING ASHAMED/SHAMEFUL'

The illustrative sentence for L_{PS} STYDNO₁ 'feeling ashamed' (see Figures 1a–1d):

- (4) Marii bylo za èti slova očēn' stydno.
lit. 'To.Mary it was for these words very feeling.shame.' =
'Mary felt very ashamed of these words.'

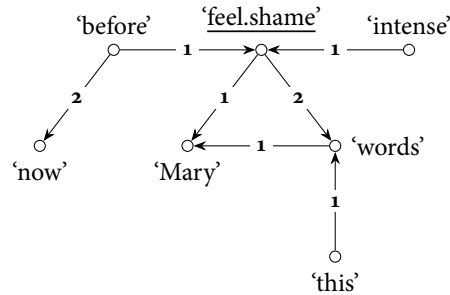


Figure 1a: Semantic structure of sentence (4)

The $Oper_0$ verb in the collocation BYT' STYDNO₁ 'be ashamed' has DSyntAs **II**, **III** and **IV**, but no DSyntA **I**, while the verb BYT' implementing it in the SSyntS features a zero empty subject $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY}$ (see Mel'čuk 2015: 67–68).⁹ (Because of such cases L_{PS} constructions are often called "impersonal".)

⁹The absence of DSyntA **I** in the government pattern of a lexeme in the presence of DSyntA **II** is well known. So-called "impersonal verbs", which lack DSyntA **I**, but have DSyntA **II**, **III**, ..., are found in many languages:

- Fr. FALLOIR ≈ 'to be needed': *Il lui_{III} faut rester_{II}* lit. 'It to.him is.needed to.stay' = 'He has to stay'.
- Rus. RVAT' 'to vomit': *Menja_{ACC-II} rvët* lit. 'It me vomits' = 'I vomit'.
- Lat. PUDĒRE 'to shame': *Pudet me_{ACC-II}* lit. 'It shames me' = 'I am ashamed'.

The verb in (i) features a non-zero semantically empty SSynt-subject, the impersonal pronoun *il* 'it', to which no DSynt-actant corresponds. The verbs in (ii) and (iii) have zero empty subjects, "visible" at the SSynt-level (through the agreement of the Main Verb), but having no correspondence in deep syntax.

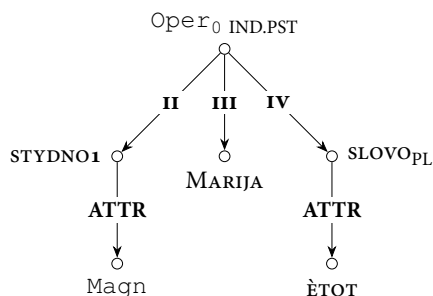


Figure 1b: Deep-syntactic structure of sentence (4)

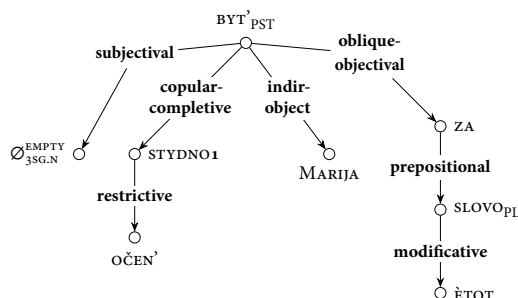


Figure 1c: Surface-syntactic structure of sentence (4)

MARIJA_{DAT} BYT'_{PST,3SG.N} ZA ÈTOT_{PL,ACC} SLOVO_{PL,ACC} OČEN' STYDNO₁

Figure 1d: Deep-morphological structure of sentence (4)

Figures 1b and 1c show actant transfer, a.k.a. actant migration, or actant raising (Mel'čuk 2022:13–14): in a collocation of the form $V_{(\text{support})} \rightarrow L_{PS}$, the DSynt-actants (and the SSynt-actants) of L_{PS} can or must pass to $V_{(\text{support})}$. In our case, the transfer of the actant MARIJA is obligatory, and that of the actant SLOVO_{PL} 'words', optional.¹⁰ To account for this phenomenon, an L_{PS} 's lexical entry must be supplied with additional data: on the one hand, special DSynt-actant transfer rules attached to L_{PS} 's government pattern, and on the other, specific government patterns for L_{PS} 's $V_{(\text{support})}$ s; see lexical entries for Russian and Serbian L_{PS} s below. (Actant migration in regular collocations was thoroughly studied in Alonso Ramos 2004, 2007; with respect to Russian, similar observations are presented in Iomdin & Iomdin 2014.)

The illustrative sentence for L_{PS} STYDNO₂ 'feeling.shameful' (see Figures 2a–2d):

- (5) Idti_I tuda Marii_{III} bylo očen' stydno_{II}.
lit. 'To.go there to.Mary was very feeling.shameful.' = 'To go there was very shameful to Mary.' ≈ 'Mary felt very ashamed to go there.'

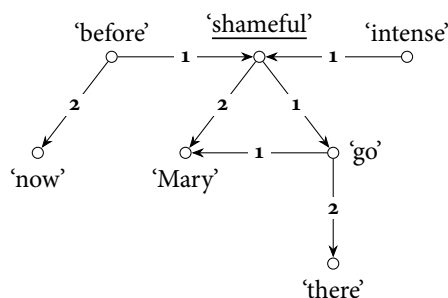


Figure 2a: Semantic structure of sentence (5)

Semantic differences between the two co-polysemous lexemes, STYDNO₁ and STYDNO₂, will be addressed in their lexical entries (§4). Here, it suffices to note that (BYT') STYDNO₁ and (BYT') STYDNO₂ are reciprocally conversive, which means that the sentences such as those in (6) are mutual paraphrases:

- (6) a. Za takoj postupok_{IV} Marii_{III} bylo stydno_{1II} pered Petej_V.
lit. 'For such an.act to.Mary it was feeling.shame before Pete.'

¹⁰This means that the lexeme SLOVO_{PL} can syntactically depend either on the L_{PS} STYDNO or on the verb BYT'.

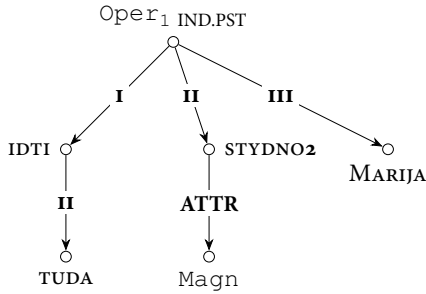


Figure 2b: Deep-syntactic structure of sentence (5)

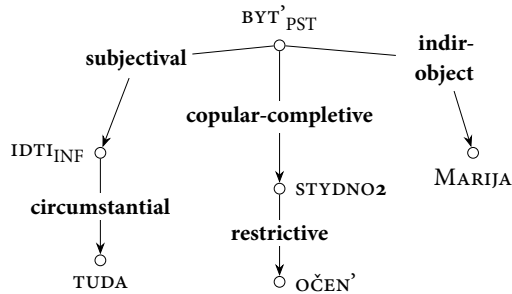


Figure 2c: Surface-syntactic structure of sentence (5)

IDTI_{INF} TUDA MARIJA_{DAT} BYT'_{PST,3SG.N} OČEN' STYDNO₂

Figure 2d: Deep-morphological structure of sentence (5)

- b. Postupit'_I tak Marii_{III} bylo stydno_{1II} pored Petej_{IV}.
lit. 'To.act in.such.a.way to.Mary was feeling.shameful before Pete.'

2.2.2 SERBIAN L_{PS} KRIVO 'FEELING THAT SOMETHING IS UNFAIR'

The illustrative sentence for L_{PS} KRIVO 'feeling [that something is] unfair' (see Figures 3a–3d):

- (7) Mariji je krivo zbog tih reči.
lit. 'To.Mary it is feeling.that.smth.is.unfair because.of those words.' ≈
'Those words feel unfair to Mary.'

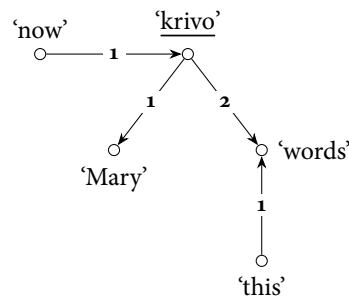


Figure 3a: Semantic structure of sentence (7)

There is no direct equivalent for KRIVO in English. (The closest translation we could find—'something feels unfair to someone'—makes KRIVO appear as less of a feeling than it really is.) Because of that, we kept the semanteme 'krivo' in the Sem-structure above.

The 'words' in the above Sem-structure could have been uttered by Mary or by somebody else; neither the utterer nor the content of these words is represented.

In addition to controlling an impersonal construction, as in (7), KRIVO can control a personal construction featuring the demonstrative pronoun TO 'that' in the role of the syntactic subject, as in *To mi je krivo* lit. 'That to.me is feeling.unfair'. This means that in the lexical entry for KRIVO, not one but two government patterns must be specified. The same also applies to the L_{PS} SRAMOTA_{II} (§3.2.2).

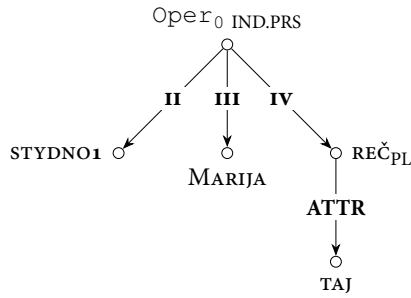


Figure 3b: Deep-syntactic structure of sentence (7)

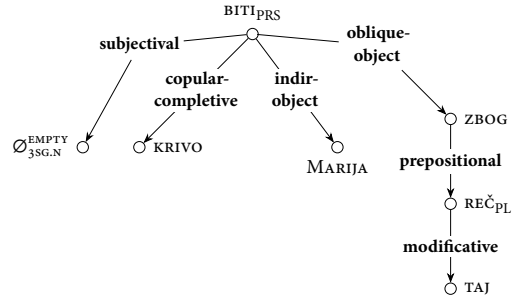


Figure 3c: Surface-syntactic structure of sentence (7)

MARIJA_{DAT} BITI_{PRS,3SG} KRIVO ZBOG TAJ_{PL,GEN} REČ_{PL,GEN}

Figure 3d: Deep-morphological structure of sentence (7)

3 THE PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE CONSTRUCTION WHERE L_{PS} IS AN ADVERB THAT IS ETYMOLOGICALLY A NOUN

3.1 INVENTORY AND PROPERTIES OF PSEUDONOMINAL L_{PS} S

There are only a handful of L_{PS} s that are “ex-noun” adverbs in both languages (Table 2).

Russian	Serbian
LEN _{II} lit. ‘feeling laziness’, NEDOSUG lit. ‘feeling lack of time’, NEOXOTA lit. ‘feeling non-desire’, OXOTA ‘feeling desire’, ŽAL ‘feeling pity/regret’	coll. BLAM ‘feeling shame’, BRIGA ‘feeling worry’, SRAMOTA/SRAM/STID / liter. or arch. ZAZOR ‘feeling shame’, poet. ŽAL ‘feeling regret’, STRAH ‘feeling fear’, MUKA lit. ‘nausea’ [fig.] = ‘feeling disgust’, coll. SMOR lit. ‘tiredness’ [fig.] = ‘feeling boredom/exasperation’

Table 2: Some Russian and Serbian adverbial predicatives-of-state that are etymologically nouns

In the constructions under study these lexemes are surface-syntactic adverbs: they are invariable and accept as intensifiers only adverbs like Rus. OČEN’ ‘very’ and Serb. MNOGO ‘much’; no adjective is possible with them. In colloquial Russian, there are a few L_{PS} -nouns that remain nouns while being used in an L_{PS} construction as the copular complement of a $V_{(support)}$: they accept modifying adjectives. Such nouns include MUKA ‘suffering’, PYTKA ‘torture’ and RADOST’ ‘joy’: *Sidet’ tam byl+o mne užasnaja muka* lit. ‘Be.sitting there was to.me terrible suffering’. These cases are not covered by the description proposed here.

Finally, in both Russian and Serbian, there are cases of variability in the syntax of an L_{PS} , which leads to different syntactic structures of the resulting constructions. Thus, Rus. PORA/VREMJA ‘time [to do smth.]’ and Serb. coll. FRKA ‘fear’ can be used either in an L_{PS} construction, or as the surface-syntactic subject of a $V_{(support)}$: (8-a) vs. (8-b) and (9-a) vs. (9-b).

- (8) Rus. PORA ‘time [to do Y]’
 a. $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY}$ Pora_{II} mne_{IV} byl+o uxodit’_{III}.
 lit. ‘It time to.me was to.leave’

- b. $\text{Pora}_I \text{ mne}_{III} \text{ byl} + \text{a uxodit}'_{II}.$
lit. 'Time to.me was to.leave.' = 'It was time for me to leave.'
- (9) Serb. coll. FRKA 'fear'
- a. $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \text{ bil} + \text{o me}_{ACC-III} \text{ je frka}_{II} \rightarrow \text{da budem sam}.$
lit. 'It been me is fear that I.will.be alone.'
- b. $\text{Bil} + \text{a mi}_{DAT-II} \text{ je-subj} \rightarrow \text{frka}_I \rightarrow \text{da budem sam}.$
lit. 'Been to.me is fear that I.will.be alone.' = 'I was afraid to be alone.'

This paper covers only the first version—with the unruly noun used as an adverb.

Serbian L_{PS} constructions feature an interesting particularity: in contrast to Russian, some Serbian L_{PS} s that are etymological nouns impose the accusative case on the noun that expresses the Experiencer (e.g., SRAMOTA 'feeling shame' and STRAH 'fear'), while other L_{PS} s require the expected dative (e.g., MUKA 'disgust'). There are also a few pseudonominal L_{PS} s with which both the accusative and the dative case for the Experiencer are possible (e.g., coll. BLAM 'feeling shame'). However, this may be a result of cross-contamination that happens easily in casual speech.

3.2 ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES WITH PSEUDONOMINAL L_{PS} S AND THEIR FORMAL REPRESENTATIONS

3.2.1 RUSSIAN L_{PS} LEN'II 'FEELING LAZINESS'

The illustrative sentence for L_{PS} LEN'II 'feeling laziness' (see Figures 4a–4d):

- (10) $\text{Marii}_{III} \text{ bylo očen' len'}_{II} \text{ idti}_I \text{ tuda}.$
lit. 'To.Mary was very feeling.laziness to.go there.' =
'Mary felt very lazy to go there.'

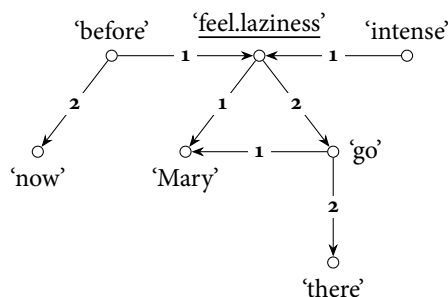


Figure 4a: Semantic structure of sentence (10)

The semanteme configuration 'feel laziness' describes—rather approximately—the meaning of the Russian verb LENIT'SJA 'čuvstvovat' leni' ≈ 'feel laziness' = 'feel desire not to do anything'. LEN' 'laziness' is a normal noun, which denotes a particular feeling: 'leni X-a' = 'X's permanent desire not to do anything'.

In sentence (11) the infinitive IDTI 'go' is DSynt-actant 1 and the SSynt-subject of BYT': it alternates with the pronouns ÈTO 'this' and VOT ČTO 'here is what', which are SSynt-subjects:

- (11) a. $\text{Idti}_I \text{ tuda Marii}_{DAT-III} \text{ bylo len'}_{II}.$
Lit. 'To.go there to.Mary was feeling.laziness.'
- b. $\text{A èto}_I \text{ Marii}_{DAT-III} \text{ bylo len'}_{II}.$
lit. 'And this to.Mary was feeling.laziness.'

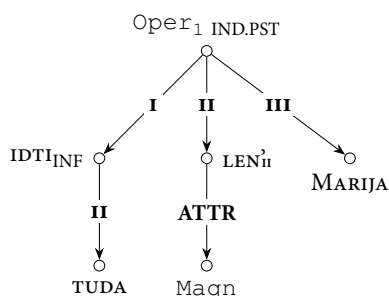


Figure 4b: Deep-syntactic structure of sentence (10)

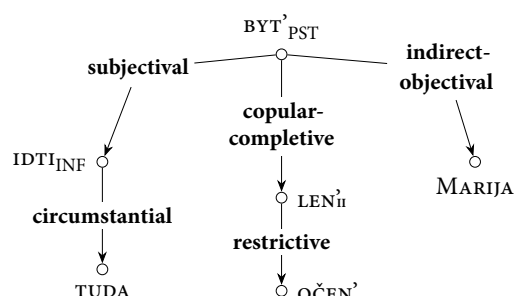


Figure 4c: Surface-syntactic structure of sentence (10)

MARIJA_{DAT} BYT'_{PST,3SG.N} OČEN' LEN'_{II} IDTI_{INF} TUDA

Figure 4d: Deep-morphological structure of sentence (10)

DSynt-actants **I** and **II** of LEN'_{II} obligatorily migrate to the V_(support), becoming its DSynt-actants **I** and **III**.

3.2.2 SERBIAN L_{PS} SRAMOTA_{II} '[BE] FEELING SHAME'

The illustrative sentence for L_{PS} SRAMOTA_{II} 'feeling shame' (see Figures 5a–5d):

- (12) Mariju_{ACC-III} je mnogo sramota od_V kolega zbog_{IV} te greške.
lit. 'Marija_{ACC} [= her] it is very feeling.shame of colleagues because.of that mistake.' = 'Mary is very ashamed before her colleagues for that mistake.'

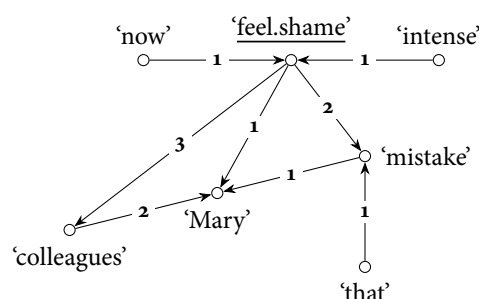


Figure 5a: Semantic structure of sentence (12)

4 LEXICAL ENTRIES FOR PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE LEXEMES UNDER STUDY

Lexical entries for Russian and Serbian L_{PS}s presented below do not claim to be complete and 100% accurate. However, establishing semantic and syntactic subtleties of the L_{PS}s under study is not relevant for our main purpose—the formal description of two particular types of the L_{PS} construction in Russian and Serbian.

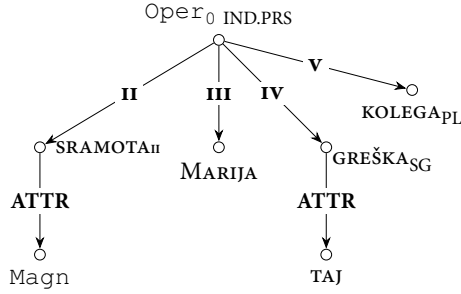


Figure 5b: Deep-syntactic structure of sentence (12)

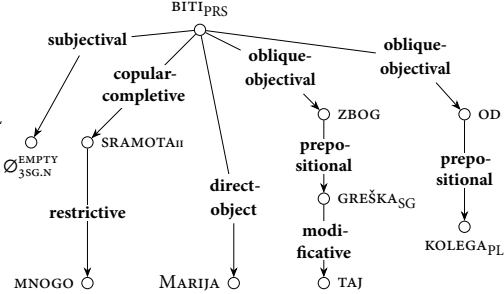


Figure 5c: Surface-syntactic structure of sentence (12)

MARIJA_{ACC} BITI_{PRS,3SG} MNOGO SRAMOTA_{II} OD KOLEGA_{PL,GEN} ZBOG TAJ_{FSG,GEN}
GREŠKA_{SG,GEN}

Figure 5d: Deep-morphological structure of sentence (12)

4.1 LEXICAL ENTRIES FOR THREE RUSSIAN PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE LEXEMES: STYDNO₁, STYDNO₂ AND LEN'II

4.1.1 LEXICAL SUPERENTRY FOR THE VOCABLE STYDNO 'FEELING ASHAMED'/'FEELING SHAMEFUL'

STYDNO, adverb; predicative of state [= used only as a copular complement of a support verb]; has an analytical comparative: (*eščë*) *bolee/menee stydno* 'even more/less ashamed/shameful'.¹¹

1. 'X-u stydno₁ za Y pered Z-om' ['X is ashamed for Y before Z']
Mne_X bylo stydno za èti slova_Y pered Petej_Z 'I was ashamed for these words before Pete.'
2. 'Y-it' stydno₂ X-u pered Z-om' ['to do Y is shameful to X before Z']
Govorit'_Y èto mne_X bylo stydno pered Petej_Z 'To say this was shameful to me before Pete.'

STYDNO₁ 'feeling.ashamed'

DEFINITION

'X-u Ø_{PRs}^{BYT} stydno₁ za Y pered Z-om' [lit. 'to.X it is ashamedly for Y before Z'] =
'X feels shame caused by Y before Z'

<i>byt' stydno₁</i>	= Conv ₀₁₂₃ (<i>stydit'sja</i> 'feel shame')
'Ø _{3SG,N} ^{EMPTY} X-u stydno ₁ za Y pered Z-om'	= 'X styditsja za Y pered Z-om'
lit. 'It is to.X feeling.shame for Y before Z'	= lit. 'X feels.shame for Y before Z'

¹¹This lexical entry is a corrected and expanded version of the corresponding lexical entry in Melčuk & Žolkovskij 2016: 471–472.

GOVERNMENT PATTERN

-----	'X' ⇔ II	'Y' ⇔ III	'Z' ⇔ IV
1. $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY}$	1. N_{DAT}	1. N_{GEN} 2. <i>za</i> N_{ACC} 3. <i>za to, čto</i> CLAUSE 4. V_{INF} 5. <i>čto</i> CLAUSE 6. <i>esli/kogda</i> CLAUSE	1. N_{GEN} 2. <i>pered</i> N_{INS}

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \Rightarrow \emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \leftarrow \text{subjectival-V}_{(support)}$
2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('X') \leftarrow II\text{-STYDNO1} \Rightarrow L('X') \leftarrow III\text{-V}_{(support)}$
3) $C_{II.1}$: N_{GEN} does not denote a person.
4) $C_{II.2-4}$: 'Y' takes place at present or in the future.
5) $C_{II.5}$: **no** $L('Y') \leftarrow III\text{-STYDNO1} \Rightarrow L('Y') \leftarrow IV\text{-V}_{(support)}$
[*Čto ja plakal, mne bylo stydno sosedej / pered sosedjami. The correct version: Mne bylo stydno sosedej / pered sosedjami, čto ja plakal.]
6) $C_{IV.1}$: N_{GEN} denotes a person.
7) **Impossible** : $C_{III.1/4} + C_{IV.1}$ [*Mne bylo stydno sosedej ètix slèz / plakat'.]¹²
8) **Undesirable** : $C_{III.2-3/5} + C_{IV.1}$ [??Mne bylo stydno sosedej za èti slèzy / (za to,) čto ja plakal.]

Reminder: In the illustrations below, DSynt-actants are numbered with respect to the Main Verb, i.e., the $V_{(support)}$, in this case—BYT'; the same is true for the government pattern in the entry for STYDNO2, as well as for all the lexical entries below.

- $C_{II} + C_{III.1}$: (*Mne*_{III}) *bylo*_{V(support)} *stydno*_{II} *ètix slèz*_{IV} lit. '(To.me) it was feeling.shame for these tears'.
 $C_{II} + C_{IV.1}$: (*Mne*_{III}) *bylo*_{V(support)} *stydno*_{II} *druzej*_V lit. '(To.me) it was feeling.shame before friends'.
 $C_{II} + C_{III.2-5} + C_{IV.2}$: (*Mne*_{III}) $\emptyset_{PRSV(support)}^{BYT'}$ *stydno*_{II} *pered toboj*_V (*za èti slova*_{IV} / *plakat'* / (*za to,*) *čto ja plakal*_{IV}) lit. '(To.me) it is feeling.shame (before you) (for these words / for the fact that I cried)'.
 $C_{II} + C_{III.6-7} + C_{IV.2}$: (*Mne*_{III}) $\emptyset_{PRSV(support)}^{BYT'}$ *stydno*_{II} (*pered gostjami*_V) (*esli/kogda kofe* $\emptyset_{PRSV}^{BYT'}$ *xolodnoe* lit. '(To.me) it is feeling.shame (before the.guests) (if/when coffee is [served] cold)').

LEXICAL FUNCTIONS

- Syn_n : *sovestno* 'feeling embarrassed'
 $Conv_{324}$: *stydno2* 'feeling shameful'
 $Conv_{324}V_0$: *stydit'sja* 'feel ashamed'
Magn : *očen'* 'very' < coll. *bezumno* 'madly', coll. *diko* 'wildly', *mučitel'no* 'excruciatingly', *nevynosimo* 'unbearably', *neverojatno* 'unbelievably', coll. *užasno* 'terribly', coll. *zverski* 'beastly', coll. *žutko* 'horribly'; 'do slèz' 'up to tears'
AntiMagn : *nemnogo* 'a little'
NonMagn + NonAntiMagn : *dovol'no* 'sufficiently'

¹²This constraint manifests a general syntactic regularity of Russian: two nominal actants in the genitive with the same governor are forbidden.

$Oper_0$	: <i>byt</i> 'be' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>za</i> N_{Y-ACC} <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
$IncepOper_0$	: <i>infrml</i> <i>sdelat'sja</i> 'become', <i>stat</i> 'become' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>za</i> N_{Y-ACC} <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
from time to time $Oper_0$	: <i>byvat</i> 'be from time to time' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>za</i> N_{Y-ACC} <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
«I signal that X should be ashamed»	: <i>infrml</i> <i>Kak</i> [N_{X-DAT}] <i>ne stydno!</i> lit. 'How [$to.N_X$] is not ashamedly!'

EXAMPLES

Ivanu mozet stat' stydno za cto ugodno 'Ivan can become ashamed of anything'. | *Ivanu bylo nemnogo stydno svoix myslej* 'Ivan was a bit ashamed of his thoughts'. | *Ivanu sdelalos očen' stydno, cto on solgal* lit. 'To.Ivan it became very feeling.shame that he had.lied'. | *Mne byvalo užasno stydno pered ljud'mi, kogda moj rebēnok sebja ploxo vėl* 'I used to be terribly ashamed before people (each time), when my kid was misbehaving'. | *Mne stydno žalovat'sja* 'I am ashamed to complain'.

REMARKS

[1] The government pattern in this entry (just like all those in the subsequent entries) is more complex than habitual government patterns seen beforehand in numerous Meaning-Text style lexical entries; this calls for an explanation.

This entry's headword (STYDNO₁, an L_{PS}) is used only together with a $V_{(support)}$ —most often, one of the lexemes of the verb BYT' 'be'. As a result, its government pattern describes in fact the actantial structure not of the headword alone, but that of the whole resulting collocation *byt' stydno* [= $Oper_0-II \rightarrow STYDNO_1$]. Some of the DSynt-actants that in the lexical entry are conventionally ascribed to STYDNO₁ are obligatorily transferred in the DSynt-structure to the support verb, i.e., to BYT'; for more on this, see the next remark. Such organization of the government pattern is characteristic for all (quasi-)unilexemes, but not only for those: in principle, it concerns all bases of support verb collocations. Generally speaking, any noun used as the base of a collocation with a $V_{(support)}$ can or must transfer at least some of its DSyntAs to this $V_{(support)}$. While this fact has been known for quite some time, this broader perspective on the government pattern has not been seriously addressed. (Its proper theorizing will require modifications to the definition of the deep-syntactic actant: one has to take into account the possibility for a DSyntA to be joined to its headword not directly, but via a support verb. There are languages in which a noun can govern the expression of its Sem-actants only or predominantly by means of a $V_{(support)}$: for instance, Hungarian and Somali.)

[2] The rules that follow the government pattern specify DSynt-actant migration from the headword to a $V_{(support)}$ in the corresponding collocation.

The rule "1) C_I : **obligatory** $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \Rightarrow \emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \leftarrow \text{subjective-}V_{(support)}$ " stipulates that in the SSynt-structure the Main Verb BYT' must receive a zero dummy subject.

The rule "2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('X') \leftarrow II-STYDNO_1 \Rightarrow L('X') \leftarrow III-V_{(support)}$ " stipulates that in the DSynt-structure the DSynt-actant II of STYDNO₁, i.e., $L('X')$, is obligatorily transferred to the support verb as its DSyntA III.

The rule "5) $C_{II,5}$: **no** $L('Y') \leftarrow III-STYDNO_1 \Rightarrow L('Y') \leftarrow IV-V_{(support)}$ " disallows the transfer of DSynt-actant III from STYDNO₁ to the $V_{(support)}$.

The similar rules in the lexical entries of other L_{PS} s described below play the same role.

All DSyntAs of the headword L_{PS} that are not affected by the rules of this type can be transferred—except in cases where there is an explicit restriction: "This DSynt-actant, or this particular surface implementation of it, is not transferrable to the support verb."

[3] Actant migration requires that a $V_{(support)}$ receive—in the lexical entry of its collocational base—a particular government pattern. This is seen, in the above lexical

entry, with the value elements of $Oper_0$, $IncepOper_0$ and from time to time $Oper_0$. These government patterns are no more than a schematic illustration; in reality, they must be as full-fledged and detailed as the government pattern of the L_{PS} itself.

4 A subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction OTTOGO, ČTO ‘because’ or POTOMU, ČTO ‘because’ and depending on BYT’ or on STYDNO1 is not an actant, but a causal circumstantial; such a circumstantial is possible with any lexeme.

STYDNO2 ‘feeling.shameful’

DEFINITION

‘Y-it’ $\emptyset_{PRS}^{BYT}$ stydno2 X-u pered Z-om’ [lit. ‘to.do.Y is feeling.shameful to.X before Z’] = ‘to do Y causes X to feel shame’

<i>byt’ stydno2</i>	= $Conv_{213\Delta}$ (<i>stydit’sja</i> ‘feel shame’)
‘Y-it’ stydno2 X-u pered Z-om’	= ‘X dolžen stydit’sja Y-it’ pered Z-om’
lit. ‘To.do.Y to.X is feeling.shameful to.X before Z’	= lit. ‘X should feel.shame to.do.Y before Z’

GOVERNMENT PATTERN

‘Y’ $\Leftrightarrow$ I	‘X’ $\Leftrightarrow$ II	‘Z’ $\Leftrightarrow$ III
1. ÈTO ‘this’ 2. ‘VOT ČTO’ lit. ‘here what’ 3. V_{INF}	1. N_{DAT}	1. <i>pered</i> N_{INS}

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** $L(‘Y’) \leftarrow I - STYDNO2 \Rightarrow L(‘Y’) \leftarrow I - V_{(support)}$
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L(‘X’) \leftarrow II - STYDNO2 \Rightarrow L(‘X’) \leftarrow III - V_{(support)}$
 «– Stydno!», skazal Ivan. ‘—It is shameful!», Ivan said.

$C_{I.1} + C_{II} + C_{III}$: Èto_I / Vot čto_I (*mne*_{III}) bylo stydno_{II} (*pered sosedjami*_{IV}) lit. ‘This / ≈ Here what (to.me) was feeling.shameful (before neighbours)’.
 $C_{I.2} + C_{II} + C_{III}$: Idti_I tuda (*mne*_{III}) stydno_{II} (*pered sosedjami*_{IV}) lit. ‘To.go there (to.me) is feeling.shameful (before neighbours)’.

LEXICAL FUNCTIONS

Syn_n	: <i>neudobno</i> ‘feeling embarrassed’
A_0	: <i>postydnyj</i> ‘shameful’; <i>pozornyj</i> ‘disgraceful’
$Conv_{213}V_0$	: <i>stydit’sja</i> ‘feel ashamed’
Magn	: <i>očen’</i> ‘very’ < coll. <i>diko</i> ‘wildly’, coll. <i>užasno</i> ‘terribly’, coll. <i>zverski</i> ‘beastly’, coll. <i>žutko</i> ‘horribly’
AntiMagn	: <i>nemnogo</i> ‘a little’
NonMagn + NonAntiMagn	: <i>dovol’no</i> ‘sufficiently’
$Oper_0$	: <i>byt’</i> ‘be’ [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
$IncepOper_0$	: <i>infrml</i> <i>sdelat’sja</i> ‘become’, <i>stat’</i> ‘become’ [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
from time to time $Oper_0$	: <i>byvat’</i> ‘be from time to time’ [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ <i>pered</i> N_{Z-INS}]
seem that $Oper_0$	: <i>kazat’sja</i> ‘seem’ [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$]
«I signal that this is shameful»	: <i>infrml</i> <i>Stydno!</i> ‘Shame!’, <i>infrml</i> <i>Styd (i sram)!</i> ‘Shame (and disgrace)!’, <i>infrml</i> <i>Kakoj styd!</i> ‘What a shame!’

EXAMPLES

Govorit' takoe Ivanu byvalo/kazalos' stydno lit. 'To.say such.things was/seemed feeling.shameful to.Ivan'. | *Rabotat' (nam) ne stydno, (nam) stydno vorovat'* 'To work (to us) is not shameful, what is shameful (to us) is to steal'.

STYDNO₁ VS. STYDNO₂

As explained above, example (6), STYDNO₁ and STYDNO₂ are reciprocally converse. Two reciprocally converse lexemes belonging to one vocable are not too frequent, but such cases are known: for instance, verb pairs Eng. RENT_I ≈ 'pay the rent' and RENT_{II} ≈ 'get the rent', Fr. LOUER_I ≈ 'pay the rent' and LOUER_{II} ≈ 'get the rent', Rus. ODOLŽIT'_I [Z-u] 'lend [smth.] to Z' and ODOLŽIT'_{II} [u Z-a] 'borrow', and Serb. POZAJMITI [Z-u] 'lend [smth.] to Z' and POZAJMITI [od Z-a] 'borrow'.

The semantic difference between STYDNO₁ and STYDNO₂ is manifested in that only STYDNO₂ can be used with respect to a future event Y and combine with the verb KAZAT'SJA 'seem'. Moreover, if the Sem-actant 'X' of the semanteme 'stydno₂'—that is, the Experiencer—is not expressed, this semanteme becomes the denotation of a universal moral judgment rather than that of a feeling:

- (13) a. Idti tuda stydno.
'To go there is shameful.'
- b. Idti tuda mne stydno.
'To go there is shameful to me.' = 'I am ashamed to go there.'

This happens because STYDNO₂ characterizes fact/entity Y (of which X must be or is ashamed) as the stimulus of this feeling: 'Y causes X to feel ashamed'. But 'causes' means 'can cause' or 'actually causes', and this ambiguity makes the meaning 'stydno₂' = 'shameful', so to say, "shaky": in some contexts, 'stydno₂' means 'actually causes' (then 'stydno₂' = 'ashamed' and is an exact converse of 'stydno₁'), and in some others, it means 'can cause' (then 'stydno₂' = 'shameful' and is not an exact converse of 'stydno₁').

This vacillation between two "semantic variants" of 'stydno₂'—emotional vs. deontic—is characteristic of many L_{PS}s denoting feelings: it is induced by the indicated disjunction in the semanteme 'cause'. The contextual conditions for this or that variant are related to 1) the presence/absence of the Experiencer in the clause where the lexeme STYDNO₂ appears and 2) the temporal/aspectual characteristics of this clause (see a description of this phenomenon in Letučij 2022:137–138). The distinction between the two STYDNO—emotional STYDNO₁ and half-deontic STYDNO₂—is convincingly justified and described in detail in Šmel'ev (2002:117–125).

To properly account for the semantic relation between the lexemes STYDNO₁ and STYDNO₂, we would need to consider the noun STYD 'shame' and the verb STYDIT'SJA 'feel shame', as well as to work on a general pattern of the lexicographic definitions for the "feeling" group of L_{PS}s. These topics, however, are outside of the present paper's scope. Note that the L_{PS}s of the type of STYDNO₂ tend to control personal L_{PS} constructions, the SSynt-subject being the designation of the actant 'Y', i.e., L('Y').

4.1.2 LEXICAL ENTRY FOR LEN'_{II} 'FEELING LAZINESS'

LEN'_{II}, adverb; predicative of state [= used only as a copular complement of a support verb]; has an analytical comparative: *A mne eščë bolee/bolše len'* lit. 'And to.me it is even more feeling.laziness'.

DEFINITION

'Y-it' Ø_{PRS}^{BYT'_I} len'_{II} X-u' [lit. 'to.do.Y is feeling.laziness to.X'] = 'to do Y causes X to feel laziness'

<i>byt' len'</i> _{II}	= CON _{V21} (<i>lenit'sja</i> 'feel laziness')
'Y-it' Ø _{BYT'} _{PRS} X-u len'	= 'X lenitsja Y-it'

GOVERNMENT PATTERN

'Y' ⇔ I	'X' ⇔ II
1. ÈTO 'this'	1. N _{DAT}
2. 'VOT ČTO' lit. 'here what'	
3. V _{INF}	

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** L('Y') ← I-LEN'_{II} ⇒ L('Y') ← I-V_(support)
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** L('X') ← II-LEN'_{II} ⇒ L('X') ← III-V_(support)
 3) In a communicatively neutral clause, L('X') is preferably the DSynt-Theme.
 [– *A čego že ty ne vyšel?* 'And why then didn't you come out?'] – *Da len' bylo!* lit. 'But feeling.laziness it was!'

C_{I.1} + C_{II} : *Marii_{III} / (vsě) èto_I stalo len'_{II}* lit. 'To.Mary (all) this became feeling.laziness.'
 C_{I.3} + C_{II} : *Marii_{III} budet len'_{II} zanimat'sja_I ètim* lit. 'To.Mary will.be feeling.laziness to.deal with.this.'

LEXICAL FUNCTIONS

Syn	: slang <i>lenivo</i> _{ADV} 'feeling laziness' [<i>Mne lenivo idti tuda</i> lit. 'To.me it is feeling.laziness to.go there.']
A ₀	: <i>neoxota</i> 'non-desire'
Anti ₀ V ₀	: <i>xotet'sja</i> ≈ 'feel like [doing smth.]'
Conv ₂₁ V ₀	: <i>lenit'sja</i> 'feel/be lazy'
Magn	: <i>očen</i> 'very' < coll. <i>diko</i> 'wildly', <i>užasno</i> 'terribly', coll. <i>zverski</i> 'beastly', coll. <i>žutko</i> 'horribly'
NonMagn	: <i>nemnogo</i> 'a little'
NonMagn + NonAntiMagn	: <i>dovol'no</i> 'sufficiently'
Oper ₁	: <i>byt'</i> 'be' [~ N _{X-DAT} V _{Y-INF}]
IncepOper ₁	: <i>infrml</i> <i>sdelat'sja</i> 'become', <i>stat'</i> 'become' [~ N _{X-DAT} V _{Y-INF}]
from time to time Oper ₁	: <i>byvat'</i> 'be from time to time' [~ N _{X-DAT} V _{Y-INF}]

EXAMPLES

Ivan sobiralsja napisat' pis'mo, no emu stalo užasno len' 'Ivan had the intention to write a letter, but then he felt terribly lazy'. | *Ivanu vsě èto uže davno diko len'* 'For a long time, Ivan has been feeling extremely lazy to do all this'.

◆ IDIOMS

'I NE LEN' [X-u Y-it]? lit. 'And isn't it feeling.laziness to.X to.do.Y?' ≈ 'What can be the purpose of X's doing Y?'

'VSE KOMU (TOL'KO) NE LEN' lit. 'everybody to.whom (only) it isn't feeling.laziness' ≈ 'anybody at all'

4.2 LEXICAL ENTRIES FOR TWO SERBIAN PREDICATIVE-OF-STATE LEXEMES: KRIVO AND SRAMOTA_{II}

4.2.1 LEXICAL ENTRY FOR THE LEXEME KRIVO 'FEELING [THAT SOMETHING IS] UNFAIR'

KRIVO, adverb; predicative [= used only as a copular complement of a support verb].

DEFINITION

'X-u je krivo zbog Y-a' [lit. 'to.X it is feeling.that.something.is.unfair because.of Y'] $\approx$ 'X feels dissatisfied, which is caused by X's belief that it is unfair that the situation (linked to) Y takes place.'

GOVERNMENT PATTERNS

GP-1

---	'X' $\Leftrightarrow$ II	'Z' $\Leftrightarrow$ III
1. $\emptyset_{3\text{SG.N}}^{\text{EMPTY}}$	1. N_{DAT}	1. <i>zbog</i> N_{GEN} 2. <i>za</i> N_{ACC} 3. <i>što</i> CLAUSE 4. <i>da</i> CLAUSE 5. <i>ako/kad</i> CLAUSE
	obligatory	

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** $\emptyset_{3\text{SG.N}}^{\text{EMPTY}} \Rightarrow \emptyset_{3\text{SG.N}}^{\text{EMPTY}} \leftarrow \text{subjectival-V}_{(\text{support})}$
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('X') \leftarrow \text{II-KRIVO} \Rightarrow L('X') \leftarrow \text{III-V}_{(\text{support})}$
 3) $C_{III,3-5}$: **obligatory** $L('Y') \leftarrow \text{III-KRIVO} \Rightarrow L('Y') \leftarrow \text{IV-V}_{(\text{support})}$
 C_{II} : *Krivo_{II} mi_{III} je* lit. 'It feeling.unfair to.me is [that something is the case]'.
 $C_{II} + C_{III,3}$: *Bilo mi_{III} je krivo_{II} što ne zove_{IV}* lit. 'It been to.me is feeling.unfair that [s/he] is.not phoning'.
 $C_{II} + C_{III,5}$: *Mariji_{III} će biti krivo_{II} ako ne dodete_{IV}* lit. 'To.Mary it will be feeling.unfair if [you] do.not come'.

GP-2 [IN AN ANAPHORIC CONTEXT]

'Y' $\Leftrightarrow$ I	'X' $\Leftrightarrow$ II
1. TO_{DAT} 'that'	1. N_{DAT} obligatory

- 1) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('Y') \leftarrow \text{I-KRIVO} \Rightarrow L('Y') \leftarrow \text{I-V}_{(\text{support})}$
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('X') \leftarrow \text{II-KRIVO} \Rightarrow L('X') \leftarrow \text{III-V}_{(\text{support})}$
 $C_I + C_{II}$: *To_I mi_{III} je krivo_{II}* lit. 'That to.me is feeling.unfair'.

LEXICAL FUNCTIONS

- QSyn : *žao* 'sorry'
 QAnti : *pravo* 'feeling right', *po volji* 'feeling agreeable', *drago* 'feeling pleasure',
 u redu 'in order'
 Oper₀ : *biti* 'be' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ *zbog* 'because' N_{GEN}]
 IncepOper₀ : *doći* lit. 'come', *pasti* lit. 'fall' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$ *zbog* N_{GEN}]
 CausOper₀ : *učiniti* 'do' [$\sim N_{X-DAT}$]
 QA₂ : *pogođen* 'affected', *povređen* 'hurt', *osujećen* 'frustrated'
 QA₃ : *pogrešan* 'wrong', *nekorektan* 'unfair'
 Magn : *mnogo* 'a lot', *strašno* 'frightfully', *užasno* 'terribly', *baš* 'exactly', *tako* 'so'
 NonMagn : *(po)malo* 'a little', *donekle* 'to some extent'

EXAMPLES

GP-1

Krivo mi je zbog toga / zbog Petra 'It feels unfair to me because of that / because of Peter'.
 | *Malo mi je krivo što to dopuštaš* 'It feels a bit unfair to me that you put up with that'.

GP-2

[*Nisam kupio onoliko koliko sam mislio*] *i to mi je krivo* ‘[I did not buy as much as I planned] and that feels unfair to me’.

REMARK

There are two government patterns for *KRIVO*. GP-1 represents the default case: it takes care of the impersonal construction having a zero empty lexeme as the SSynt-subject. GP-2, much less frequently used and considered by some speakers as marginal, describes a personal construction having as the surface-syntactic subject the pronoun *TO* ‘that’ anaphorically linked to the expression specifying ‘Y’ that appears in the preceding context; cf. the example preceding this remark.

4.2.2 LEXICAL ENTRY FOR THE LEXEME *SRAMOTA*II ‘FEELING SHAME’

*SRAMOTA*II, adverb; predicative [= used only as a copular complement of a support verb].

DEFINITION

‘X-a je *sramota*II zbog Y-a pred Z-om’ [lit. ‘X_{ACC} it is feeling.shame because.of Y before Z’] = ‘X feels shame because of Y before Z’.

<i>biti sramota</i> II	= Conv ₀₁₂₃ (<i>sramiti se</i> ‘feel shame’)
‘X-a je <i>sramota</i> zbog Y-a pred Z-om’	= ‘X se <i>srami</i> zbog Y-a pred Z-om’

GOVERNMENT PATTERNS

GP-1

-----	‘X’ ⇔ II	‘Y’ ⇔ III	‘Z’ ⇔ IV
1. $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY}$	1. N _{ACC}	1. N _{GEN} 2. <i>zbog</i> N _{ACC} 3. <i>što</i> CLAUSE 4. <i>da</i> CLAUSE 5. <i>kad/ako</i> CLAUSE 6. V _{INF}	1. <i>od</i> N _{GEN} 2. <i>ispred</i> N _{GEN} 3. <i>pred</i> N _{DAT}

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** $\emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \Rightarrow \emptyset_{3SG.N}^{EMPTY} \leftarrow \text{subjectival-V}_{(support)}$
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** L(‘X’) ← II-SRAMOTAII $\Rightarrow$ L(‘X’) ← III-V_(support)
 3) **Impossible** : C_{III.1} + C_{IV.1} [**Sramota me je neznanja od kolega* ‘I am ashamed of (my) ignorance before (my) colleagues.’]

- C_{II} : *Sramota me je* ‘I am ashamed’.
 C_{II} + C_{III.1} : *Nije ih sramota neznanja* ‘They are not ashamed of (their) ignorance’.
 C_{II} + C_{III.4} : *Bilo ga je sramota da traži pomoć* ‘He was ashamed to seek help’.
 C_{II} + C_{IV.1} : *Biće te sramota od kolega* ‘You will be ashamed before (your) colleagues’.
 C_{II} + C_{III.2} + C_{IV.3} : *Mariju je zbog toga bilo sramota pred roditeljima* ‘Mary was ashamed because of that before (her) parents’.

GP-2 [IN AN ANAPHORIC CONTEXT]

‘Y’ ⇔ I	‘X’ ⇔ II
1. T _{NOM} ‘that’	1. N _{ACC} obligatory

- 1) C_I : **obligatory** $L('Y') \leftarrow I\text{-SRAMOTA}_{II} \Rightarrow L('Y') \leftarrow I\text{-}V_{(\text{support})}$
 2) C_{II} : **obligatory** $L('X') \leftarrow II\text{-SRAMOTA}_{II} \Rightarrow L('X') \leftarrow III\text{-}V_{(\text{support})}$
 $C_I + C_{II}$: *To me je sramota* lit. 'That me_{ACC} is shame'.

LEXICAL FUNCTIONS

QSyn	: <i>sram</i> 'shame _N ', <i>stid</i> 'shame _N '
Conv ₂₃₄ V ₀	: <i>sramiti se</i> , <i>stideti se</i> 'feel.shame'
Oper ₀	: <i>biti</i> 'be' [N _{X-ACC} ~] 'be'
Caus ₁ Oper ₀	: <i>osramotiti se</i> 'bring shame upon oneself'
CausOper ₀	: <i>osramotiti</i> [N _{X-ACC}], <i>postideti</i> 'bring shame upon someone'
QA ₂	: <i>osramoćen</i> 'covered with shame', <i>postiden</i> 'ashamed'
QA ₃	: <i>sraman</i> 'shameful', <i>nepriličan</i> 'inappropriate'
Magn	: <i>jako</i> 'a lot', <i>mnogo</i> 'a lot', <i>strašno</i> 'frightfully', <i>užasno</i> 'terribly', <i>baš</i> 'exactly', <i>tako</i> 'so'
NonMagn	: <i>(po)malo</i> 'a little'
«I signal that X should be ashamed»	: <i>Sramota</i> [N _{X-ACC}] <i>bito!</i> 'Shame on N _X !', <i>Treba da</i> [N _{X-ACC}] <i>je sramota!</i> 'N _X should be ashamed!', <i>Kako/Zar</i> [N _{X-ACC}] <i>nije sramota!</i> 'Is N _X not ashamed?'

EXAMPLES

GP-1

Sramota ga je rođenog sina 'He is ashamed of his own son.' | *Da li te je sramota što ne znaš matematiku?* 'Are you ashamed that you do not know math?' | *Sramota me je od komšiluka zbog narušavanja javnog reda* 'I am ashamed before neighbors because of public order disturbance.' | *Užasno mi je neprijatno i sramota me je od drugih ljudi što se toliko znojim* 'I am terribly embarrassed and ashamed before other people because I perspire that much.'

GP-2

[*Na žalost nisam obišao veliki broj gradova u Srbiji*] *i to me je sramota* lit. '[Unfortunately I haven't been to many cities in Serbia] and that me is shame.' | [*Akcentat najviše smeta onima čiji su roditelji sa sela*]; *to ih je sramota* lit. 'The.accent the.most bothers those whose parents are from the.country]; that them is shame'.

REMARKS

[1] SRAMOTA_{II}, a feeling-denoting predicative of state, co-exists in its vocable with the deontic SRAMOTA_I '[the] shame', a normal, fully declinable noun (*Ovaj govor je sramota za Skupštinu* 'This speech is the shame for the Assembly'. | *Bolje je umreti nego živeti sa sramotom* 'It is better to die than to live with shame'. | *Nije se mogao nositi sa sramotom odlaska u zatvor* 'He was unable to bear the shame of going to prison'). The difference between these two lexemes of SRAMOTA is analogous to that we saw above with Rus. STYDNO_{1/2}. For lack of space, only the lexical entry for the predicative is provided.

[2] Just like with KRIVO, there are two government patterns for SRAMOTA_{II}, with the same conditions of use; see §4.2.1 at the end of the lexical entry for KRIVO, p. 18.

5 CONCLUSION

The initial goal of this paper was rather modest: a parallel formal description (Meaning-Text style) of two syntactic constructions featuring predicatives-of-state [L_{PS}] in Russian

and Serbian. However, since the predicatives-of-state have a number of well-known quirky syntactic properties, the description of corresponding constructions has involved specific theoretical issues that the present paper brings to the attention of the reader.

- 1) **Compulsory collocations.** An L_{PS} is only used as the base in a collocation with a $V_{(support)}$ as its collocate. Such collocations, which can be called compulsory, are similar to, but different from, the collocations of the type *make HEADWAY* or *issue/receive an ULTIMATUM* in at least two respects. Firstly, the latter collocations are non-systematic and infrequent, while $V_{(support)} + L_{PS}$ collocations number in the hundreds. Secondly, the collocation bases like *ULTIMATUM*—if they are not in the role of the Main Verb's attributive complement—readily appear outside these collocations, while an L_{PS} cannot be used at all outside of a collocation with a support verb (except when functioning as clausatives; see footnote 6, p. 3). A compulsory collocation is, in a sense, more compact (better welded, so to speak) than a normal collocation; it is closer to an idiom but is semantically compositional (like any collocation).
- 2) **Syntactic actant migration.** An L_{PS} is characterized by a non-trivial linking between its Sem- and DSynt-/SSynt-actants, and this fact is at the root of all the unusual properties of compulsory collocations in which an L_{PS} participates. More specifically, the syntactic expressions of some Sem-actants of an L_{PS} cannot depend on L_{PS} itself and are obligatorily transferred (= raised) to its $V_{(support)}$. The transfer of syntactic actants from the base of a collocation to the $V_{(support)}$ is well known, but in compulsory collocations (i.e., with L_{PS} s) this is a regular phenomenon: thus, the syntactic actant implementing the Experiencer 'X' and the one implementing the Stimulus 'Y' are transferred obligatorily.
- 3) **Special government patterns [GPs] for L_{PS} s.** Because of the special character of compulsory collocations, special GPs are needed for both the base (= an L_{PS}) and the collocate (= a $V_{(support)}$). The present paper proposes a (provisional?) solution, which requires, however, a more pointed study.
- 4) **Special collocate verbs.** The $V_{(support)}$ in a compulsory collocation with an L_{PS} base is copula-like in its rather involved morphology, but it has nothing to do with the copula from the viewpoint of its semantics or syntax: as stated above, it does not link the SSynt-subject to the attributive complement, most of the time it lacks a lexical subject altogether, it takes an indirect or even a direct object—as a function of the L_{PS} it supports. Strictly speaking, it is a separate lexeme that must have its own lexical entry.
- 5) **A zero dummy surface-syntactic subject.** In many cases, the construction controlled by an L_{PS} is impersonal: it features a surface-syntactic subject that is not only semantically empty, i.e., a dummy, but also phonologically zero. Such a subject is postulated based on the Main Verb agreement with it. (Where an L_{PS} construction is not impersonal, the surface-syntactic subject is restricted to being an V_{INF} , a clause or a special demonstrative pronoun.) This fact brings in, on the one hand, a problem of linguistic zeroes, and, on the other, that of dummy elements: quite a doozy of a field.

And finally, there is a very general theoretical consideration. As the reader has seen, the description of at least some irregular syntactic constructions is reducible to the lexical entry for the lexeme that controls, or underlies, this construction. Therefore: Long live the lexicon!

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1, 2, 3...	semantic actants	L_{PS}	lexeme L that is a
I, II, III...	deep-syntactic actants		predicative of state
3	third person	$L('X')$	lexeme L implementing
ACC	accusative		the semanteme 'X'
arch.	archaic	$\lceil L_1 L_2 \dots L_n \rceil$	an idiom consisting of
coll.	colloquial		lexemes $L_1, L_2, \dots, L_n$
DAT	dative	N	neuter
DMorph-	deep-morphological	PL	plural
DSynt-	deep-syntactic	poet.	poetic
F	feminine	PRS	present
GEN	genitive	PST	past
IND	indicative	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SSynt-	surface-syntactic
infrml	informal	$V_{(support)}$	support verb
INS	instrumental	$\emptyset$	a zero linguistic sign
lit.	literal	$\rightarrow$	syntactic dependency
liter.	literary	σ'	communicatively dom-
			inant semanteme of a
			Sem-structure

Lexical units (= lexemes and idioms) are in SMALL CAPS; all other linguistic examples (except the numbered ones), are in italics.

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