

Introduction

The cross-linguistic category of Pluperfect (cf. English Past Perfect *I had come*) is widespread in the languages of Eurasia and attested also outside this area. Generally, it is taken to denote both a combination of two simpler categories (Past-in-the-Past and/or Perfect-in-the-Past) and as a non-compositional category in its own right (cf. Dahl 1985). Indeed, in many languages pluperfects denote a situation relevant in the past (*at 6 o'clock he had {already} come*) and/or temporal precedence (*I resumed my efforts where I had {previously} started*), being almost obligatory in the latter contexts in some European languages such as formal written English or Spanish. However, in many other languages, including those in which sequence of tenses is not mandatory, Pluperfect has non-compositional uses, such as cancelled result, discontinuous past situation, irrealis (as *If you had come, we would not lose* in English), experiential or evidential uses.

In Slavic, Pluperfect constructions have low text frequencies in Slavic except for Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Sorbian, where a strong, albeit not absolute tendency towards English-like consequence of tenses is found. The Pluperfect is still attested in many Slavic varieties, both standard-oriented and dialectal, as a marker of discontinuous situations or cancelled result, as well as in modal contexts.

Research on Slavic Pluperfects include papers on particular languages (including Pozharitskaya 2014 on Northern East Slavic Dialects within an areal context), as well as studies in Barentsen (2015 a,b) on the distribution of pluperfect in parallel corpora and Sitchinava (2013, 2019) on its semantics in the typological context. Quantitative, corpus-based research of Modern Slavic Pluperfect is lacking with the exception of the Russian *bylo* particle (Barentsen 1986, Sitchinava 2009). Classifications of various Pluperfect uses for different languages have only been proposed on the basis of just a few observations on collocations with specific lexemes.

The research question of the paper is the description lexical input restrictions of Pluperfect in different Slavic languages and lects. Which lexemes are used predominantly in this construction and which are reluctant to it, and why? For example, in Ukrainian *xotity* 'to want' is frequently found in this construction but *pobuduvaty* 'to build' is very rare; what are the corresponding lists for other languages and dialects and what are the semantic mechanisms behind these preferences?

The research methods include quantitative corpus, usage-based approach, with regression analysis of different factors behind the pluperfect vs. simple past choice. Large parallel corpora are the primary source of intra-genetic comparison, with such methods as *t*-score.

References

- Barentsen, A. A. 1986. The use of the particle БЫЛО in modern Russian // Dutch Studies in Russian Linguistics, Amsterdam, vol. 8, 1—68.
- Barentsen 2015a. Barentsen A. Vid i pluskvamperfekt v slavjanskix jazykax // Aspektual'naja semantičeskaja zona: tipologija sistem i scenarii diaxroničeskogo razvitija. Sbornik statej V međunarodnoj konferencii komisii po aspektologiji Meždunarodnogo komiteta slavistov. Kioto, 13–15 nojabrja 2015 g. s. 14–20
- Barentsen 2015b. Barentsen A. Nabljudenija o vstrečaemosti pluskvamperfekta v perevodax Evangelij na slavjanskije jazyki // V prostranstve lingvističeskoj slavistiki. sbornik naučnyx statej. V čest' 65-letija akademika Predraga Pipera, Belgrad: Belgradskij universitet, 2015. S. 135–160. 1
- Dahl 1985. Dahl Ö. Tense and Aspect Systems. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985

Požarickaja 2014. Požarickaja S. K. Konstrukcii s glagolom byt' (byl, byla, bylo, byli) v odnom severnorusskom govore: k voprosu o pljuskvamperfekte // I. A. Seržant, B. Wiemer (eds.). Contemporary approaches to dialectology: The area of North, North-West Russian and Belarusian dialects. Bergen: University of Bergen, 2014. Pp. 216–244

Sitchinava 2009. Sitchinava, D. V. 2009. Stremit'sja presekat' na kornju: russkaja konstrukcija s *bylo* po korpusnym dannym // K. L. Kiseleva i dr. (red.) Korpusnye issledovanija po russkoj grammatike. Moskva: Probel. S. 362—396

Sitchinava 2013. Sitchinava D. V. Tipologija pljuskvamperfekta. Slavjanskij pljuskvamperfekt. Moskva: AST, 2013.

Sitchinava 2019. Sitchinava D. V. Slavjanskij pljuskvamperfekt: prostranstva vozmožnostej // Voprosy jazykoznanija. 2019. № 1. S. 30–57.