

Tilman Berger, Markus Giger
Sibylle Kurt, Imke Mendoza
(Hg.)

Von grammatischen Kategorien und
sprachlichen Weltbildern –
Die Slavia von der Sprachgeschichte bis zur Politsprache

Festschrift für Daniel Weiss zum 60. Geburtstag

WIENER SLAWISTISCHER ALMANACH
SONDERBAND 73
München – Wien 2009

Semantics of the Russian Conjunction POKA ‘while, before, until’

L. Iordanskaja, I. Mel’čuk, Montréal

To Daniel, for a warm and memorable friendship

Poka zemlja eščë vertitsja...
‘While the Earth is still turning...’

B. Okudžava

1 The Problem Stated

One of the most conspicuous properties of the Russian subordinate conjunction POKA ‘while, before, until’ is its illocutive use.

An illocutive use of a subordinate conjunction CONJ is its use in a construction “P, CONJ Q” where it semantically relates the situation denoted by the subordinate clause Q to **the fact of uttering** the main clause P, rather than to the situation denoted by P, as subordinate conjunctions prototypically do.¹

Thus, in sentence (1a) the conjunction POKA relates situations Q and P, expressing their simultaneity, while in sentence (1b) POKA relates the situation Q and the fact of uttering the question «P?». Namely, it indicates that this questioning occurred before the end moment of Q, that is, while Q is still taking place:

(1) a. *Poka deti v škole [Q], roditeli otduxajut [P]*

‘While the kids are at school, the parents rest.’

b. *Poka deti v škole [Q], čto skazal vrač [«P»]?*

‘While the kids are at school, [I ask you] what did the doctor say?’

In (1b), POKA does not express a temporal relation between the kids’ being at school [Q] and the doctor’s having said something [P], but rather a relation between Q and the Speaker’s uttering his question: ‘I ask my (sensitive) question now—before the situation “the kids are at school” ends’.

However, not all Russian subordinate conjunctions have an illocutive use. Thus, DO TOGO KAK ‘before’ and KOGDA ‘when’ cannot be used in such a way, although there are no semantic reasons for this:

(2) a. **Do togo kak deti pridut [Q], čto skazal vrač [«P»]?*

‘Before the kids come back, what did the doctor say?’

¹ On relating a logical proposition to the fact of uttering another proposition, see, e.g., Thompson & Longacre 1985: 203 and Padučeva 1985: 46ff. The notion of the illocutive use of a conjunction was introduced in Iordanskaja 1988. An analysis of some Russian and French conjunctions that allow for the illocutive use is offered in Iordanskaja 1988 and Iordanskaja & Mel’čuk 2007: 415-501. Sannikov 2005 puts forward the notion of illocutive construction, based on the idea of syntactic ellipsis of a speech verb (of the type *I will ask, I will advise*, etc.) in case where there is no semantic connection between the propositions in P and Q. We will return to this idea in Subsections 4.2 – 4.3. On the illocutive use of adverbs, see, e.g., Boguslavskij 1996: 137-139.

b. **Kogda deti v škole [Q], čto skazal vrač [«P»]*?

‘When the kids are at school, what did the doctor say?’

Therefore, the possibility of an illocutive use of a conjunction must be lexicographically specified; in particular, this possibility must be marked for some uses of POKA. Moreover, the illocutive use of a conjunction is associated with a host of other linguistic properties: prosodic, syntactic, and paraphrastic. Such bundles of properties have to be described as separate senses of POKA. In order to do it rigorously, we have to present all the other senses of the conjunction POKA, which leads to the following structure of this paper: Section 2 formulates three preliminary semantic remarks necessary for the subsequent exposition; Section 3 contains a full lexicographic description of the vocable POKA, supplied with linguistic comments; Section 4 sums up some interesting general issues.

2 Preliminary Semantic Remarks

Our semantic description of POKA calls for three remarks concerning 1) several temporal semantemes, 2) the semanteme ‘Enunciator’, and 3) ‘interval’ senses of the Russian perfective aspect.

1. Temporal semantemes

The following temporal semantemes used in this paper need some explanations.

- ‘Moment of X’ is understood as ‘the moment Y at which a momentary fact X takes place’. (Thus, ‘moment of X’ is an abbreviation for the two-place predicate ‘moment Y of X’; in other words, ‘moment’ means ‘moment Y’.)
- ‘Time interval of X’ = ‘the time interval Y such that at each moment of it X is taking place’. The expression ‘time interval’ corresponds to one semanteme; the name is chosen so as to disambiguate the noun *interval*, which denotes either a spatial or a temporal interval. The meaning ‘interval’ implies boundaries, i.e., having a beginning point and an end point: an interval is always **between** two moments. (‘Time interval’ is again an abbreviation for ‘time interval Y’.) For the special case of Russian delimitative verbs (of the type *pospat* ‘have slept a bit’), a particular type of ‘time interval’ is needed: the interval denoted by a delimitative verb is conceived as a non-analyzable whole that can be called a ‘compact time interval’. A compact time interval is not a moment, but it is close to a moment in its non-analyzability. Therefore, the component ‘compact time interval’ can appear in definitions in disjunction with ‘moment’.
- ‘Time of X’ stands for the disjunction ‘moment Y or time interval Y of X’. (‘Time’ means of course ‘time Y’, the same type of abbreviation as above.)

2. ‘Enunciator’

The semanteme ‘Enunciator’ represents the disjunction ‘Speaker [= the executor of a primary speech act] or the executor of a secondary speech act’. A primary speech act is a regular sentence; a secondary speech act is a sentence reported in a primary speech act (*Ivan skazal, čto poka deti spali, on rabotal* ‘Ivan said that while the kids were asleep he was working’; the boldfaced part constitutes a secondary speech act). ‘Speaker’ means the same as ‘I’; the Speaker is the author of any sentence. The person to whom the Speaker attributes the reported sentence (in our example, Ivan) is the author of the secondary speech act.

3. ‘Interval’ reading of the Russian perfective aspect

The semantics of POKA is intimately related to the aspectual properties of the verb it introduces. In particular, the fact that some perfective aspect verbs can denote an event that occupies a time interval turns out to be of crucial importance.

The Russian perfective aspect is prototypically associated with momentary events: the sentences *Maša prosnulas’_{perf} v tri časa* ‘Masha woke up at three o’clock’ and *Ivan ujdět_{perf} v tri časa* ‘Ivan will leave at three o’clock’ denote momentary events that take place at particular moments. But no less often a perfective form can be associated with a time interval;² here are three relevant cases.

- A semantically resultative verb in the perfective aspect denotes a momentary event E₁, which is the achievement of the result of the lasting event E₂ denoted by the corresponding imperfective verb. However, in appropriate contexts a perfective resultative verb can denote an interval event E₂. Thus, the sentence *Maša vymyla_{perf} pol za tri časa* ‘Masha washed the floor in three hours’ is associated with an interval during which the lasting event E₂ ‘Maša myla_{imperf} pol = Masha was washing the floor’ is taking place.

- A semantically delimitative verb (its meaning being ‘having done V a bit during a certain time interval’), which is always in the perfective aspect, obviously denotes an ‘interval’ event: *Maša pospala_{perf} tri časa* ‘Masha has slept a bit—for three hours’; it cannot be taken to denote a moment: **Maša pospala_{perf} v tri časa* ‘Masha has slept a bit at three o’clock’. (True, this is a particular type of interval, see above, but still an interval.)

- A negated V_{perf}, i.e., NE←V_{perf}, even a semantically punctual one, can be associated with a time interval: such that at each moment of this interval the

² Glovinskaja (2001: 271) indicates that all verbs in the perfective aspect—with the exception of momentary-punctual ones—‘agree quite well with the idea of temporal duration.’ Three of the four major semantic types of perfective verbs she has established accept the ‘interval’ prepositional phrase ZA + Num + N ‘in Num N’, e.g., *za tri dnja* ‘in three days’.

situation (denoted by) V is not taking place, as in, for instance, *Maša ne ujdět_{perf} v tečenie bližajšix dvux časov* 'Masha will not leave for the next two hours' = 'The situation "Masha has not left" will last for the next two hours'. However, an interval interpretation for a NE←V_{perf} verb is appropriate only under certain conditions, of which we will indicate three that are relevant for the use of a NE←V_{perf} verb in POKA-clauses.

First, the aspect of the main clause verb: namely, this verb's being in the imperfective makes the interval interpretation of the verb in the POKA-clause possible.

(3) a. *Maša čitala_{imperf} knigu, poka Ivan ne ušěl_{perf}*
'Masha was reading the book while Ivan had not left'.

b. **Maša pročitala_{perf} knigu, poka Ivan ne ušěl_{perf}*
'Masha completed reading the book while Ivan had not left'.³

Second, the referentiality of the POKA-clause: in order to allow for an interval interpretation, 'NE←V_{perf}' must refer to a non-actual situation, that is, a situation that exists only in an imaginary world. Thus:

(4) a. *Maša mogla by pozvonit'_{perf} Ivanu*
'Masha could have called Ivan
... *esli Maša pozvonit'_{perf} Ivanu*
'... if Masha calls Ivan
Pozvoni_{perf} Ivanu
'Call Ivan

}, *poka on ne ušěl_{perf}*
while he had not left'.

Here, the non-actuality of the situation referred to by the subordinate clause is entailed by the modality of the main clause (subjunctive, conditional, imperative). In case the POKA-clause refers to an actual situation, the sentence is ungrammatical:

b. **Maša pozvonila_{perf} Ivanu, poka on ne ušěl_{perf}*
'Masha called Ivan while he had not left'.

Third, an interval-implying expression—such an adverbial as (*vsě*) *eščě* 'still, yet'²—enhances the acceptability of interval reading. This factor is the strongest one: the bad sentences (3b) and (4b) can be salvaged by introducing EŠČĚ (*Maša pročitala_{perf} knigu/pozvonila Ivanu, poka on eščě ne ušěl_{perf}*).

The interval reading of a resultative or negated perfective verb in a given context does not of course preclude this verb having—in another context—a momentary reading, as in *Maša vymyla_{perf} pol v tri časa* 'Masha washed the floor at three o'clock' [a resultative V_{perf}] and *Ivan ne ušěl v tri časa* 'Ivan didn't leave

³ Sentence (3a) can be taken also as meaning '... until Ivan had left'; but then we see another lexeme of POKA—POKA1.2b; the verb introduced by POKA has a momentary reading, see below.

at three o'clock' [a negated punctual V_{perf}]. A delimitative V_{perf} cannot have a momentary reading (in accordance with its meaning), but, as indicated above, it denotes a compact interval, which in some contexts is equivalent to a moment.

In what follows, P and Q stand both for situations and the clauses describing these situations; we will write V(P)/V(Q) for 'the lexical verb of P/of Q'. For instance, if P = *Nado bylo polučit'*... 'It was necessary to obtain', then V(P) = POLUČIT' 'obtain'.

3 Lexicographic Description of the Vocabable POKA

The study of the conjunction POKA revealed vast families of its uses with a high level of disagreement among speakers. We are not a position to launch a socio-linguistic investigation to obtain reliable statistical data; therefore, we decided to simplify our task by considering all dubious or questionable cases as ungrammatical: we lack facts for a more refined characterization. On the other hand, POKA being polysemous, many sentences are ungrammatical with a particular lexeme of POKA, while with another lexeme they pass. Therefore, an asterisked example in what follows always refers to a particular meaning (= lexeme) of POKA.

The lexicographic description of the vocabable POKA is carried out in accordance with the principles and conventions of Explanatory Combinatorial lexicography (see, for instance, Mel'čuk *et al.* 1995 and Mel'čuk 2006b). We will assume sufficient familiarity with it and, more generally, with the main concepts and techniques of Meaning-Text linguistic theory, while limiting ourselves to two short remarks.

- The form of the definition: Along with the verbal definition of the headword, we offer also its formal semantic representation—in the form of a Meaning-Text theory semantic network, in which the communicatively dominant component is shown by underscoring and the presupposed part, by a dashed-line rectangle.

- Linear order of the clauses P and Q: In Russian, a clause introduced by a subordinate conjunction (= subordinate clause) can generally precede or follow—or even be inserted into—the main clause; this is the default case, for which we use in the left-hand side of the definition the order "Main Clause P – CONJ – Subordinate Clause Q." Otherwise, the possible linear position of the subordinate clause must be explicitly indicated in the lexicographic description of the conjunction introducing it (see the lexical entries for POKA1.3 and POKA11).

Note that the order of the clauses P and Q is not arbitrary: it is controlled by the communicative structure of the sentence. However, we will allow ourselves to make abstraction from this important aspect of the sentence meaning.

Lexical Entries for the Vocable POKA

POKA ≈ 'while, before, until', descriptive subordinate conjunction⁴

POKAI, non-illocutive

POKAI.1 'while/as long as' [*Poka Ivan rabotal, Maša čitala* 'While Ivan was working, Masha was reading']

POKAI.2a 'before' [*Maša pozvonit, poka Ivan ne prosnulsja* 'Masha will call before Ivan wakes up']

POKAI.2b '[lasting] until?' [*Maša budet stučat', poka (ne) otkrojut* 'Masha will knock [on the door] until they open']

POKAI.3 'until ... enough time' [*Nu, poka Ivan vernětsja, Maša vsě prigotovit* 'Well, until Ivan comes back, Masha will have enough time to prepare everything']

POKAII, illocutive

POKAII.1 'while' [*Poka deti spjat, čto s Mašej?* 'While the kids are asleep, what is happening to Masha?']

POKAII.2 'before' [*Poka Ivan ne vernulsja, čto s Mašej?* 'Before Ivan came back, what is happening to Masha?']

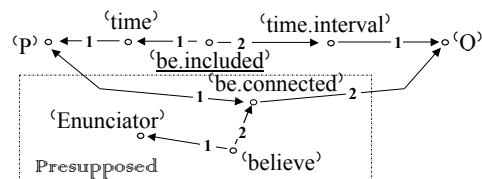
POKAI, non-illocutive

I.1.

Definition

P, poka Q 'P, while/as long as Q':⁵ '[P,] the time of P being included in the time interval of Q,

[the Enunciator believing that P and Q are connected]]'



⁴ Descriptive conjunctions express 'objective' semantic relations between facts (e.g., a temporal relation: *We were working when it was raining*); rhetorical conjunctions mark 'rhetorical' semantic relations between clauses (e.g., a concessive relation: *We were working although it was raining*). A rhetorical relation between clauses necessarily embodies the Speaker's attitude. See Iordanskaja 1992 and Iordanskaja & Mel'čuk 2007: 421ff).

⁵ The English conjunctions WHILE and AS LONG AS, used to gloss POKAI.1, are distributed, in accordance with their own semantics, as follows: in case where the ends of the intervals P and Q coincide, AS LONG AS is chosen, see examples (8) – (11); otherwise, WHILE is chosen.

Government Pattern

'Q' ↔ II
1. CLAUSE

Syntactic Properties

If V(Q) is in the perfective aspect:

- 1) If V(Q) is resultative **and** in the past tense, **then** the sentence is ungrammatical;
- 2) If V(Q) is delimitative **and** V(P) is **not** delimitative, **then: if** V(P) is **either** punctual **or both not** punctual **and** in the past tense, **then** the sentence is ungrammatical;
- 3) If V(Q) is punctual, **and** has negation, **and** is not modified by EŠČĖ ≈ 'yet' **and** V(P) is in the perfective aspect, **then: if** 'V(Q)' refers to an actual fact, **then** the sentence is ungrammatical.

(For examples, see Comment 5 below.)

Lexical Functions

Syn : coll. *pokudaI.1*, *obsolescent pokamestI.1*

Syn_n : *kogda*; v to *vremja kak*; v *tečenie*

Examples

The interval of P is included in the interval of Q

- (5) a. *Maša myla_{imperf} pol, poka Ivan rabotal_{imperf}*
'Masha was washing the floor while Ivan was working'.
- b. *Maša ne myla_{imperf} pol, poka Ivan rabotal_{imperf}*
'Masha was not washing the floor while Ivan was working'.
- c. *Maša myla_{imperf} pol, poka Ivan ne rabotal_{imperf}*
'Masha was washing the floor while Ivan was not working'.
- d. *Maša ne myla_{imperf} pol, poka Ivan ne rabotal_{imperf}*
'Masha was not washing the floor while Ivan was not working'.
- (6) *Poka xozjain nalival_{imperf} gost' mašinu ugonjal_{imperf}*
'While the host was pouring [wine], the guest was driving away [= stealing] his car'.
- (7) *Ja počitaju_{perf} poka on pospit_{perf}* 'I'll read a bit, while he'll sleep a bit'.
- (8) a. *Oni budut_{imperf} živy, poka my ix pomnim_{imperf}*
'They will be alive as long as we remember them'.
- b. *Oni ne unrut_{perf} poka my ix pomnim_{imperf}*
'They will not die as long as we remember them'.
- (9) a. *Oni budut_{imperf} živy, poka my ix ne zabudem_{perf}*
lit. 'They will be alive as long as we will not forget them'.

- b.** *Oni ne umruť_{perf} poka my ix ne zabudem_{perf}*
lit. 'They will not die as long as we will not forget them'.
- (10) **a.** *Ja ne uđu_{perf} iz «Zenita», poka my pervye*
'I won't leave 'Zenit' [a soccer team] as long as we are the best'.
b. *Ja ne ušël_{perf} iz «Zenita», poka my byli_{imperf} pervye*
'I didn't leave 'Zenit' as long as we were the best'.
- (11) *Poka my sposobny šutit', my ostaëmsja (ostanemsja_{perf}) velikim narodom⁶*
'As long as we are able to joke, we remain (will remain) a great nation'.
The moment of P is included in the interval of Q
- (12) *Maša prosnulas' _{perf} poka Ivan rabotal_{imperf}*
'Masha woke up while Ivan was working'.
- (13) *Poka ty xodil_{imperf} v magazin, po radio ob'javili_{perf} o končine prezidenta*
'While you have been gone to the store, the radio announced the passing of the President'.
- (14) *Otpravljajtes' _{imperf} v polikliniku, poka vy zdorovy*
'Go to see a doctor while you are in good health'.
- (15) *Ona prosnulas' _{perf} poka bylo_{imperf} eščë temno*
'She woke up while it was still dark'.
- (16) *Poka Ivan zadelyval_{imperf} dyrku, Maša prigotovila_{perf} obed*
'While Ivan was filling up the hole, Masha cooked the dinner'.
- (17) *Ivan sđelaet_{perf} uroki, poka Maša vymoet_{perf} pol*
lit. 'Ivan will do his homework while Masha will have washed the floor'.
- (18) *Maša prosnulas' _{perf} poka Ivan eščë ne ušël_{perf}*
'Masha woke up while Ivan had still not left'.

Comments

1. Temporal characterization of P and Q

With POKAI.1, the clause Q can denote only an interval event; therefore, (19a), where Q specifies a moment (namely, the moment of leaving), is bad. In the correct sentence (19b), Q describes the interval during each moment of which Ivan has not left:

- (19) **a.** **Maša čitala_{imperf}, poka Ivan ušël_{perf}* 'Masha was reading while Ivan left'.
b. *Maša čitala_{imperf} poka Ivan ne ušël_{perf}*
'Masha was reading while Ivan has not left'.

POKAI.1 is thus opposed to POKAI.2/3, where Q denotes a momentary event.

The clause P, on the contrary, can denote a lasting event (and thus be associ-

⁶ OSTAT'SJA 'remain' is a special semantic type of verb, whose meaning—roughly, 'not cease to be in the state ...'—allows for interval denotation exactly because of the presence of a negation as the communicatively dominant component.

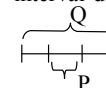
ated with a time interval) or a momentary one (which implies a moment).

The verbs V(P) and V(Q) allow both aspects. However, since Q must denote an interval event, POKAI.1 cannot introduce a perfective verb that expresses a punctual meaning, but has no negation: see (19a). Yet POKAI.1 can introduce a perfective verb with the resultative or delimitative meaning or with negation, since such a verb can be associated with a time interval: (17), (7) and (19b).⁷

2. The component 'be included' in the definition of POKAI.1

When P is an interval event and the interval of P is included in the interval of Q, two cases are to be distinguished:

— The end moment of the P interval does not coincide with the end moment of the Q interval; schematically:



— The end moment of the P interval coincides with the end moment of the Q interval:



These two cases correspond to two English equivalents of POKAI.1—WHILE and AS LONG AS.

Thus, the P interval is limited by the end moment of the Q interval; in this way, our definition of POKAI.1 captures the intuitive perception of this conjunction as expressing the simultaneity of two interval events with the specification of the final boundary: P cannot continue after the end of Q.

3. Comparison with KOGDA

The approximate synonyms of POKAI.1 include the conjunction KOGDA 'when'. To show the similarities and differences between POKAI.1 and KOGDA we will give a preliminary definition of KOGDA:⁸

⁷ The last statement needs refining. As indicated to us by Ju. Apresjan and N. Pertsov, some verbs can be used with an interval reading as V(Q) in the perfective aspect without negation:

(i) *Poka ja razrešil_{perf} Ivanu pol' zovat' sja_{imperf} moim komp'juterom, Ivan čital počtu každyj den'*

lit. 'While I had allowed Ivan to use my computer, Ivan was reading e-mails every day'.

(ii) *Poka Maša vyšla, Ivan pozvonil otcu* lit. 'While Masha had stepped out, Ivan called Father'.

This is possible if Q implies a resulting temporary state of affairs: Ivan has my permission, Masha is absent. Otherwise, such a use is impossible:

(iii) **Poka Maša ušla, Ivan pozvonil otcu* lit. 'While Masha had left, Ivan called Father'.

These cases are, however, very specific and the resulting sentences are often highly colloquial. A special research is needed in order to properly characterize this type of verbs.

⁸ By this definition we cover all the situations in which KOGDA is used, without deciding whether this should be one or several definitions (i.e., one or several lexemes of KOGDA).

P, kogda Q: '[P,] this taking place
 { at the time interval simultaneous with the time interval
 or at the moment included in the time interval
 or at the time interval including the moment
 or at the moment coinciding with the moment
 or at the time that follows the time } of Q'

The first two disjuncts in the definition of KOGDA are related to the definition of POKAI.1. The first disjunct covers the interval inclusion: the meaning 'P interval is included in Q interval' is a particular case of the meaning 'P interval is simultaneous with Q interval'; the second is identical with the inclusion of the moment of P in the interval of Q. But the third, fourth and fifth disjuncts in the definition of KOGDA have no correspondences in the definition of POKAI.1. Therefore, POKAI.1 can always be replaced with KOGDA (albeit with some semantic losses),⁹ but the converse is not true: in several uses KOGDA cannot be replaced with POKAI.1. Examples in (20) – (24) illustrate all five situations foreseen by the definition of KOGDA, indicating the possibility/impossibility of replacement with POKA.

(20) The time interval of P is simultaneous with the time interval of Q

- a. *Maša spala_{imperf} kogda Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin*
 'Masha was sleeping when Ivan went to the store'. ≡
 b. *Maša spala_{imperf} poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin*
 'Masha was sleeping while Ivan went to the store'.

In (20a-b) the intervals of P and of Q are simultaneous. There are, however, two important differences between KOGDA and POKAI.1 sentences:

- With KOGDA, the P interval is not limited by the end moment of the Q interval: the two intervals can overlap in the large sense of the term (in particular, the P interval can also be included in the Q interval). But with POKAI.1, the P interval only can be **included** in the Q interval, i.e., P does not last after Q ends.

- POKAI.1, but not KOGDA, carries a presupposition: by using POKAI.1, the Enunciator establishes some connection between P and Q (see Comment 4 below).

(21) The moment of P is included in the time interval of Q

- a. *Maša prosnulas_{perf} kogda bylo_{imperf} eščë temno*
 'Masha woke up when it was still dark'. ≡
 b. *Maša prosnulas_{perf} poka bylo_{imperf} eščë temno*
 'Masha woke up while it was still dark'.

⁹ With the exception of the cases where V(Q) is in the perfective but not negated: cf. (18), where V(Q) is negated, so that replacing POKAI.1 with KOGDA does not change the temporal relation between P and Q; while in (17), where there is no negation, such a replacement leads to a new temporal relation ('P follows Q').

(22) The time interval of P includes the moment of Q

*Maša spala_{imperf} kogda (*poka) Ivan ušël_{perf}*
 'Masha was sleeping when (*while) Ivan left':

POKAI.1 is impossible because with POKAI.1 Q can denote only an interval event, cf. (19).

(23) The moment of P coincides with the moment of Q

*Vzryv proizošël_{perf} kak raz v tot moment, kogda (*poka) Ivan otkryl_{perf} dver'*
 'The blast occurred exactly the moment Ivan opened the door'.

POKAI.1 is again impossible—for the same reason as above: with POKAI.1, Q can specify only a time interval, not a moment.

(24) The time of P follows the time of Q

- a. *Maša prosnulas_{perf} kogda (*poka) Ivan ušël_{perf} (pospal_{perf})*
 'Masha woke up when (*while) Ivan left (has slept)'.
 b. *Maša budet čitat' _{imperf} kogda (*poka) Ivan ujdët_{perf} (pospit_{perf})¹⁰*
 'Masha will read when (*while) Ivan will be gone (will have slept a bit)'.

Note that with POKAI.2a (as in *Maša pozvonit, poka Ivan ne vernulsja* 'Masha will call before Ivan comes back') and POKAI.2b (as in *Maša budet čitat', poka Ivan ne vernëtsja* 'Masha will read until Ivan comes back') the fact P precedes the fact Q, while with KOGDA the sequence of events is inverted, i.e., P follows Q. Thus, POKAI.2a/POKAI.2b and KOGDA are antonyms.

4. The presupposition 'P and Q are connected'

The conjunction POKAI.1, unlike KOGDA, implies that P and Q are somehow connected—from the Enunciator's viewpoint. In other words, the Enunciator affirms the existence of a link between Q and P: a causal link, a conditional link, a link of naturalness/unnaturalness of cooccurrence, etc. For instance:

- (25) a. *Petrov prodal_{perf} dom, kogda Ivan byl_{imperf} za granicej*
 'Petrov sold the house when Ivan was abroad'.
 b. *Petrov prodal_{perf} dom, poka Ivan byl_{imperf} za granicej*
 'Petrov sold the house while Ivan was abroad'.

In (25a), the Enunciator simply states that the moment of the sale of the house is included in the duration of Ivan's being abroad. But in (25b), the Enunciator says more: he implies that both events—the selling of the house and the absence of Ivan—are, in his opinion, meaningfully linked: P happening during Q is not accidental. Indeed, (25a) can be easily uttered when Petrov and Ivan are

¹⁰ The sentence *Maša budet čitat', poka Ivan pospit_{perf}* is grammatical, but does not correspond to the present case: the temporal relation between P and Q is different—P does not follow Q, but, roughly speaking, is simultaneous with it.

in reality not connected at all, and the Enunciator mentions Ivan being absent as a pure temporal reference point; in this case, POKAI.1 would be inappropriate.

In (26), the unnaturalness of the situation “the Addressee amuses himself while his son is in serious danger” is obvious, and therefore, (26b) is more appropriate than (26a):

- (26) a. *Kogda ty razvlekalsja_{imperf} na kurorte, tvoj syn čut' ne umer_{perf}*
 ‘When you were having good time at the sea resort, your son almost died’.
 b. *Poka ty razvlekalsja_{imperf} na kurorte, tvoj syn čut' ne umer_{perf}*
 ‘While you were having good time at the sea resort, your son almost died’.

Using POKAI.1, the Enunciator does not specify the connection between P and Q. Thus, example (27a) can be complemented in two opposite ways:

- (27) a. *Poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin, Maša uspela_{perf} vymyt' _{perf} pol*
 ‘While Ivan was gone to the store, Masha washed the floor’.
 b. *Poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin, Maša, razumeetsja, uspela_{perf} vymyt' _{perf} pol*
 ‘While Ivan was gone to the store, Masha of course managed to wash the floor’.
 c. *Poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin, Maša udivitel'nym obrazom uspela_{perf} vymyt' _{perf} pol*
 ‘While Ivan was gone to the store, Masha amazingly managed to wash the floor’.

In (27b), “P while Q” is characterized as natural (e.g., Ivan’s absence facilitates Masha’s business); in (27c), on the contrary, the Enunciator believes this to be unnatural (e.g., the store is too close). But in both cases, the existence of a connection between P and Q is implied.

From the viewpoint of Sem-Communicative Structure, the component ‘be connected’ is *Presupposed*: it is inaccessible for negation and questioning in case when the relation between P and Q is negated or questioned. Cf.:

- (28) a. *Maša vymyla_{perf} pol, no ne poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin, a posle ego vozvraščeniya*
 ‘Masha washed the floor not while Ivan was gone to the store but after his return’.
 b. *Maša vymyla_{perf} pol, poka Ivan xodil_{imperf} v magazin?*
 [with interrogative prosody on the subordinate clause]
 ‘Was it while Ivan was gone to the store that Masha washed the floor?’

In both (28a-b) only the temporal relation (= ‘while’)—the assertion of the sentence—is negated or questioned; the connectedness of P and Q remains affirmed.

5. V(Q) is in the perfective aspect

As stated in Section 2, a Russian perfective verb can be associated with a time interval in three cases: if it is resultative, if it is delimitative, or if it is punctual and negated. The examples, illustrating the syntactic properties of POKAI.1 used with a

perfective V(Q) (these properties were specified above), are grouped accordingly.

V(Q) is resultative

- (29) a. **Maša pozvonila_{perf} mne <prigotovila_{perf} obed, pospala_{perf}>, poka Ivan zadela_{perf} dyrku* lit. ‘Masha called me (cooked the dinner, slept a bit), while Ivan has filled up the hole’.
 b. *Maša pozvonit_{perf} mne <prigotovit_{perf} obed, pospit_{perf}>, poka Ivan zadelaet_{perf} dyrku* lit. ‘Masha will call me (will cook the dinner, will sleep a bit), while Ivan will have filled up the hole’.

V(Q) is delimitative

- (30) a. (i) **Maša pozvonila_{perf} mne, poka Ivan pospal_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha called me (cooked the dinner), while Ivan has slept a bit’.
 (ii) **Maša pozvonit_{perf} mne, poka Ivan pospit_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha will call me, while Ivan will have slept a bit’.
 b. (i) **Maša prigotovila_{perf} obed, poka Ivan pospal_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha cooked the dinner, while Ivan has slept a bit’.
 (ii) *Maša prigotovit_{perf} obed, poka Ivan pospit_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha will cook the dinner, while Ivan will have slept a bit’.
 c. (i) *Maša počitala_{perf}, poka Ivan pospal_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha has read a bit, while Ivan has slept a bit’.
 (ii) *Maša počitaet_{perf}, poka Ivan pospit_{perf}*
 lit. ‘Masha will read a bit, while Ivan will have slept a bit’.

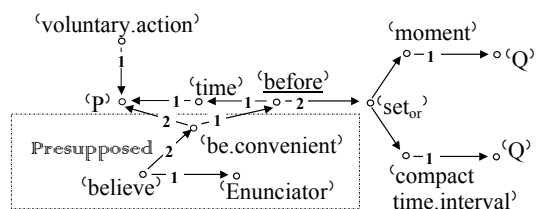
V(Q) is punctual and negated

- (31) a. (i) **Maša pozvonila_{perf} mne <prigotovila_{perf} obed, pospala_{perf}>, poka Ivan ne ušel_{perf}* lit. ‘Masha called me (cooked the dinner, slept a bit), while Ivan had not left’.
 (ii) **Maša pozvonit_{perf} mne <prigotovit_{perf} obed, pospit_{perf}>, poka Ivan ne ujdët_{perf}* lit. ‘Masha will call me (cook the dinner, sleep a bit), while Ivan will not have left’.
 b. (i) *Maša pozvonila_{perf} mne <prigotovila_{perf} obed, pospala_{perf}>, poka Ivan eščë ne ušel_{perf}* lit. ‘Masha called me (cooked the dinner, slept a bit), while Ivan had not yet left’.
 (ii) *Maša pozvonit_{perf} mne <prigotovit_{perf} obed, pospit_{perf}>, poka Ivan eščë ne ujdët_{perf}* lit. ‘Masha will call me (cook the dinner, sleep a bit), while Ivan will not yet have left’.
 c. *esli Maša pozvonit_{perf} <prigotovit_{perf} obed, pospit_{perf}>, poka Ivan ne ušel_{perf} <ne ujdët_{perf}>?* lit. ‘And if Masha calls (cooks the dinner, sleeps a bit), while Ivan had not left (will not have left)?’

I.2a.

Definition

P, poka ne Q ('P, before Q'): [voluntary action P,] the time of P being before the moment or the compact time interval of Q,
[[the Enunciator believing that this is convenient for doing P]]



Government Pattern

'Q' ↔ II
1. NE ← CLAUSE _{perf, past}

Lexical Functions

- Syn : coll. pokudaI.2a, obsolesc. pokamestI.2a
 Syn_η : ran'se čem; prežde čemI; do1 togo kak; do1
 Ant_i : kogda [Maša pozvonit, poka Ivan ne vernulsja 'Masha will call before Ivan comes back' vs. Maša pozvonit, kogda Ivan vernětsja 'Masha will call after Ivan comes back']

Examples

- (32) *Poka ja ne zabyI_{perf}, ja dolžen skazat'_{perf} (napominaju_{imperf}) tebe sledujuščee*
 'Before I forgot, I have to tell you (I am reminding you of) the following'
 (33) a. *Nado èto sdelat'_{perf}, poka kto-nibud' drugoj ne sdelal_{perf}*
 'It has to be done before someone else has done it'.
 b. *Oni namerevalis' èto sdelat'_{perf}, poka kto-nibud' drugoj ne sdelal_{perf}*
 'They intended to do this before someone else has done it'.
 (34) *Ja pozvonju_{perf} ej, poka Ivan ne vernulsja_{perf}*
 lit. 'I'll call her before Ivan came back'.
 (35) *Ja porabotaju_{perf}, poka ne stalo_{perf} temno*
 lit. 'I'll work a bit before it got dark'.
 (36) a. *Ja budu myt'_{imperf} pol, poka Ivan ne vernulsja_{perf}*
 lit. 'I'll wash the floor before Ivan came back'.

- b. *Ja ujdū_{perf} (Ja ne ujdū_{perf}), poka Ivan ne vernulsja_{perf}*
 lit. 'I'll leave (I won't leave) before Ivan came back'.
 (37) *My opublikovali_{perf} ètot rezul'tat, poka drugie ètogo ne sdelali_{perf}*
 'We published this result before other people did it'.
 (38) *My ne ujdēm_{perf}, poka deti ne pospali_{perf}*
 'We won't leave before the kids have slept a bit'.

Comments

1. Expletive NE

POKAI.2a requires the use with V(Q) of the particle NE 'not', which in this context does not function as negation: it is an expletive particle, and it is obligatory. The presence of this asemaic NE opposes the lexeme POKAI.2a (and POKAI.2b) to POKAI.1, and its obligatory character—to POKAI.2b. With POKAI.1 the particle NE is used as negation; omitting it necessarily changes the meaning:

- (39) a. *Ivan pozvonit_{perf} poka [POKAI.1] my rabotaem* 'Ivan will call while we work'. ≠

- b. *Ivan pozvonit_{perf} poka [POKAI.1] my ne rabotaem*
 'Ivan will call while we do not work'.

- (40) *Ivan pozvonit_{perf} poka [POKAI.2a] my ne načali_{perf} rabotat'*

lit. 'Ivan will call before we started working'. [Without NE, (40) is ungrammatical]

In (39a), Q denotes the interval situation "we work," and in (39b)—the interval situation "we do not work;" here NE is semantic and means 'not'. In contrast, in (40), Q denotes the future momentary event "we start working;" here NE is expletive and obligatory. On the other hand, (40) can also be used to express a different, although pragmatically equivalent, meaning: 'Ivan will call while we haven't started working [as yet]'; here Q corresponds to a time interval, POKA is POKAI.1, and NE is semantic. Thus, (40) has a double reading; cf. Comment 5 below.

One could even speak of a compound conjunction POKA NE, if it were not for the optional omissibility of the expletive NE—with POKAI.2b.

2. V(P) denotes a voluntary action

In examples (32) – (38), V(P) denotes a voluntary, teleological action; otherwise, POKAI.2a cannot be used:

- (41) **Ivan prosnětsja_{perf}, poka my ne načali_{perf} rabotat'*
 lit. 'Ivan will wake up before we started working'.

3. The past tense of V(Q) instead of the future tense

The V(Q) is in the past—even if, semantically, the clause Q refers to the future. Such a clash of semantics and grammar is typologically plausible: in a number of languages, a subordinate clause referring to the future time contains an expletive particle and a 'strange' combination of mood and tense (thus, in Spanish, CUANDO

(when) requires the present subjunctive in a clause referring to the future).

4. The presupposition in the definition of POKAL2a

POKAL2a also carries a presupposition, but it is different from that of POKAL1:

(42) a. *Ja pozvonju_{perf} ej, poka Ivan ne vernulsja_{perf, past}*
 ≈ 'I'll call her before Ivan comes back'.

b. *Ja pozvonju_{perf} ej do togo, kak Ivan vernětsja_{perf, fut}*
 'I'll call her before Ivan comes back'.

While (42b) simply indicates the time limit for my call, (42a) implies that there is a particular connection between the two events: from my viewpoint, it is convenient for me to call before the moment when Ivan comes back (e.g., I will somehow profit from his absence).

5. An interesting semantic paraphrase

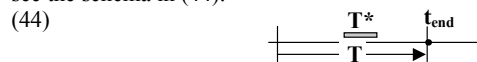
POKAL2a stands in a paraphrastic relation to POKAL1:

(43) a. *Maša dolžna pozvonit'_{perf} Ivanu, poka [POKAL2a] deti ne prosnulis'_{perf}*
 'Masha must call Ivan before the kids wake up'. =

b. *Maša dolžna pozvonit'_{perf} Ivanu, poka [POKAL1] deti spjat*
 'Masha must call Ivan while the kids are sleeping'.

This paraphrase is based on two linguistic facts, one semantic and another, lexical.

- Semantically, the meanings 'time interval' and 'moment' are related in the following way: if time T^* (= a time interval or a moment) of an event is **included** in a time interval T , then T^* is **before** the end moment t_{end} of T , and vice versa; see the schema in (44):



The time of an event can be specified in one of two equivalent ways: the Speaker indicates the interval T during which this event is taking place (POKAL1); or he indicates the endpoint t_{end} of T , before which the event is taking place (POKAL2a).

- Lexically, two verbs V_1 and V_2 can stand in the following relation: ' V_{1perf} ' = 'cease to V_{2imp} ', as in the pair ' V_1 ' = 'wake up' and ' V_2 ' = 'sleep'. The moment of V_1 is the end moment of the time interval of V_2 . As a result, we have the following equivalence: 'P is within the time interval of V_2 ' = 'P is before the moment of V_1 '. This equivalence ensures the possibility of switching from POKAL2a to POKAL1, and vice versa—for the verb pairs of the above type. Other pairs of verbs with the same semantic relation include: VERNUT'SJA 'come back' vs. OTSUTSTVOVAT' 'be absent' (cf. ... *poka Ivan ne vernulsja* '... before Ivan came back' = ... *poka Ivan otsustvuet* '... while Ivan is absent'); POTERJAT' 'lose' vs. IMET' 'have', ZABYT' 'forget' vs. POMNIT' 'remember'; VYZDOROVET' 'get well' vs. BOLET' 'be ill'; UMERET' 'die' vs. ŽIT' 'be alive'; UJTI 'leave' vs. BYT' ZDES' 'be here', etc.

This case of paraphrasing illustrates a well-known linguistic phenomenon: a particular extralinguistic situation gives rise to two different linguistic meanings. When the Speaker faces the state of affairs represented by the schema in (44), he has a choice between two meanings —'time interval' or 'end moment'—to describe the same reality: he can specify an event as occurring either **during** a particular time interval or **before** the end moment of this interval.

As a result, in some sentences POKA can be interpreted either as POKAL1 or as POKAL2a. Thus, (43a) has two readings: one with an expletive NE, where Q (= *prosnulis*) denotes a momentary event (POKAL2a: 'before the kids wake up'); the other one with a semantic NE, where Q (= *ne prosnulis*) denotes an interval event (POKAL1: 'while the kids were not awake'). The two readings are equivalent: they refer to the same state of affairs.

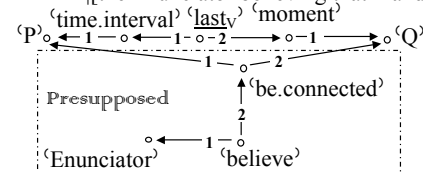
However, being equivalent, the two readings are not equally natural from a linguistic viewpoint. If the Speaker chooses to specify the interval T by indicating its end moment (for instance, 'wake up' for the interval of 'sleeping'), then it is more natural to use the meaning 'P takes place before X's waking up' than the equivalent meaning 'P takes place during the interval whose end moment is X's waking up'—just because the first one is simpler.¹¹ As a consequence, POKAL2a is used, and the first reading of (43a)—with the expletive NE—is strongly preferred.

The existence of such 'double readings' makes the semantic description of POKA more difficult: its different senses are semantically equivalent in numerous contexts, which impedes one to perceive their distinctions. However, in other contexts these senses manifest different lexicographic properties: different government patters, different syntactic cooccurrence, different synonyms and antonyms. This, we believe, justifies presenting these senses as different dictionary entries.

I.2b.

Definition

P, poka (ne) Q 'P, until Q': '[P,] the time interval of P lasting till the moment of Q',
 [[the Enunciator believing that P and Q are connected]]



¹¹ The Speaker makes the choice 'time interval vs. its end moment' according to his focus of attention; the information about this is part of the communicative structure of the message (at the level of text planning).

Government Pattern

'Q' ⇔ II
1. (NE←)CLAUSE

Syntactic Properties

- The expletive NE 'not' can be omitted in colloquial style, **if and only if** V(Q) is punctual, **and** V(Q) in the future tense, **and** V(P) is in the imperfective aspect, **and** Q follows P.
- POKAL.2 admits the use of the correlative prepositional phrase DO TEX (SAMYX) POR and DO TOJ (SAMOJ) PORY; the use of these phrases facilitates the omission of the expletive NE (*Budu stučat' do tex por, poka otkrojut* lit. '[I] will knock on the door till the moment [they] open' sounds better than *Budu stučat', poka otkrojut*).

Lexical Functions

- Syn : coll. pokudal.2b, obsolesc. pokamestl.2b
 Syn_Q : (vplot') do2 togo, kak; (vplot') do1
 Anti_Q : kogda [*Maša budet čitat', poka Ivan ne vernětsja* 'Masha will read **until** Ivan comes back' vs. *Maša budet čitat', kogda Ivan vernětsja* 'Masha will wash the floor **after** Ivan comes back']

Examples

- (45) *Oni sražalis' imperf, poka ne pobedili perf*
 'They fought until they have won'.
 (46) *Oni vseгда sidjat na ulice, poka ne načinaetsja dožd'*
 'They always are outside until it starts raining'.
 (47) a. *Poka grom ne grjanet perf mužik ne perekrestitsja perf*
 'Until it thunders, a peasant won't cross himself'.
 b. *Mužik ne perekrestitsja perf, poka grom ne grjanet perf*
 'A peasant won't cross himself, until it thunders'.
 (48) *Ja ne ujdū perf, poka ne vymoju perf pol*
 lit. 'I won't leave until I will have washed the floor'.
 (49) *Ja porabotaju perf, poka ne stanet perf temno*
 'I'll work a bit until it gets dark'.
 (50) a. *Ja budu stučat' imperf, poka (ne) otkrojut perf*
 'I'll knock on the door, until they open'.
 b. *Poka ne otkrojut perf, ja budu stučat' imperf*
 'Until they open, I'll knock on the door'.

- (51) *Ja budu myt' imperf pol, poka Ivan (ne) vernětsja perf*
 'I'll wash the floor until Ivan comes back'.
 (52) a. *A esli tup, kak derevo, rodiš'sja baobabom*
I budeš' imperf baobabom tyšču let, poka pomrěš' perf [V. Vysockij]
 'And if you are dull as a tree stump, you'll be born a baobab
 And you'll be a baobab one thousand years—until you die'.
 b. *Cirkuliruj imperf poka sdoxneš' perf!* 'Circulate until you croak!'
 [the catch-line of a popular Russian joke]

Comments

1. Omissibility of the expletive NE

The omission of the expletive NE is possible under stringent conditions, formulated above; it is not omissible:

- in (45) – (46), because V(Q) is in the past, *resp.* present, tense, not in the required future;
- in (47) – (48), because V(P) is in the perfective;
- in (50b), because Q precedes P.

The complete synonymy of sentences in (50a), (51) and (52) with or without NE (in (52) NE can be added) proves the asemanic character of NE in them.

2. Temporal characteristics of P and Q

P must denote an interval event, which explains the ungrammaticality of (53b):

- (53) a. *Ja budu zvonit' imperf ej, poka Ivan ne vernětsja perf*
 'I'll keep calling her until Ivan comes back'.
 b. **Ja pozvonju perf ej, poka Ivan ne vernětsja perf*
 lit. 'I'll call her until Ivan comes back'.

Q must denote a momentary event. Example (46) does not contradict this constraint, since *načinaetsja* 'starts' in this sentence refers to a moment: the moment when the rain starts. Sentence (48) also meets this constraint: the resultative verb in it refers to a momentary event, namely, the completion of the operation—rather than to an interval event, as it does, for instance, in (17).

3. The presupposition

POKAL.2b carries the same presupposition as POKAL.1:

- (54) a. *Petrov budet rabotat' imperf, poka projekt ne budet zaveršen perf*
 'Petrov will work until the project is completed'.
 b. *Petrov budet rabotat' imperf do zaveršenija projekta*
 'Petrov will work till the project's completion'.

While (54b) simply indicates the time limit for Petrov's work, (54a) implies a connection between P and Q: Petrov's work is somehow conditioned by the project's completion.

4. Paraphrasing relation between POKAI.2b and POKAI.1

POKAI.2b stands to POKAI.1 in the same paraphrastic relation as POKAI.2a, cf. (43):

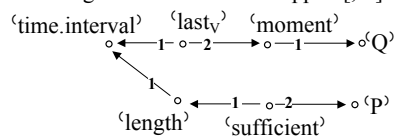
- (55) a. *Maša budet čitat' imperf, poka [POKAI.2b] Ivan ne vernětsja perf*
lit. 'Masha will read until Ivan will come back'.
b. *Maša budet čitat' imperf, poka [POKAI.1] Ivan otsutstvuet imperf*
lit. 'Masha will read while Ivan is absent'.

Accordingly, sentences with POKAI.2b admit 'double reading:' for instance, (55a) can be interpreted as containing POKAI.1 and means then 'Masha will read while Ivan has not come back'. See also (19b), where the sentence contains POKAI.1, but admits a reading with POKAI.2b.

I.3.

Definition

Poka Q, P 'Until Q, P': 'the length of the time interval lasting till the moment of Q being sufficient for P to happen [, P]'



Government Pattern

Q' ⇔ II
1. CLAUSE _{perf}

Syntactic Properties

- V(P) is in the perfective aspect.
- Q preferably precedes P.

Prosodic Properties

Q may carry a special prosody: a rising contour on POKA, a lengthened last vowel, and increased tempo over the rest of the clause.

Lexical Functions

- Syn : coll. pokudaI.3, obsol. pokamestI.3
Syn_n : prežde čem; do1 togo kak; do1; za to vremja čto

Examples

- (56) a. *Poka Ivan zadelal perf dyrku, Maša prigotovila perf (uspela perf prigotovit' perf) obed* 'Until Ivan filled up the hole, Masha cooked (had the time to cook) the dinner'.

- b. *Poka Ivan zadelaet perf dyrku, Maša prigotovit' perf (uspeet perf prigotovit' perf) obed* 'Until Ivan fills up the hole, Masha will cook (will have the time to cook) the dinner'.
- (57) *Poka Ivan vernětsja perf, Maša pozvonit' perf domoj*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come back, Masha will call home'.
- (58) *Poka stanet perf temno, ja eščě porabotaju perf*
lit. 'Until it will get dark, I still will work some'.
- (59) *Poka Ivan zadelal perf dyrku, prošlo perf tri časa*
'Until Ivan had filled the hole, three hours passed'.

Comments

1. Semantic particularities of POKAI.3

POKAI.3 differs semantically from POKAI.1-2a, b in at least three respects:

- While the latter expresses a temporal relation between two facts P and Q, the former characterizes the time interval that ends at the moment of Q—by indicating the fact P that can happen during this interval.
- The sentences with POKAI.3 introducing a resultative verb allow the paraphrases with ZA TO VREMJA, ČTO 'during the time that is necessary for ...': *Poka on zakončit rukopis', možno tri raza sletat' v Pariž i obratno* 'Until he completes the manuscript, one can fly to Paris and back three times' = *Za to vremja, čto on zakončit rukopis', možno tri raza sletat' v Pariž i obratno*.
- POKAI.3 lacks the presupposition of the connectedness between P and Q.

2. 'Double readings'

Sentences in (56) allow for an interpretation with POKAI.1 (especially, if the linear order of Q and P is inverted).

3. The length of the time interval lasting until the moment of Q is sufficient for ...

The presence of the semantic component '[the length of the interval] is sufficient for ...' can be shown by the following examples:

- (60) a. *Poka Ivan pridět perf, my pročitaem perf celyx tri glavy*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come, we'll have read as much as three chapters'.
b. **Poka Ivan pridět perf, my pročitaem perf tol'ko tri glavy*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come, we'll have read only three chapters'.
- (61) a. *Poka Ivan pridět perf, my uspeem perf pročitat' perf tri glavy*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come, we'll have enough time to read three chapters'.
b. **Poka Ivan pridět perf, my ne uspeem perf pročitat' perf tri glavy*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come, we won't have enough time to read three chapters'.

4. POKAI.3 vs. POKAI.2a-2b

The following example demonstrates the contrasts between the three above senses:

- (62) a. *Poka* [POKAI.3] *Ivan pridět_{perf} Maša prigotovit_{perf} obed*
lit. 'Until Ivan will come, Masha will have enough time to cook the dinner'.
b. *Poka* [POKAI.2a] *Ivan ne prišēl_{perf} Maša budet gotovit_{imperf} obed*
lit. 'Before Ivan has come, Masha will be cooking the dinner'.
c. *Poka* [POKAI.2b] *Ivan ne pridět_{perf} Maša budet gotovit_{imperf} obed*
lit. 'Untill Ivan will have come, Masha will be cooking the dinner'.

POKAI.2, illocutive

Syntactic Properties

Q precedes P.

Prosodic Properties

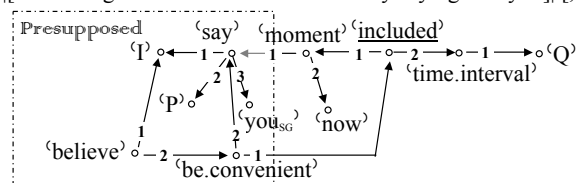
A falling contour “↘” on Q; a major pause “||” after Q.

II.1.

Definition

Poka Q, P 'While Q, P':

'The moment of my saying P to you being included in the time interval of Q,
[I believing that this is convenient for my saying P to you] [, P]'



Government Pattern

'Q' ↔ II
I. CLAUSE _{pres} ¹²

¹² With POKAI.1 some verbs can be used as V(Q) in the past of the perfective aspect, if Q implies a resulting temporary state of affairs:

(i) *Poka on razrešil_{perf} mne pol'zovat' sja_{imperf} ego imejlom, kak u tebja dela?*
lit. 'While he has allowed me to use his e-mail, how are you doing?'

(ii) *Poka Maša vyšla, čto s otcem?* ≈ lit. 'While Masha has stepped out, what about Father?'

This case was already mentioned in Footnote 7.

Lexical Functions

Syn : coll. pokudaII.1, obsolesc. pokamestII.1

Examples

- (63) a. *Poka deti spjat, čto skazal vrač?*
'While the kids are sleeping, what did the doctor say?'
b. *Poka deti spjat, kupi_{perf} podarki zavtra!*
'While the kids are sleeping, go buy presents tomorrow!'
c. *Poka deti spjat, u otca rak* 'While the kids are sleeping, Father has cancer'.
(64) *Poka mjač v vozduxe, korotko o sostavax komand*
'While the ball is [still] in the air, a few words about the composition of the teams' [a soccer commentator]

Comments

1. Common syntactic and prosodic properties of both illocutive POKA

There are two illocutive POKAI.2: POKAI.1 (≈ 'while', parallel to the non-illocutive POKAI.1) and POKAI.2 (≈ 'before', parallel to the non-illocutive POKAI.2a). Due to their illocutive characteristic, both share syntactic and prosodic properties.

- Unlike the non-illocutive POKAI.1/1.2a, for an illocutive POKA, Q cannot follow P:

(65) **Čto skazal vrač, poka deti spjat?*

'What did the doctor say, while the kids are sleeping?'

- The prosody of clauses with both lexemes of POKAI.2 allows for the distinction between POKAI.2 and POKAI.1/POKAI.2a in cases where the subordinate clause Q precedes the main clause P:

(66) a. *Poka deti spjat, || Ivan gotovitsja k ot"ezdu* [POKAI.1] 'While the kids are sleeping, [I tell you that] Ivan is getting ready for his departure'.

b. *Poka deti spjat, Ivan gotovitsja k ot"ezdu* [POKAI.1]
'While the kids are sleeping, Ivan is getting ready for his departure'.

The same happens even if Q is a question or an imperative:

(67) a. *Poka deti spjat, || gde otec?* [POKAI.1]

'While the kids are sleeping, [I ask you] where is Father?'

b. *Poka deti spjat, gde otec?* [POKAI.1]
'While the kids are sleeping, where is Father?'

(68) a. *Poka deti spjat, || kupi podarki zavtra!* [POKAI.1]
 'While the kids are sleeping, [I require you to] go buy presents tomorrow!'

b. *Poka deti spjat, kupi podarki!* [POKAI.1]
 'While the kids are sleeping, go buy presents!'

In writing, the clause with POKAI.1 can be separated from the main clause by a colon or a dash, which indicates a longer pause and a more 'final' intonation. The same prosodic differences are characteristic of POKAI.2 and POKAI.2a.

2. 'P' vs. 'Enunciator'

The definitions of both lexemes of POKAI include the semanteme 'I' = 'Speaker' rather than 'Enunciator', which appears in all three lexemes of POKAI. This is so because none of the POKAI lexemes can be used in reported speech:

(69) **Ivan skazal, čto, poka deti spjat, u otca rak*
 'Ivan said that, while the kids are sleeping, Father has cancer.'

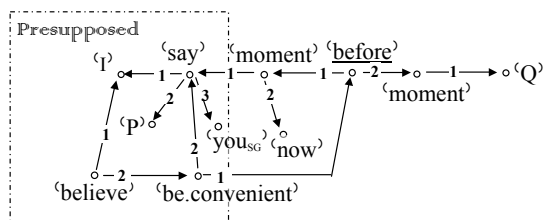
3. The presupposition

The presupposition in the definitions of POKAI is more specific than in POKAI.1 and POKAI.2b: it is identical to the presupposition of POKAI.2a. Instead of simply stating a connection between P and Q, it indicates that, in the Speaker's opinion, the time of Q is convenient for the Speaker to utter «P».

II.2.

Definition

Poka Q, P 'Before Q, P': 'The moment of my saying P to you being before the moment of Q,
 [[I believing that this is convenient for my saying P to you]] [, P]'



Government Pattern

'Q' ⇔ II
1. NE←-CLAUSE _{perf, past}

Lexical Functions

Syn : *prežde čem*II; *coll. pokuda*II.2, *obsolesc. pokamest*II.2

Examples

- (70) a. *Poka Ivan ne vernulsja*_{perf} (**ne vernětsja*_{perf}), *čto s otcom?*
 'Before Ivan came back (*will come back), what about Father?'
 b. *Poka Ivan *vernulsja*_{perf} (**vernětsja*_{perf}), *čto s otcom?*
 [idem; in (70b) the verb is not negated].
- (71) a. *Poka (ja) ne zabyl*_{perf}, *kuda ty edeš*_{imperf}?
 'Before I forgot, where are you going?'
 b. *Poka (ja) ne zabyl*_{perf}, *sxodi*_{perf} *za xlebom!*
 'Before I forgot, go buy some bread!'
 c. *Poka (ja) ne zabyl*_{perf}, *ty dolžen pozvonit*_{perf} *Maše*
 'Before I forgot, you must call Masha'.
- (72) a. *Poka deti ne prišli*_{perf}, *čto skazal*_{perf} *vrač?*
 'Before the kids came back, what did the doctor say?'
 b. *Poka deti ne prišli*_{perf}, *kupi*_{perf} *podarki zavtra!*
 'Before the kids came back, go buy presents tomorrow!'
 c. *Poka deti ne prišli*_{perf}, *u otca rak*
 'Before the kids came back, Father has cancer'.

Comments

Synonymic substitutions of POKAI.2

Besides colloquial POKUDAI.2 or obsolescent POKAMESTII.2, the illocutive POKAI.2 has just one synonym, the conjunction PREŽDE ČEM 'before'. This conjunction can also be used illocutively, although in this function it is less natural than the illocutive POKAI.2; it requires a longer pause after Q and a more 'final' intonation on it, which is shown in writing by a colon or a dash:

(73) *Prežde čem deti pridut: čto skazal vrač?* {...: *sxodi za xlebom!*/*u otca rak*)
 'Before the kids come back: what did the doctor say? {...: go buy some bread! / Father has cancer'.

Two other conjunctions, meaning roughly 'before'—RANŠE ČEM and DO TOGO KAK, synonyms of the non-illocutive POKAI.2a,—do not have an illocutive use:

(74) **Ran še čem* (**Do togo kak*) *deti pridut, čto skazal vrač?* ⟨..., *sxodi za xlebom!* /*u otca rak*)

‘Before the kids come back, what did the doctor say? ⟨..., go buy some bread!/Father has cancer⟩’.

4 Conclusion: Some General Issues

4.1 Particularities of the Proposed Description

It is useful to compare our lexicographic description of the conjunction POKA with its presentation in four major Russian dictionaries: Ušakov, Ožegov, *Bol'soj Akademičeskij slovar'* and *Malyj Akademičeskij slovar'*. These dictionaries treat POKA in a similar way: all distinguish two lexicographic senses of POKA: one of ‘simultaneity’ and one of ‘precedence’, which roughly correspond to our POKAI.1 and POKAI.2a, b. However, none of these dictionaries indicates the possibility of an illocutive use—our two POKAII, and none isolates the sense POKAI.3 (≈ ‘the duration of Q is sufficient for ...’). The main differences between the traditional descriptions of POKA and our proposal can be summed up in five points.

1. The structure of the vocable: in our description, the vocable POKA is subdivided into non-illocutive (POKAI.1, I.2a,b, I.3) and illocutive (POKAII.1 and II.2) lexemes.

2. The presupposition: the definitions for all lexemes of POKA, except POKAI.3, include presuppositions. POKAI.1 and I.2b presuppose a non-specified connection between Q and P; POKAI.2a and POKAII.1/II.2 indicate the Enunciator’s belief that the time of Q is good for doing P/for uttering «P».

3. The semantic components ‘time interval’ and ‘moment’: for the definitions of all lexemes of POKA, the temporal characteristics of P and Q turn out to be quite important. A systematic specification of these characteristics in terms of the semantic components ‘time interval’ and ‘moment’ allows for precise formulations in the definitions, so that a comparison of POKA with KOGDA can be carried out. On the other hand, the interplay of these components has revealed the interesting situation of two different, but equivalent meanings corresponding to the same state of affairs in the universe: Comment 5, the lexical entry for POKAI.2a, p. 00.

4. The component ‘be included’ (in POKAI.1): it ensures a precise expression of simultaneity of P and Q. Generally speaking, the simultaneity of two interval events allows for the overlap of the corresponding intervals; in the particular case of POKAI.1 the event P cannot last after the end of Q.

5. Syntactic and prosodic properties: all lexical entries for different lexemes of POKA have their government patterns plus the indication, where necessary, of syntactic properties that cannot be described by the government pattern; POKAI.3 and both POKAII are also characterized prosodically.

4.2 POKAII.1 and POKAII.2 as Separate Lexical Units

The two lexemes of POKAII seem to lend themselves to a description that is diametrically opposed to ours: the POKAII construction can be described in terms of ellipsis (‘reduction,’ ‘omission,’ ‘deletion’) rather than by particular lexical entries for the two lexemes of POKAII. One could argue in the following way: the lexemes of POKAII differ from those of POKAI only in that with POKAII the expressions such as *I (will) ask* or *I (will) tell you* are simply dropped from the sentence; therefore, we do not need a separate senses for POKAII; instead, we should formulate a rule of ellipsis for these expressions, just as we state rules for the cases of the type *Ivan left for London, and Mary (left) for Paris* or Rus. *Mne vremja tlet', tebe (vremja) cvesti* [Pushkin] lit. ‘To me time [is] to rot, to you [it is] to bloom’; no one would ever think to describe such and similar constructions by creating special lexical entries (special lexical entries of what?). The proposal to deal with the illocutive uses of conjunctions in terms of ellipsis is put forth in Sannikov 2005. But we cannot agree with it.

First, the use of the term *ellipsis* is problematic in this respect. We prefer to call *ellipsis* the deletion of (a configuration of) specific signs in a specific context (see Mel'čuk 2006a: 494). But it is difficult to say what exactly is deleted in a sentence like (75):

(75) *Poka ne zabył, zvonila Maša* lit. ‘Before I forgot, Masha called’:

I want to tell you that ..., I must say to you that ..., I inform you that ..., I warn you that ..., etc. or something else? Sentence (75) does not sound like an ordinary syntactic ellipsis, which consists in removing a specific lexical unit, having particular government and agreement properties that leave observable traces in the neighboring context. This sentence contains an implicit expression of a vague enough meaning ≈ ‘I say to you ...’. In point of fact, this meaning even cannot be properly lexicalized, i.e., expressed explicitly: lexicalization makes it more specific. It is implicitly expressed by both POKAII as part of the meaning of the latter.

Second, and more importantly, the possibility of such an implicit expression of the meaning ‘I say ...’ is restricted to some particular Russian conjunctions. As was already stated (Section 1, example (2)), some conjunctions nearly-synonymous with POKA do not allow for such expressions; here is another example:

(76) a. *Poka deti spjat, u otca rak* ‘While the kids are asleep, Father has cancer’.

b. **Kogda deti spjat, u otca rak* ‘When the kids are asleep, Father has cancer’.

Therefore, the ability to express implicitly the meaning ‘I say ...’ has to be lexicographically marked for the corresponding conjunctions.

Third, this ability, that is, this semantic property, is linked to a set of other

lexicographic properties, as can be clearly seen from the lexical entries for POKAII: namely, syntactic and prosodic properties. According to Criterion II.1 for the division of lexicographic senses (“Differentiating Lexicographic Information,” Mel’čuk 2006b: 294ff), we have to describe these facts by separate lexical entries for the lexemes of the vocable POKAII.

4.3 An Additional Remark on the Notion of Illocutivity of Conjunctions

Sannikov 2005 allows for the illocutivity of a conjunction only in the case when there is no logical-cognitive link between the content of P and that of Q. However, the presence of such a link does not exclude the illocutivity of the conjunction that subordinates Q to P. Thus, in sentence (77)

(77) *Začem ty pojděš' v universitet [= P], raz tam nikogo net [= Q]?*

‘What will you go to the university for if there is nobody there?’¹³

the situations P and Q are of course logically and pragmatically linked: generally speaking, there being nobody at the university implies that it is unreasonable to go there. However, the conjunction RAZ, which means, roughly, ‘P being natural if Q’, cannot semantically bear on the proposition ‘you will go to the university’: going to an empty university is UNnatural in the given context, which would contradict the meaning of RAZ. What is natural in (77) is my uttering the question. In other words, the conjunction RAZ is illocutive here. Here is a similar example with POKAII.2:

(78) *Poka my ne umerli s golodu, kuda ty del kolbasu?*

‘Before we starve to death, where did you hide the sausage?’

Although the meanings of P and Q are pragmatically linked in an obvious way, the conjunction indicates that what precedes our starving to death is my question rather than you hiding the sausage.

It is true that in many cases of the illocutive use of conjunctions the contents of P and Q are logically not linked; this, however, cannot be a criterial property.

4.4 POKA in Set Expressions

Some uses of the conjunction POKA are not—and should not be—covered by our lexicographic descriptions: namely, when POKA appears in set expressions. There are two types of such uses:

- POKA is morphologically governed (= specified in the government pattern of another lexeme). Thus, POKA marks the deep-syntactic actant II of ŽDAT’ ‘wait’:

(79) *Ne nado ždat', poka tebe protjanut ruku*

‘You should not wait for someone to extend his hand to you’.

¹³ For a semantic description of the Russian conjunction RAZ, see Iordanskaja & Mel’čuk 2007: 477ff.

Semantic and syntactic specificity of this POKA must be described in the lexical entry for ŽDAT’—in its government pattern.

- POKA is part of an idiom. Consider, e.g., the weak idiom [P,] POKA NE POZDNO’ ‘[P should be done] while it is not too late’:

(80) *Idi (Nado pojtii) k vraču, poka ne pozdno*

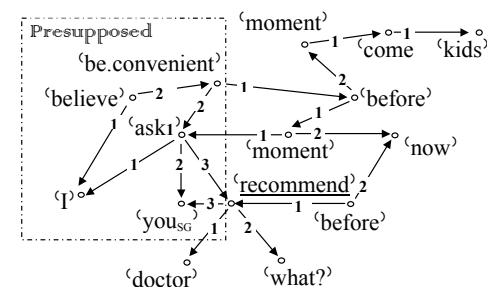
‘Go (It is necessary to) see a doctor while it is not too late’.

This idiom can be used only in the present—with reference to a future event P, in the context of a recommendation, etc. All these particularities must be stated in the lexical entry POKA NE POZDNO’.

4.5 An Illustration: POKAII.2 in Lexicalization

To show how the proposed lexicographic descriptions of POKA can be used within a Meaning-Text linguistic model, we present here the Semantic Structure (81a), underlying the Russian sentence (81b), which contains POKAII.2.¹⁴ This example illustrates the application of a lexicographic definition in the process of lexicalization of a SemS, in this case—to obtain the lexeme POKAII.2.

(81) a.



b. *Poka deti ne prišli, čto rekomendoval vrač?*

lit. ‘Before kids not came.back, what did.recommen doctor?’

Lexicalization matches the lexicographic definition of a lexical unit L on a given SemS and introduces L into the corresponding deep-syntactic structure. In this matching, a number of rules must be observed, of which the following is relevant here:

A semanteme ‘σ’ in a lexicographic definition is allowed to map on the semanteme ‘σ’ in the SemS, if ‘σ’ ⊃ ‘σ’, i.e., ‘σ’ is a particular case of ‘σ’, ‘σ’ being the communicatively dominant component in the definition of ‘σ’.

¹⁴ This SemS is simplified; among other things, the corresponding Sem-Communicative Structure, except for the presupposition, is not shown.

In our case, the semanteme 'say' [= 'σ'] in the definition of ПОКАИ.2 is allowed to map on 'ask1' [question; = 'σ']: 'say' is a general term for different speech acts, while 'ask1' denotes a particular speech act ('ask1' ⊃ 'say').

Acknowledgments

The following friends read the preliminary version of the paper and shared with us their considerations, suggestions, objections, etc.: Ju. Apresjan, D. Beck, O. Boguslavskaja, I. Boguslavskij, L. Iomdin, J. Miličević, N. Pertsov, E. Savvina, and L. Wanner. Their help was instrumental in improving the paper, and we thank them from the bottom of our hearts. The customary disclaimers apply: all the remaining defects and mistakes are only our responsibility.

References

- Boguslavskij, I. (1996) *Sfera dejstvija leksičeskix edinic* [The Scope of Lexical Units]. Moskva.
- Glovinskaja, M. (2001) *Mnogoznačnosť i sinonimija v vido-vremennoj sisteme russkogo glagola* [Polysemy and Synonymy in the Aspectual-Temporal System of the Russian Verb]. Moskva.
- Iordanskaja, L. (1988) Semantika russkogo sojuza RAZ (v sravnenii s nekotorymi drugimi russkimi sojuzami) [Semantics of the Russian Conjunction RAZ (in comparison with some other Russian Conjunctions)]. *Russian Linguistics*, 12(3), 239-267.
- Iordanskaja, L. (1992) Performativnye glagoly i ritoričeskie sojuzy [Performative Verbs and Rhetorical Conjunctions]. In: T. Reuther (ed.), *Festschrift für V. Ju. Rozencvejk zum 80. Geburtstag*, Wiener Slawistischer Almanach [Sonderband 33]: Wien, 29-41.
- Iordanskaja, L. & Mel'čuk, I. (2007) *Smysl i sočetaemost' v slovare* [Meaning and Cooccurrence in the Dictionary]. Moskva.
- LDOCE-Online (2008) *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, <http://www.ldoceonline.com>
- Mel'čuk, I. (2006a) *Aspects of the Theory of Morphology*. Berlin—New York.
- Mel'čuk, I. (2006b) Explanatory Combinatorial Dictionary. In: G. Sica (ed.), *Open Problems in Linguistics and Lexicography*, Polimetrica, 225-355. See also <http://www.polimetrica.com/?p=productsList&sWord=lexicography>
- Mel'čuk, I., Clas, A. & Polguère, A. (1995) *Introduction à la lexicologie explicative et combinatoire*. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Padučeva, E. (1985) *Vyskazyvanie i ego sootnesënnoť s dejstvitel'nost'ju* [Utterance and Its Relation to Reality]. Moskva.
- Sannikov, V. (2005) Illokutivnoe upotreblenie ili sintaksičeskij èllipsis? [An Illocutive Use or a Syntactic Ellipsis?] *Russkij jazyk v naučnom osveščenii*, 2(10), 121-136.
- Thompson, S. & Longacre, R. (1985) Adverbial Clauses. In: T. Schopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, vol. II, Complex Constructions*, Cambridge etc., 171-234.