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Introduction

The goal of this article is to examine the *expressive function* of Russian quantitative Aktionsarten in oral and written speech from the perspective of functional grammar and cognitive linguistics, the theoretical principles of which are outlined below. The focus will be on occasionally used Aktionsarten, which name an action quantity as "greater than the norm"; the term is used by native Russian speakers to express personal appreciation/depreciation of the action.

Following the functional grammar approach, events are treated as developing in time and space, and the way of this development is reflected in the universal functional-semantic category of aspectuality. This category has a field structure called the functional-semantic field of aspectuality; it embraces language means of different levels: lexical, morphological, syntactical. The field is organized as a hierarchy: it has a nucleus (the morphological category of aspect) and a periphery/peripheries formed by lexical, lexico-grammatical, and syntactic language means. This structure is idioethnic—that is, specific for any single language. In the Russian language it has a nucleus, the grammatical category of aspect, and peripheries of different levels: lexico-grammatical (Russian Aktionsarten/sposoby deĭstviia/lexical aspects, secondary abstract meanings that can modify primary meanings of verbs; Khrakovskiĭ 1980), lexical (contextual aspectual markers/adverbials), and syntactic (aspectual situations). The common aim of these peripheries is to express the character of action development in time and space. In English there is no nucleus, because English does not have the grammatical category of aspect and telicity/atelicity and character of action is consistently expressed by contextual means.

Aspectual semantics includes two semantic components: qualitative aspectuality and quantitative aspectuality, also called action

quantity or pluractionality (Newman 1980). The focus of this paper is on pluractionality—that is, "all differences in the manifestation of action that concern its quantitative count" (Maslov 2004), which include several aspectual meanings. After Ildikó (2013), who proposes that the conceptions of Maslov (2004), Cusic (1981), Dressler (1968), and V. Khrakovskiĭ (1980) can be integrated in one system, we assume that quantitative aspectuality is comprised of the following semantic components:

- **multiplicity** (semelfactive/frequentative actions/distributive),
- **continuity** (limited continuity/unlimited continuity),
- **intensity** (slightly intensive/strongly intensive/neutrally intensive).

Adopting Belskaia's (2004) motivological approach to the category of intensity, we understand *intensity* as the connotative meaning, which refers to "abnormal" quantitative and qualitative characteristics of a phenomenon. All three semantic components can be found in different combinations with each other, as in *poplakivat'*—frequentative, slightly intensive. To evaluate action quantity, *the default value* is necessary—that is, a point of departure or relative measure parameter (Cusic 1981). Cases that express "action quantity under or above the default value" are considered *evaluative* and are a focus of evaluative morphology (Körtvélyessy 2015). Many linguists also emphasize that to determining "the norm"/"unquantified activity" (Kotsyba 2007) and the deviation from the norm proves problematic; they emphasize that a person's idea of "the norm" is conditioned by his or her concept of size evaluation, which is language specific. This problem lies within the domain of cognitive linguistics.

The main means in the Russian language to express "action quantity under or above the default value" is *quantitative-terminative/kolichestvenno-predel'nye Aktionsarten* (Ildikó 2013), which denote a reduced action/"less than the norm" or an augmentative action/"greater than the norm" (Körtvélyessy 2015, 41); for the most comprehensive classifications of Russian Aktionsarten see (Avilova 1976) and (Sheliakin 1982). Many scholars concur that Russian Aktionsarten have high expressive potential because of the active and intricate word-formation mechanisms available (a variety of aspectual prefixes and suffixes) to Russian speakers to convey their

attitude/perception/emotional evaluation of the reported action (Arkadiev, Holovet, and Wiemer 2015, 239–240; Remchukova 2005). The following example will illustrate the expressive power of Russian Aktionsarten and the way speakers of Russian use Aktionsarten word-building patterns to convey expressive meaning:

(1) *Ya kak* **podumaiu***, chto mnogiye zhenskiye problemy – ot togo, chto my slishkom mnogo* **obdumyvaem***, zatem* **vdumyvaemsia***, chasto* **nadumyvaem***, a k tomu zhe i* **vydumyvaem***… Potom esche* **razdumyvaem***, posle chego mozhem i* **peredumat***'… UZHAS!!! Koroche govoria, ya* **dumaiu***, chto nam luchshe inogda voobshche…* **NE DUMAT***'!* (Sovremennaia zhenshchina, VKontakte Group)[1]

Linguists highlight peculiar features of expressivity of different Russian Aktionsarten:

(1) even without any specific context, verbs of certain Aktionsarten can already have negative connotations (like *doigrat'sia*, *zamutchit'*, *ponaekhat'*), which explains their usage in emotional contexts (Remchukova 2012);

(2) the diminutive Aktionsart (*zven'kat'*, *pobudit'* [*nedolgo*], *pobespokoit'sia* [*nemnogo*]) is always emotively nonneutral: "expressivity of speech manifests itself most of all in special suffixes—augmentative-diminutive, caressing-pejorative" (Galkina-Fedoruk 1953).

The peculiarity of the expressive function of diminutives is observed in the so-called cases of "outward" or "inner" conflicts (Papina 1988). In the former, expressivity is enhanced when diminutives are combined with aspectual adverbials of opposite semantics, like in *poriadochno podzakhmelet'*. In the latter case, expressivity is enhanced when Aktionsarten word-building morphemes have opposite meanings in poliprefixed verbs, as in *podnaguliat'sia*, *podnachitat'sia* (Gashkova 2003);

(3) the distributive-summary Aktionsart is always emotively nonneutral, but its usage is optional and colloquial (Karavanov 1999): compare *Magaziny* **zakryli***.* and *Magaziny* **pozakryvali***, where both

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[1] Sovremennaia zhenshchina, VKontakte post, August 11, 2016,
https://vk.com/vsegda_sama?w=wall-59120125_46105.

denote the same action, but there is a striking difference in the speaker's personal attitude toward the action;

(4) the semelfactive Aktionsart/Single Act Perfectives (*gul'nut'*, *dolbanut'*) is viewed as ironic and colloquial (Remchukova 2012, 116; Tošovič 2006, 412–13). In this respect, a distinction should be made between the neutral perfectivizing function of –*nu* (*kapnut'*) when verbs with –*nu* express one "quantum" of an iterative situation and its specifically semelfactive and expressive function (*gul'nut'*, *dolbanut'*) when we observe a nuance of intensity. This difference is conditioned by the verb's semantics (Dickey and Janda 2009);

(5) the intensive Aktionsarten will be always expressive, because *intensity* is a connotation referring to "abnormal" quantitative and qualitative characteristics of a phenomenon or an action (Belskaia 2004).

Research Questions

Building on the previous classifications, the present analysis will focus on the following questions with regards to the expressive functions of Russian quantitative Aktionsarten:

- Which quantitative Aktionsarten are most frequently used by Russian speakers to make their speech expressive?
- Which word-building patterns are used most frequently and which of them are used to create a positive/negative effect, a stronger/weaker effect?
- What is the role of the verb semantics, the context (situational, linguistic), and the speaker's subjective view of the action?

Data Collection and Analysis

The data consist of both oral and written speech samples produced by adult native speakers of Russian. Speech samples were collected on social network sites (Facebook, VKontakte, chats, blogs); in addition, transcripts of spontaneous speech samples were made. The data was then analyzed using the componential and discourse analysis.

Data Description

The analysis shows that speakers enhanced action intensity, action exhaustiveness, and action continuity to sound more expressive when

conveying their feelings and attitudes. Below is the analysis of how each quantitative semantic component is expressed.

Action Intensity

Quantitative-voluminal (kolichestvenno-ob''emnye) aktionsarten

(1) Situation. The author and his colleague are standing in a line with trays in their hands in the university canteen. Another colleague comes late and takes extra trays for them, not aware that they had already gotten their trays. Their reaction to her action:

- *A my uzhe **opodnosilis**'*. (laughing good-humouredly)[2]

We observe a productive word-building mechanism where the verb is motivated by the noun and formed by adding the prefix *o–* and the suffix *–i*. The new form means "to provide with the object named by the motivating noun" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602); in (2) it means "to provide everyone with trays." *Opodnosit'sia* is the distributive-summary (distributivno-summarnyĭ) Aktionsart: it names an action that consists of several acts directed upon many objects or performed by many subjects. The emotional coloring is positive, the use of the noun *podnos* as motivating is occasional, and the utterance sounds like a joke. In situations with verbs of the distributive-summary Aktionsart, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *vse* (*my uzhe vse opodnosilis'*) is optional.

(2) - *Kuda **nabigudinilas'**?* (Olga Naumkina's VKontakte post)[3]

We observe the productive word-building sequence *bigudi – bigudinit'sia – nabigudinit'sia*, in which the verb *nabigudinit'sia* is motivated by the verb *bigudinit'sia*, which in turn is motivated by the noun *bigudi*. As a result, *nabigudinit'sia* is the cumulative (kumuliativnyĭ) Aktionsart.

The verb *nabigudinit'sia* means "to have many objects on the surface with the help of the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). In this case *na–* can be treated as polysemantic and used to express two meanings: "directing onto the surface the action named by the motivating verb" and "to obtain a certain amount of

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[2] Larissa Sluchewskaya, talking with the author, September 2013.
[3] Olga Naumkina's VKontakte post, December 14, 2013, https://vk.com/id2748235.

something with the help of the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). The verb has great expressive power, as the motivating verb *bigudinit'sia* is itself occasional.

Without context, the emotional coloring is positive, the use of the noun *bigudi* as motivating is occasional, and the utterance sounds like a joke. The emotional coloring of the verb can be either positive (humorous) or negative (ironic):

- the situational context is required to interpret the emotional coloring: in the situation "somebody does something unexpected for another person," the utterance can be positively or negatively colored depending on the attitude of the speaker;

- in example (3), the use of a quantitative Aktionsart in the syntactic pattern [Kuda + V(perfective)?!] is expected (cf. *Kuda raznariadilas'?! Kuda ponakrasilas'?!*).

In situations with verbs of the cumulative Aktionsart, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *tak* (*Kuda tak nabigudinilas'?!*) is optional.

(3) - *Kogda* **nanakopilos'** *problem.* (Valentina Aleksandrova's VKontakte post)[4]

The productive prefixal word-building pattern [*na*– + Verb] is employed, meaning "to obtain a certain amount of something with the help of the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980). The verb has enhanced expressive power as we observe the phenomenon of *poliprefixation/poliprefiksatsiia* typical of dialectal and colloquial speech (Remchukova 2012, 124): the speaker adds the prefix *na*– to the cumulative verb *nakopit'* to build the cumulative-distributive Aktionsart by analogy with the prefix *pona*–. Using the prefix *nana*– to form a cumulative-distributive verb is occasional. *Nanakopilos'* is the cumulative-distributive (kumuliativno-distributivnyĭ) Aktionsart.

Without context, the emotional coloring is more positive than negative, which is conditioned by the prefix *nana*–, as its use is not regular but occasional.

Within some contexts, the emotional coloring of the verb can be positive or negative:

[4] Valentina Aleksandrova's (Bryansk, Suponevo) VKontakte post. 2013, https://vk.com/victoria32.

- in the situation "somebody is complaining," the utterance can be positively or negatively colored, depending on the attitude of the speaker;

- verb-object agreement is important: the verb of the cumulative-distributive Aktionsart requires plural objects.

In situations with verbs of the cumulative-distributive Aktionsart, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *stol'ko* (*kogda nanakopilos' stol'ko problem*) is optional.

Quantitative-Intensive (Kolichestvenno-Intensivnye) Aktionsarten

(4) *Takaia raznaia zhivaia zhizn' … Ona byla vsiu shkolu, ona byla togda, kogda pochti vse spokoĭno postupili v vuzy, ne zamorochennye EGE, ne* **zakoshmarennye** *kolichestvom biudzhetnykh mest. Vsem khvatalo vsego. Iarkie i solnechnye deti, slishkom mnogo vy mogli izmenit' v tom mire, v kotoryĭ prishli.* (Znakmedia Blog)[5]

We observe the productive word-building sequence *koshmar – koshmarit' – zakoshmarit'*, in which the verb *zakoshmarit'* is motivated by the verb *koshmarit'*, which in turn is motivated by the noun *koshmar*. The speaker uses the participle *zakoshmarennye*. *Zakoshmarit'* is the continuous-intensive Aktionsart (chrezmerno-prodolzhitelnyĭ).

Without context the emotional coloring is always negative, which is conditioned by the semantics of the base noun *koshmar* (it is a regularity—with many verbs, the meaning of "making somebody be in an undesirable state" is expressed by the base word (Shvedova 1980, 358)).

Within our context the emotional coloring is negative (to show criticism of something in the past—i.e., in the Soviet times, children had real childhoods whereas now parents and society set exceptionally high demands on their children from an early age):

1. the given situation is negative: "somebody's life is awful because of many difficulties";
2. verb-object agreement is important: the verb of the continuous-intensive Aktionsart requires plural objects.

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[5] Znakmedia, "Devochka, zhuiushchaia gudron" *Znakmedia* (Blog), July 31, 2013, http://znakmedia.ru/devochka-zhuyushhaya-gudron/.

In situations with verbs of the continuous-intensive Aktionsart, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *sovsem, tak* (*sovsem zakoshmarennye*) is optional.

(5) Situation. The author and his colleagues stay in a hostel with only a single shower-room, which does not work properly, on the ground floor. They are a bit perplexed that visiting foreign lecturers are provided with better conveniences than Russian participants.

Ekaterina: Da … nashikh by britantsev da v etot dush. Vot oni <u>namylis'</u> by.

*Author: Da … oni by ne <u>namylis'</u>, a **zamylis'**.* (laughing good-humouredly though *sadly*)[6]

Where *namyt'sia* is saturative (sativnyĭ) and nonoccasional, *zamyt'sia* is overintensive (chrezmerno-intensivnyĭ) and occasionally coined by the speakers.

We observe the productive prefixal word formation: the verb is motivated by the verb *myt'sia* and formed by adding the prefix *za–*, the new form means "to make somebody/something be in an undesirable state with the help of the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602).

Without context the emotional coloring of *zamyt'sia* is negative, which is conditioned, on the one hand, by the semantics of the prefix *za–* and the motivating verb *myt'sia*: when we bring the action *myt'sia* to an end we usually say *vymyt'sia* or *pomyt'sia*; when combined with *za–* the verb gets a negative connotation because the action amount is too exaggerated. It is similar to the "inner" conflict described for the diminutives and mentioned above: expressivity is enhanced when the Aktionsart-building morpheme has a meaning that contradicts the verb semantics. On the other hand, the negative emotional coloring is also conditioned by the fact that there is no conceptual representation of the action *zamyt'sia*.

Within our context the emotional coloring is negative: expressing criticism of the given situation—poor service to citizens of the country versus good service for foreign guests (the speakers mean that the foreign guests would not be able to shower at all in such conditions because they are not used to it).

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[6] Ekaterina Barinova, talking with the author, September 2013.

The usage of the *contrastive negation* pattern [*ne* … , *a* …] enhances expressivity but is optional (we can also say "*Oni by ne <u>namylis'</u>. Oni by <u>zamylis'</u>*.") because the Aktionsart is the main means to convey the aspectual meaning and expressivity. In [*ne* + Verb (saturative), *a* + Verb (overintensive)] both verbs name the action quantity "greater than the norm" but of different levels/degrees—*myt'sia* is an "unqualified" action quantity, *namyt'sia* is a "greater than the norm" action quantity, and *zamyt'sia* is a very exaggerated action quantity. Thus, we observe a contrast of different degrees of action quantity, and a parallel can be well drawn with the degrees of adjectives: *myt'sia* (positive), *namyt'sia* (comparative), *zamyt'sia* (superlative).

In situations with verbs of the saturative, continuous-intensive, and overintensive Aktionsarten, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *sovsem* (*Oni by sovsem zamylis'*) is optional.

(6) Situation. Vladivostok, a heavy snowstorm, there is so much snow that people cannot walk: the snow is waist deep. Three persons go out of the house and find themselves trapped in snow. They treat the situation with a sense of humor and are roaring with laughter.

*Man: … Znak v sugrobe konkretno zanesënnyǐ … Gde tam svetofor?! ... Po poias, Nadiukha!! ... Nichego sebe, **peremët**, blin … !!!* (Anna Gal'tseva's Facebook post)[7]

We observe the productive word-building sequence *mesti – peremesti – peremët* in which the noun *peremët* is motivated by the verb *peremesti*, which in turn is motivated by the verb *mesti*. The new form means "too long and intensive action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). *Peremesti* is an overnormative (chrezmerno-normativnyǐ) Aktionsart. It motivates the verbal noun *peremët*, which is built by analogy with building nouns from verbs with the suffix *–at*, meaning "object which is the result of the action named by the motivating verb" (cf. *delegirovat' – delegat*; Shvedova 1980, 594-602). The noun *peremët* is an occasionalism/nonce word.

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[7] Anna Gal'tseva's Facebook post, December 16, 2014,
https://www.facebook.com/anna.galtseva.9/videos/879843392055641/?pnref=story.

Without context the emotional coloring can be considered positive or negative. Within some context the emotional coloring depends on the attitude of the speaker to the given situation (optimistic/pessimistic).

In situations with verbs of the overnormative Aktionsart, no additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of the syntactic pattern [Nichego sebe … !] enhances expressivity but is optional (we can say *Peremët!*, which is a bit less expressive).

Terminative-Continuous and Terminative-Intensive Aktionsarten

(7) Inscription under a photo: *Vykhodnoĭ. Poĭdu* **nasplius'**. (Kroshka Shi)[8]

(8) The name of a group: *Poĭdu s goria* **nasplius'**. (VKontakte, Group's name)[9]

We observe a productive word-building mechanism where the verb is motivated by the verb *spat'* and formed by adding the prefix *na–*. The new form means "intensive action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). *Nasplius'* is the saturative (sativnyĭ) Aktionsart.

The emotional coloring is always positive: the usage of the verb *nasplius'* is not regular but occasional and thus makes the utterance sound like a joke, and the motivating verb *spat'* has positive semantics. No additional action quantity semantics are required.

We can also observe cases when the speaker uses several Aktionsarten in one utterance, each one exceeding the previous one in intensity; the speaker's intention is to sound more expressive, like in the following situation:

(9) *Tak* **naobshchalis'**, *chto azh priamo* **pereobshchalis'** *i* **vyobshchalis'** *i* **zaobshchalis'**! (Elena Adalmina's Otvet.mail.ru post)[10]

We observe *naobshchat'sia* (saturative/sativnyĭ) and occasionally used *pereobshchat'sia* (overnormative/chrezmerno-normativnyĭ), *vyobschat'sia* (saturative/sativnyĭ), *zaobschat'sia* (overintensive/chrezmerno-intensivnyĭ) Aktionsarten. They are built according to

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[8] Kroshka Shi, http://kroshka-shi.livejournal.com/24552.html#comments.

[9] Poĭdu s goria nasplius', VKontakte VKontakte, Group's name,
https://vk.com/club31616144.

[10] Elena Adalmina's Otvet.mail.ru post, 2008, https://otvet.mail.ru/question/15120080.

productive prefixal patterns for verbs [prefix + Verb]. Increased action intensity is achieved by the use of three verbs *in a cumulative way*, each one surpassing the previous one in degree. No additional action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *azh priamo* is optional.

Action Exhaustiveness

Action exhaustiveness, or inner limit (telicity) exhausted by the action, means that the action stops when it achieves its limit (telicity): it exhausted itself. In Russian action exhaustiveness concerns perfective verbs. The character of action exhaustiveness is different with transitive and intransitive verbs: the action can exhaust an object/objects it is directed upon and thus makes this object pass into a new state (transitive verbs); or the action can achieve its inner limit present in the verb semantics or the context and the situation; the action is finished and a phase of its new state begins (intransitive verbs; Bondarko and Kazakovskaia 2013, 443; Shatunovskiĭ 2009).

Terminative-Continuous and Terminative-Intensive Aktionsarten

(10) Situation. Dmitry, is keen on mountain biking. During a typical evening, which he spends watching mountain biking videos, he comments:

- **Snarkomanil** *ia sebia* velikami *ėtimi*.[11]

We observe the productive word-building sequence *narkoman – narkomanit' – snarkomanit'*, in which the verb *snarkomanit'* is motivated by the occasional verb *narkomanit'*, which in turn is motivated by the noun *narkoman*. The new form means "to get damaged, ruined, used up by the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). *Snarkomanit'* is a final-negative (finalno-otritsatelnyĭ) Aktionsart.

Without context the emotional coloring is always negative, which is conditioned by the negative semantics of the base noun *narkoman*. Within our context the emotional coloring is negative. However, we can observe different levels/shades of intensity of negative emotional coloring depending on verb-object semantic agreement: in (11) the negative emotional coloring is low as *snarkomanit'* in combination with *velikami* is used indirectly; the speaker coins this verb to show how

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[11] Dmitriĭ Gorodetckiĭ, talking with the author, December 2014.

obsessed he is with bike riding and that it is not very good because he is always thinking only about it. No additional action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *sovsem*, *sil'no* to intensify the result exhaustiveness is optional.

Terminative-Temporal Aktionsarten

(11) - *Zhdu tvoeĭ zharkoĭ ulybki.*

- *Da uzh vsë*, **otulybalas'**, *poslezavtra na rabotu.* (Ekaterina Barinova's Facebook post)[12]

We observe the productive word-building sequence *ulybka – ulybat'sia – otulybat'sia*, in which the verb *otulybat'sia* is motivated by the verb *ulybat'sia*, which in turn is motivated by the noun *ulybka*. The new form means "to bring to an end the action named by the motivating verb which lasted for some time" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). *Otulybat'sia* is the finitive (finitivnyĭ) Aktionsart.

Without context the emotional coloring of *otulybat'sia* is negative, which is conditioned by the semantics of the prefix *ot–* and the motivating verb *ulybat'sia*, which when used together have the meaning "there will be no chance to be happy again and smile."

Within our context the emotional coloring is negative (in this case, it is the disappointment of the speaker, a university professor, needing to start a new hard studying year at the university). However, it can be of different intensity depending on the speaker's attitude (optimistic/pessimistic).

No additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required; the usage of *sovsem*, *uzhe* to intensify the result exhaustiveness is optional.

We can also observe cases when the speaker uses several Aktionsarten, each one exceeding the previous one in intensity; the speaker's intention is to sound more expressive, like in the following situation:

(12) Situation. At a seminar on translation theory, discussing a task on the translator's "false friends."

Author: Trudnoe bylo zadanie?

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[12] Ekaterina Barinova's Facebook post, August 25, 2015, https://www.facebook.com/ekaterina.barinova.54.

*Student 1: Da, ves' Internet **izguglili**.*
*Student 2: **Vyguglili**.*
*Student 3: **Guglili, guglili, da ne vyguglili**.* (good-humouredly)[13]

We observe the occasional verbs *izguglili* (total/totalnyĭ) and *vyguglili* (saturative/sativnyĭ) built following the productive prefixal verb-building patterns: *vy–* ("intensive action named by the motivating verb"), *iz–* ("action named by the motivating verb spreads over many places"), and the syntactic pattern [Verb imperfective (*guglili*), *da ne* Verb perfective (*vyguglili*)].

[Verb imperfective, *da ne* Verb perfective] is a pattern typical of Russian folk tales (e.g., *zhdal, zhdal, na de dozhdalsia*), which expresses the opposition between an attempt to perform an action (imperfective) and the action's successful completion (perfective; Maslov 1948). The use of this pattern lays emphasis on the absence of a result.

Action Continuity

(13) Two friends are talking. One is telling the other about communicating via emails with a man: they have been writing to each other for a long time already but no serious decisions have been made so far.

*Olesia: Chto tolku, chto ia emu **pisala-napisyvala**!![14]*

We observe the verb *napisyvat'* of the frequentative Aktionsart (affixal verb-formation, productive model) denoting a long-lasting action of repetitive nature. Expressivity is enhanced by using the *alliterating synonyms/parnye sinonimy* (Fenenko 2001, 74; *pisat'-napisyvat'*), which express long-lasting action without successful completion.

The emotional coloring is always negative, which is conditioned by the semantics of the model. No additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are compulsory; the usage of *stol'ko* to intensify the long-lasting action is optional.

Of interest are cases when Russian speakers employ Aktionsarten of "unquantified activity" (the norm) to build an expressive occasional verb following a productive word-building pattern, as in (15), or which

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[13] Students, talking with the author, December 2014.
[14] Olesia Ryzhikova, talking with the author, August 2016.

get the meaning of "much action quantity" and become emotionally colored in special context, as in (16, 17). But such cases are rare.

(14) Situation. Early in the morning, while walking the dogs, one friend tells the others she is afraid there is a mouse in her apartment, which has caused her several sleepless nights.

- A ty vyspalas'?

- Da, uzh, vyspalas'! Ya <u>uzhe tri dnia</u> ètu mysh karauliu.

- I chto? **Skaraulila***?* (laughing good-humouredly)[15]

In this case action exhaustiveness is expressed. We observe the productive word-building sequence *karaul – karaulit' – skaraulit'*, the new form means "to bring to an end the action named by the motivating verb" (Shvedova 1980, 594-602). The verb *skaraulit'* is used occasionally; it is motivated by the verb *karaulit'* (nonterminative [atelic], evolutive/evolyutivnyĭ) by analogy with the productive perfective verb-building pattern *delat' – sdelat'*. In this context the emotional coloring is positive. No additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are required with *skaraulit'*.

(15) *Ne smog* **naguglit'***, kto perevel ètot fil'm. No, <u>esli est' <u>ad</u></u>, to pust' oni tam <u>vechno</u> perepisyvaiut slovarnuiu stat'iu dlia frazy "make sure."* (Maksim Isakov's Facebook post)[16]

In this case, action exhaustiveness is expressed. We observe prefixal word formation: the occasional resultative verb *naguglit'* is motivated by the verb *guglit'* (nonterminative [atelic], evolutive/evolyutivnyĭ). *Guglit'* is a neologism, a colloquial word used mostly by young people. The resultative of *guglit'* (a controlled gradual result-oriented action) can be formed using several productive Aktionsarten-building patterns:

*guglit' – **po**guglit'* (cf. *chitat' – pochitat'*; a little)

*guglit' – **pro**guglit'* (cf. *delat' – prodelat'*; thoroughly)

*guglit' – **na**guglit'* (cf. *pisat – napisat'*; intensive action).

No additional contextual means with action quantity semantics are compulsory; the usage of *sovsem*, *voobshche* is optional.

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[15] Olesia Ryzhikova and Zhenia Borisova, talking with the author, July 2015.

[16] Maksim Isakov's Facebook post, Translators and Translations Group, July 25, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10206266480251419&set=gm.125974528070490 01&type=3&theater.

The emotional coloring is negative, which is conditioned by

-   verb semantics: though built following a productive word-building pattern, *naguglit'* is considered derogative (in Russian you sooner say *iskat'/naiti v Internete*),

- context: the negatively colored adverbial *esli est' ad*, without it *naguglit'* would sound simply dialectal.

(16) Situation. One poodle breeder is visited by another, her friend, who visits with her dogs; there are more than a dozen of poodles in one room!

*Aaaaa mechta!!!! Pudeleĭ **zavezli**.* (Anna Riazanova's Facebook post)[17]

In this case, action intensity is expressed. We find the verb of motion *zavezti*, meaning "to deliver somewhere by order"; without context it is "unqualified" action quantity (the norm) and is not emotionally colored. It gets its positive (humorous) emotional coloring and aspectual semantics of action quantity "greater than the norm" within this context:

(1) *Aaaaa mechta!!!!* vividly signals the verb's positive coloring,

(2) The positive (humorous) emotional coloring is achieved by substituting components of fixed expressions with unexpected words: the phrase *zavezti v magazin* (*V magazin zavezli produkty*) is used about the dogs. The connotative meaning is based on the cultural background, as the phrase *zavezli v magazin* was typical of the Soviet times when many ordinary consumer goods were not available in stores ("deficit"), and whenever products were delivered to a shop, people were happy and hurried there telling their friends that *"You know, v magazin zavezli … !!!"*

(3) verb-object agreement: the semantic of action quantity "greater than the norm" is expressed by plural objects.

Proceeding from the data, the following observations were formed:

(1)   Expressive function is regularly found with verbs of quantitative-terminative Aktionsarten, which name an action quantity "greater than the norm": it is either action intensity, action exhaustiveness, or action continuity, which is emphasized by the speaker. Verbs of "unquantified" activity can but rarely achieve

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[17] Anna Riazanova's Facebook post, July 30, 2016,
https://www.facebook.com/anna.rjazanova.

quantitative semantics in certain contexts. In Table 1 we present the quantitative semantic components and Aktionsarten, expressing those which were analyzed in this research.

Table 1. Verbs according to their action function

Action intensity	Action exhaustiveness	Action continuity
opodnosit'sia (distributive-summary)	*snarkomanit'* (final-negative)	*pisat'-napisyvat'* (frequentative)
nabigudinit'sia (cumulative)	*otulybat'sia* (finitive)	
nanakopilos' (cumulative-distributive)	*izguglit'* (total)	
zakoshmarit' (continuous-intensive)	*vyguglit'* (saturative)	
peremesti (overnormative)		
zamyt'sia, zaobschat'sia (overintensive)		
nasplius', vyobschat'sia (saturative)		
pereobshchat'sia (overnormative)		

(2) In most cases speakers coin new occasional verbs of quantitative semantics and build them following Russian productive verb-building patterns. The prevailing word-building types are (a) a verb is motivated by a verb (Verb → Verb) and (b) the sequence pattern Noun → Verb → Verb.

(3) Context plays a significant role in creating expressivity degree and the speaker's appreciation/depreciation of the action. Among these contextual factors are syntactic patterns intensifying action quantity: several quantitative verbs in a cumulative way, each one surpassing the previous one in degree; the contrastive negation pattern (*ne … , a …*); (Verb imperfective, *da ne* Verb perfective) expressing the opposition between an attempt to perform an action (imperfective) and the fact of action successful completion (perfective); and the alliterating synonyms/parnye sinonimy (pisat'-napisyvat') expressing long action without successful completion. Verb-object agreement is also of importance: verbs of the cumulative-distributive, continuous-intensive Aktionsarten require plural objects; the semantics of the object can influence the intensity of negative emotional coloring, as in *snarkomanit' velikami*, where the object forces an indirect use of the verb. In terms of extralinguistic context, the speaker's attitude (optimistic/pessimistic) can influence the intensity of emotional coloring.

(4) Contextual means with action quantity semantics (adverbials like *sovsem*, *tak*, *uzhe*, etc.) used to intensify action quantity are optional—the semantics of action quantity "greater than the norm" is expressed by a quantitative Aktionsart, and an aspectual adverbial just adds a nuance of intensity.

Discussion

The amount of data used in this research is small in scope, yet it is representative enough to make observations about the expressive function of quantitative Aktionsarten in the Russian language.

The data show that to sound emphatic, Russian speakers tend to exaggerate action quantity and not to employ verbs of quantitative Aktionsarten, which are regularly used and even registered in dictionaries (like, *ponastroit'*, *izranit'*, *dobudit'sia*), but to coin their own quantitative Aktionsarten following productive word-building patterns.

The data suggest that all cases where we observe action quantity "greater than the norm" (intensity, exhaustiveness, continuity) could be called intensive because in all of them we see action dynamism, and they all satisfy the definition of *intensity* as a connotational meaning that denotes the "abnormal" quantitative and qualitative characteristics of an action. However, we can make a distinction between the so-called action

intensity proper, action exhaustiveness when the speaker intensifies the fact that the object is completely exhausted by the action, and action continuity when the speaker intensifies action duration. The decisive factors for this distinction are the semantics of Aktionsarten and the context.

The data also reveal that the Russian speakers tend to make their speech more emphatic by using *poliprefixation/poliprefiksatsiya* (*nanakopilos'*) and polysemanticity of prefixes. This raises several questions as to the description of the mechanism of their usage and how it is introduced to learners of Russian. In the case of poliprefixation the problem is to describe regularities of using the prefixes *nana–* (*nanakopilis'*) and *popo–* (*popodelal*) with certain semantic groups of verbs. The case of polysemanticity of prefixes seems even more complicated. Polysemantic reading can be conditioned by verb semantics, as in *snarkomanit'* and *skaraulit'*. In both cases we observe prefixal word building, the sequence pattern Noun → Verb → Verb, and the prefix *s–*, with the meaning "to bring to an end the action named by the motivating verb." In *snarkomanit'* the verb acquires an additional negative shade of meaning under the influence of the motivating noun *narkoman*, which has negative semantics "to get damaged, ruined, used up by the action named by the motivating verb." More intricate are cases when polysemantic reading of prefixes is conditioned not only by verb semantics but also by our *concepts about the action*, as in *zakoshmarit'*, *zamyt'sia'*, and *zaobshchat'sia'*. When adding the prefix *za–* we create the new form meaning "to make somebody/something be in an undesirable state with the help of the action named by the motivating verb." In *zakoshmarit'* the negative reading is motivated by the negative semantics of the motivating noun *koshmar*. In *zamyt'sia'* the semantics of the motivating verb is positive (*myt'sia'* is "unqualified" action quantity and it can acquire either positive or negative treatment in context), but it is our concept about the action *myt'sia* that influences our treatment of *zamytsia'*: it is unnatural for a man to spend hours in the bath. In *zaobshchat'sia'* the semantics of the motivating verb is positive, so the positive or negative treatment depends on context.

Conclusion

This research into the expressive function of Russian quantitative Aktionsarten in speech has shown that the degree of expressivity and the emotional coloring depend on an interplay of factors such as verb semantics, the speaker's concepts about actions and his attitudes toward the situation, linguistic context in its various manifestations (syntactic patterns, verb-object agreement, use of action quantity adverbials), and the situation of communication. Likewise, it has shown that Russian speakers tend to linguistic creativity, coining verbs of quantitative Aktionsarten to exaggerate action quantity, and thus to be more expressive and convincing.

Even though many scientific papers have been written on different problems of the functions of Russian aspect and Aktionsarten, no comprehensive research has been done into functioning of quantitative Aktionsarten as a powerful expressive means in different types of texts, and no teaching materials have been created discussing how to introduce them to learners of Russian. The need for this is obvious: the usage of quantitative Aktionsarten for expressivity is a typical feature of the Russian language and teachers and learners of Russian need systemic and comprehensive explanations of how the Russian Aktionsarten function.

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