Competing future constructions in Russian and their non-future uses

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Russian has two standard ways of expressing future. According to Russian National Corpus (RNC), the non-past conjugated verbform of a perfective verb is attested at least 10 times more than the periphrastic future consisting of the auxiliary verb byt' 'be' and an imperfective infinitive. Already in the pre-corpus era, the number of non-future uses was estimated at about one-third of perfective future verbforms (Forsyth 1970: 120). A corpus-based grammar of Russian (rusgram.ru) provides a detailed description of different categories (order, prohibition, instruction, opportunity, habitual etc.) of non-future use of future illustrated by analysis of 100 examples from the corpus (Stojnova 2017).

My study is based on 2 datasets of 1000 examples from RNC each. It shows that Russian perfective future does not mean future or only future in roughly half of the cases. These non-future meanings could be viewed as "gnomic" constructions, "general personal (as opposed to impersonal) expressions" (Example 1), "performatives", "directives", and "conditionals" (a future form is used instead of the standard grammatical forms for both these categories) etc.

- Nektar iz nee *ne voz'meš,* prodolžala staraja Pčela. "You can't take nectar from it," continu ed the old Bee.' [Viktor Kologriv. Medovyj lug // «Murzilka», 2002]
- (2) A kak vy pitaetes'? Sobaka ne budet est' togo, čem ja pitajus'. Platjat suščie groši. Deneg počti net. "And what do you eat? — The dog will not eat what I eat. They pay pennies. Almost no money." [Sergej Dovlatov. Inaja žizn' (1984)]

Non-future uses of imperfective future verbforms received less attention. However, it seems that the categories of meanings overlap for perfective and imperfective verbs. Example 2 shows a gnomic use of future imperfective.

In this talk, we draw attention to the contexts that make the non-future construals of both perfective and imperfective forms possible in Russian. The provided data contribute to the discussion on whether aspect or tense motivates the extension of Russian future into non-future.

References: Forsyth, J. (1970). A grammar of aspect: Usage and meaning in the Russian verb. Vol. 1970. Cambridge University Press. Stojnova N. M. (2017). Nefutural'nye upotreblenija form budushhego vremeni. Materialy dlja proekta korpusnogo opisanija russkoj grammatiki. (http://rusgram.ru). Na pravah rukopisi. M. Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 15:15–15:45 ESA1 O 122

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