Bachelor Thesis

for the degree of Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.)

at the University of Potsdam on the subject of

Positions of Temporal Adverbial Clauses in Colloquial Russian

A Corpus Study

submitted to

1. examiner: Andreas Schmidt,

the University of Potsdam

2. examiner: Prof. Dr. Roland Meyer,

Humboldt University of Berlin

Prepared: Natalie Russ

a – Table of Content

b – List of Tables

c – List of Figures

d – List of Appendixes

1 Introduction

This work presents a corpus study of colloquial Russian investigating the implementation of syntactic constructions of standard Russian in oral speech, in particular positions of a temporal adverbial clause in a sentence.

As Litnevskaja (2011) noted, colloquial Russian was not systematically researched until the 1960s and 70s. The project "The Russian language and the Soviet society"[1] gave a real start to collecting and investigating patterns of oral speech. In the 1970s three main research centers emerged around Sirotinina (Saratov), Lapteva, and Zemskaja (both Moscow). Zemskaja, Kitajgorodskaja & Širjaev (1981) gave the most complete description of aspects of colloquial Russian (henceforth CR). Lapteva (1976) focused her work on the syntax of CR, she described and classified its grammatical constructions.

Soviet and Russian linguists addressed standard Russian as a "codified language". The term "codified language" was selected to emphasize the fact, that its norms are kept in rules, which stay stable during long periods of time[2]. According to Litnevskaja (2011) the term "language norms" is distinguished in its narrow and its broad meaning. Stable norms of the codified language are norms in their narrow meaning. Norms of CR are norms in their broad meaning.

Although there are no lexicons or grammars of CR, speakers are aware of its rules and use them correctly in accordance with a communicative situation. The oral-colloquial norm, as Lapteva (1976) wrote, is "[…] more dynamic than the codified one, faster in its establishment and modification"[3] (p. 26, translated by me, Natalie Russ, henceforth NR). On the one hand, CR is based on stable standard literary Russian, it uses its grammatical constructions, and speakers are aware of the rules and norms of the codified language. On the other hand, speakers use, in their oral unofficial speech, forms that are not acceptable in the

---

[1] "...«Русский язык и советское общество» ([Русский язык и советское общество 1962], [Русский язык и советское общество 1966], [Русский язык и советское общество 1968])" (Litnevskaja, 2011, p. 8).

[2] The latest actual issue of them is *Russkaja Grammatika* (Russian Grammar) (ed.) Švedova (1980).

[3] "Устно-разговорная литературная норма несравненно динамичнее кодифицированной, стремительнее в своем становлении и изменении…" (Lapteva, 1976, p. 26).

standard language. Codified Russian and CR are constantly interacting: the first provides forms and constructions, the second demonstrates the diversity of their implementation at the level of conventional norms. The current study deals in particular with one of the applications of standard grammatical forms in CR: a temporal adverbial clause and the variety of its positions in sentences produced in oral communications.

The selection of a certain syntactic construction for this study was made on the basis of Lapteva's (1976) analysis of the syntax of CR: it is the conjunction-less subordination that does not occur in the codified /written language. Conjunction-less subordination means that a subordinated clause is connected to the main clause without regular conjunction. On the example of temporal subordinate clauses with the conjunction *kogda* (when), Lapteva (1976) predicted a transformation of classical construction with conjunction into a conjunction-less one.

The goal of the study is to search for typical CR patterns of temporal adverbial constructions in a modern corpus of Russian and analyze their structure and position in sentences taking into account their role and frequency. The research questions are the following:

- Are patterns derived from Lapteva's (1976) schema of complex sentences with temporal subordinate clauses still present in modern CR?
- If they are, what positions take temporal adjuncts in CR sentences and how frequent is their appearance in the corpus.

1.1 Overview

The work is structured as follows: chapter 2 contains the definition of CR and its main features as well as an overview of previous research in this area. Chapter 3 deals with the position of temporal adverbial clauses in codified Russian compared to its position in CR. The research question, the hypotheses, the applied re-research method, and the design are presented in chapter 4. Chapter 5 shows findings, chapter 6 their detailed analysis. A discussion is presented in chapter 7, followed by a conclusion in chapter 8.

Examples and quotes from Russian are transliterated[4] (font: *italics*), an original

---

[4] Transliteration table DIN 1460 (1982).

version in Russian (Cyrillic) is placed in a footnote. Quotes of Russian researchers are translated by NR. Translations are placed immediately after original texts in parentheses. Some examples analyzed in the main text are shortened if they contain information that does not directly contribute to the topic. Glossing of examples are done after Leipzig Glossing Rules[5].

Appendix 1 contains tables produced from raw data for statistical analysis. Graphics are made using LibreOffice[6], version 7.2.2.2, statistical analysis by Rstudio[7] version 1.2.5033. Collected data as well as other materials of this study are presented at the OSF page https://osf.io/jxrpw/.

1.2 Abbreviations

ACC   Accusative Case

CONJ   Conjunction

CP   Complement Phrase

CR   Colloquial Russian

DAT   Dative Case

DIM   Diminutive

F   Feminine

FSP   Functional Sentence Perspective

FUT   Future Tense

IMP   Imperative

IN   Interposed Clause

INF   Infinitive

INS   Instrumental Case

IPF   Imperfective Aspect

IS   Information Structure

LOC   Locative Case

M   Masculine

---

[5] The Leipzig Glossing Rules have been developed jointly by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel), last change: May 31, 2015.

[6] © 2000-2021, LibreOffice contributors.

[7] © 2009-2019 Rstudio, Inc.

ML	Meaningless (Conjunction)
N	Neutrum
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
OBJ	Object
PL	Plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PFV	Perfective Aspect
PRP	Prepositional Case
PRS	Present Tense
PST	Past Tense
PTCP	Participle
REFL	Reflexive
S	Subject
SG	Singular
SOV	Subject- Object - Verb
SVO	Subject- Verb - Object
vP	Verbal Phrase
??	Marks non-felicitous sentence
*	Marks ungrammatical sentence

1.3 Stress and Intonation Marks

↑	Rising intonation (middle of an utterance, question)
↓	Falling intonation (end of a neutral utterance)
´	Stressed syllable
˄	Two syllables pronounced without a pause
<>	Pause between parts of a sentence

2 Syntax of Colloquial Russian

To get a better understanding of the syntax of colloquial Russian, I would like to give an insight into the characteristics of colloquial speech. It is important to underline, that CR is not a dialect or a jargon or an argot, which serves special speaker groups. CR is not a "*prostorechie[8]*" (nonstandard or vernacular dialect) which denotes a language of a half-educated urban population. CR is a language that can be understood by any speaker, who is aware of standard language norms. Grigor'eva, 2000, cited by Litnevskaja, 2011, p. 23, defined the main functions of CR: a communication function and a contact maintaining function. The main features[9] of CR are shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Features of CR

Area of usage	Everyday life
Main function	Maintenance of the contact
Relations between participants	Unofficial
Degree of preparation	Unprepared
Limitations	No
Selections of themes	Unlimited
Form	Oral
Word semantics	Diffuse, ambiguous, concrete
Emotionality	High
Expressivity	High

As it was already mentioned in chapter 1 three main research centers of CR emerged around Sirotinina, Lapteva, and Zemskaja. Their view on the status of CR was different: Zemskaja saw CR as a separate system, which cannot be analyzed by the same means as the codified language. She claimed the lack of suitable grammatical descriptions of CR. For Sirotinina, 2009, CR was a functional style of standard Russian: "*spontannaja ustnaja literaturnaja reč' v uslovijah neprinuždjonnogo neoficial'nogo neposredstvennono obščenija*[*RR v sisteme funkcional'nyh stilej*]"[10] ("spontaneous oral literary speech under conditions of an unofficial personal communication [CR in the system of functional

---

[8] the definition of Dm.Ushakov.

[9] CR features from Litnevskaja, 2011, p. 23 are translated by NR

[10] "спонтанная устная литературная речь в условиях непринужденного неофициального непосредственного персонального общения [PP в системе функциональных стилей]".

styles, 2009a: 3]" (as cited in Litnevskaja, 2011, p. 34). Lapteva (1976) regarded CR as a subsystem of the codified language. All three authors agreed that CR had its conventional norms. They named different criteria for the classification of CR. Litnevskaja (2011) summarized their views as follows:

- Zemskaja: CR arises in an unofficial and spontaneous communication
- Sirotinina: CR arises in an immediate personal communication
- Lapteva: CR is an oral realization of the codified language.

The common feature of CR for all three is its communicative task, the goal of which is an exchange of information between/among interlocutors taking into account the state of their common knowledge of a subject. Successful exchange of information assumes that a speaker encodes a message in his utterance in such a form, that a listener can decode it in the most veritable and optimal way. The means that a speaker uses by encoding a message is called in the linguistic "information structure"[11], it plays an important role in CR concerning its commutative task. The term "information structure" was not used by Russian researchers whose works I'm going to discuss in the next chapters. Instead, they applied the term *actual'noe členenie predloženija* (Functional Sentence Perspective[12]) introduced by the Prague Linguistic Circle in the 40th of the 20th century. For a better understanding of the term *actual'noe členenie predloženija,* which is still frequently used in Russian linguistic literature, I refer to Bailyn (2012, p. 258) and his explanation of the FSP:

> "a. *Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP)* (Mathesius 1939; Adamec 1966):
>   = the essentially bipartite division of every sentence into **Theme** before **Rheme**.
> b. **Theme** (or Topic or Departure Point):
>   'what is known in the given situation … and from which the speaker departs.'
> c. **Rheme** (or Focus or Comment or Core):
>   'what the speaker expresses about the departure point or with attention to it.'
> d. All else being equal, *Theme* precedes *Rheme*. "

Underlining the importance of the relation between **Theme** and **Rheme** Bailyn (2012, p. 258. Footnote 18) cited Adamec, 1966, who argued that

---

[11] The term information structure is due to Halliday (1967). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Information_structure Retrieved on the 1.2.2022

[12] This term was created by Jan Firbas (1957,1994) as an English equivalent. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Functional_sentence_perspective. Retrieved on the 1.2.2022

> "'It is usually stated that the Rheme is a new and the most important information in the communicative relationship...The new and important information consists not only of the Rheme but particularly of the relationship between the Rheme and the Theme. It is exactly in this relationship that the purpose of the communication is expressed" (Adamec,1966, pp. 20-22).'"

A sentence may have different communicative tasks, **Rheme** of a sentence corresponds to a "communicative goal" (ibid.). To illustrate the relation between **Theme** and **Rheme** in a sentence Bailyn (2012, p. 258) used an example from Kovtunova (1976, 1980):

(42) Brat kupil knigu.   SVO
     brother-NOM bought book-ACC
     '(My) brother bought a book.'

A communicative task of the sentence (42) can be

1) to tell **what** (his/her) brother had bought

2) to tell what his/her brother **had done**

3) to tell **who** had bought a book.

4) to tell **how** had the brother obtained a book

Depending on the task the **Rheme** of (42) in 1) is *knigu* (book), in 2) it is *kupil* (bought), in 3) it is *Brat* (brother) and in 4) it is *kupil*. Depending on communicative tasks 1)- 4) different sentences with corresponding word order or with the corresponding intonation can be derived from (42). This short digression into Bailyn's work aimed to shed a light on the meaning of the terms **Theme, Rheme,** and *aktual'noe členenie* (FSP) used by Zemskaja and Lapteva, whose viewpoints are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

2.1 CR Syntax Constructions of Zemskaja

The most comprehensive research of CR was performed by Zemskaja & al. (1981). She provided the analysis of CR in all linguistic aspects: phonology, morphology, lexical and semantic features, and syntax. Zemskaja & al. (1981) appealed for a new approach to CR. According to her as soon as CR is a language system existing parallel to the codified language, it should be analyzed with special means. She identified the following features of the CR syntax:

- constructions with omitted syntactic or semantic arguments[13]

---

[13] *"postroenija, v kotoryx slovesno ne vyrašženy te ili inye členy, neobhodimye v gram matičeskom ili semanticheskom otnošenii"* (Zemskaja, 2011, p. 130)

- polypredicative constructions with or without conjunctions[14]

- intonation as a reliable criterion for syntactic analysis[15]

- free associative attachment[16]

- the word order of a sentence is ruled by its grammatical and by its commutative task[17].

According to Zemskaja (2011), the last feature implies that the most important part of an utterance (**Rhema**) is placed at the absolute beginning of the utterance whereas already known parts of the utterance are moved to the end of it.

Zemskaja emphasized that CR always arises in a concrete situation and refers to it ("*consituativnye vyskazyvanija*" (an expression suitable to a given situation), Zemskaja &al., 1981, p. 11). It is possible that without being aware of a situation or without being a witness of a scene, a listener would not understand a meaning of a conversation. The encoding of an utterance relies on factors, which Zemskaja & al. (1981) called "extralinguistic", such as gestures, visual information, and the common background of interlocutors ("*častno -apreceptionnaja baza*" (private knowledge base) Zemskaja &al, 1981, p. 194).

In contrast to a neutral utterance, where intonational stress is placed on the end of a sentence, logical stress in CR is put onto the most important part of it. Zemskaja (2011) accentuated the role of intonation for *actual'noe členenie* in CR due to its orality: **Rhema**, expressed only using intonation, can be placed at the beginning or any other place in the sentence[18]. She claimed that intonation is the main means to

---

[14] "Two or more predicative constructions bind together using conjunctions, conjunctive words, intonation, word order, a relation of their aspect and tense forms and others, build a grammatical (syntactic) unit which is called polypredicative construction" (Translated by NR from Zemskaja & al., 1981, p. 227).

[15] "*pri sintaksičeskom členenii razgovornoj reči naibolee celesoobrazno opirat'sja na takoj kriterij kak intonacija*" (Zemskaja, 2011, p. 135) (by syntactic analysis of colloquial speech the intonation is the most reliable criterion to distinguish the end of an utterance)

[16] *svobodnoe associativnoe prisoedinenie* (Zemskaja, 2011, p. 154).Comments are attached to the end of an utterance after it was already prosodically completed as a result of the unpreparedness of a speech.

[17] "*v russkom jazyke porjadok slov zavisit ot formal'no-grammaticheskogo stroenija predlošženija i ot ego aktual'nogo členenija, t.e. ego kommunicativnogo zadanija*" (Zemskaja, 2011, p. 149).

[18] It is not a contradiction: *actual'noe členenie* can be expressed by means of the word order or by means of intonation. Speakers may prefer one or another depending on a situation.

express *actual'noe členenie* in CR: a sentence with a given word order may have various meanings due to different intonations applied by a speaker. In opposite to oral speech, the only means to express *actual'noe členenie* in a written language is its word order.

2.2 CR Syntax Constructions of Lapteva

In opposite to the broad analysis of CR performed by Zemskaja &al. (1981) and Zemskaja (2011) Lapteva (1976) focused her efforts on the investigation of the syntax of CR. According to her CR is not a parallel system, but a subsystem of the literary language based on its standard core.

Lapteva's (1976) approach to the interaction of CR and standard Russian was based on the "*teorija sintaksičeskih polei*" ("the theory of syntactic fields") (Lapteva, 1976, p. 127 and footnote 7), where "models"[19] represented specific features characterizing syntactic phenomena of CR in their most distinguished form (A, B, C, D, Figure 1). As it is seen in Figure 1, CR syntactic constructions have diffuse borders ($a, a_1, a_2, b, b_1, b_2...$) and overlap one another (ab, cd..) in the area of implementation, where they interact with standard syntax ($a\alpha, b\beta...$).
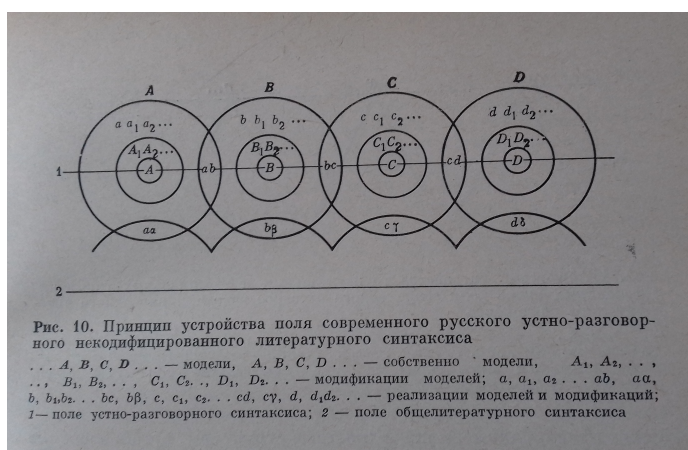
Figure 1. Interaction of CR Constructions with the Codified Syntax

Source: Russkij razgovornyj syntaksis (p. 131) by Lapteva, 1976, Moskva: Nauka. Copyright 1976 by Moskva: Nauka   .

---

[19] Lapteva (1976) called syntactic constructions which she classified in CR "models". The meaning of this word in her usage differs from what is understood as "model" in modern linguistics. For Lapteva, "models" are representatives of a given class of constructions in its pure form. To avoid misunderstandings I will use instead "patterns" or "constructions".

On the one hand, constructions of the standard language are included and used in CR, because CR speakers are at the same time proficient speakers of standard Russian. On the other hand, CR has its specific constructions which root in principles of the organization of an utterance. Here are these principles formulated by Lapteva (1976):

- Thema and Rhema are uttered sequentially
- the most important part is pronounced at first,
- interaction of the intonation and *actual'noe členenie*
- the rule of the sequence of stressed – unstressed elements
- "lack of preparation may have following effects on syntax: ill-formed utterances, diffuseness of syntactic organization and the usage of cliché"[20].

Lapteva (1976), as well as Zemskaja (1981), claimed that *actual'noe členenie* in oral speech is expressed by **preposing** the most important part of an utterance. According to Lapteva (1976), the role of the word order in CR differs from that in the codified language: it serves not only *actual'noe členenie* but is also a means of expression of syntactic relations. These two functions "merge"[21] in CR. Lapteva (1976) separated syntactic constructions of CR into two large groups:

1. constructions using redundancy of grammatical means,
2. constructions using the economy principle.

For every group (A and B) Lapteva (1976) elaborated a list of available modifications as well as a list of possible overlappings of both constructions in their implementation.

Table 2. Two Main Syntactic Constructions of CR

Group A: redundancy of grammatical means	Group B: economical principles
1) nominal case of *Theme*	1) omitting functional words
2) additional comments, corrections, attachment	2) omitting repeating lexical words.
3) additional phrase border (interrogative construction)	

Empirical evidence for the existence of Lapteva's (1976) constructions was provided by studies of Fu Lin (2011, 2014) who used the colloquial corpus collected by Kitajgorodskaja & Rozanova (1994, 1999).

---

[20] NR translated: Lapteva, 1976, p. 119.

[21] NR translated: Lapteva, 1976, p. 185.

3 Selection of an Object of the Corpus Study

In the area of implementation – in oral speech production – CR syntactic constructions and their modifications overlap with those of the standard language. This is the area where interactions between CR and the codified language occur in accordance with the theory of syntactic fields[22] as Lapteva (1976) argued. The scope of the current study is limited to one of the syntactic constructions and its implementation in CR: a temporal subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction *kogda* (when).

One reason for this selection was the classification this construction as a transitional one (Lapteva, 1976), which means that if her prediction became true, constructions of this type would eventually disappear. The conjunction *kogda* loses its role as conjunction and appears at any place in a sentence, except at the beginning of a clause. Another specific feature of this construction is that a temporal subordinate clause may occur not only at its default position before or after the main clause but also in the middle of a sentence.

The usage of the temporal subordinate clause in modern CR is interesting not only from a syntactic point of view but also from a pragmatic one. According to Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007) temporal subordinate clauses are discourse or text-makers, therefore their position in a sentence-initial or final – is defined by a context. What is the role of the conjunction *kogda* in a sentence when it loses its standard syntactic function? In the following chapters, the usage of temporal subordinate clauses in standard Russian and CR are shown.

3.1 Temporal Subordinate Clauses in Standard Russian

Temporal subordinate clauses in Russian are introduced among other conjunctions by the conjunction *kogda* (when). *Kogda* occurs at the beginning of a

---

[22] "Реализации модели выступают в качестве наиболее динамического звена системы, в качестве лаборатории будущих сдвигов и изменений в синтаксисе. Они своим существованием как бы узаконивают факт бытования в литературной речи построений самого разного, совершенно необычного с точки зрения кодифицированного синтаксиса вида…" (Lapteva, 1976, p. 130).

("Model implementations act as the most dynamic link in the system, as a laboratory for future shifts and changes in syntax. By their existence, they seem to legitimize the fact of existence in the literary speech of constructions of the most diverse, completely unusual from the point of view of the codified syntax…").

clause "in a head-initial language (mostly with the basic word order of VSO or SVO)" (Thompson & al., 2007, p. 2). The word order within a temporal subordinate clause is a default one (SVO in Russian).

In Russian the conjunction *kogda* has several functions: apart from temporal adverbial clauses it also introduces conditional adverbial clauses in the meaning of *esli* (if). After verbs expressing a) speech and attention, b) factual knowledge c) emotions[23], *kogda* introduces a compliment to a predicate as "*čto*" (that) does. In this case, a subordinate clause expresses a whole psychological situation and not an event itself. According to Pekelis (2014), a subordinate clause with *kogda* can also act as a relative clause referring to a noun or a noun phrase. Examples of types of subordinate clauses with *kogda* are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Examples of Subordinate Clauses with *Kogda*

Clause type	Example
Temporal	*Kogda knigu nakonec opublikovali, interes k nej učže ugas.*[24] When the book was finally published, interest in it had already faded.
Conditional	"*Voennye kartiny imejut tol'ko pravo na suščestvovanie kogda ih pišut Vasi Vereščaginy[25] (V.Stasov[26])*"[27](Il'enko, 2009, p.301). "War pictures have the right to exist only when (in case that) they are done by V. Vereschagin
After verbs expressing speech, attention, knowledge, emotions	"*Ona boitsja kogda v sem'e ssorjatsja*[28]"(Grammar-80, Volume II, §2793). "She is afraid when they are brawling in her family" Compare: *Ona boitsja sobak*[29]. She is afraid of dogs.
Relative	*Den', kogda roditeli ob"javili o razvode, zapomnilsja emu nadolgo.*[30] The day when (his) parents announced their divorce, he remembered for a long time.

The current study deals only with temporal subordinate clauses introduced by *kogda* comparing its form in standard Russian and CR.

Pekelis (2014) classified temporal subordinate clauses as "*sentencial'noe obsto-*

---

[23] Examples of verbs: a) to say, to tell b) to know c) to like, to hate, to be afraid.

[24] Когда книгу наконец опубликовали, интерес к ней уже угас.

[25] V. Vereščagin (1842-1904) was a famous Russian painter.

[26] V.V.Stasov: the most respected music and art critic in the mid-19th-century.

[27] "Военные картины имеют только право на существование, когда их пишут Васи Верещагины (В. Стасов)".

[28] Она боится , когда в семье ссорятся.

[29] Она боится собак.

[30] День, когда родители объявили о разводе, запомнился ему надолго.

jatel'stvo" (sentential circumstance) (p. 1). *Sentencial'noe obstojatel'stvo* corresponds to an adjunct, in following the term "adjunct" or "adverbial clause" will be equally used. Adverbial subordinate clauses "can be adjoined to clausal structures" (Bailyn, 2011, p. 89):

(35)   Phrasal adjunction
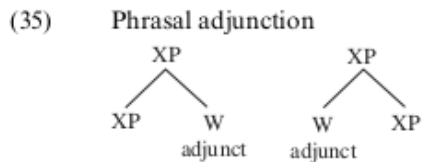
Figure 2. Phrasal Adjunction**.**

Source: *The Syntax of Russian. Cambridge Syntax Guides.* (p. 89) by Bailyn, 2012, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

A standard sentence with a temporal adverbial clause is shown in example (1):

(1)

[$_{CP1}$[$_{CP1}$*Ja   tebe   po-zvon-ju*],   [$_{CP2}$*kogda ja   pri-ed-u   dom-oj*]]
[$_{CP1}$[$_{CP1}$1SG you\DAT PFV-call-FUT.1SG], [$_{CP2}$when 1SG PFV-come-FUT.1SG house-LOC]]
I'll call you when I come home.

Similar to Figure 2 the structure of example (1) can be represented as follows:
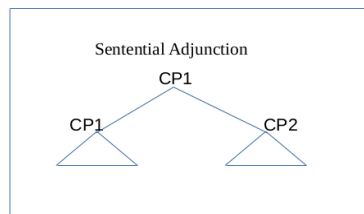
Figure 3. Sentential Adjunction

Note: CP1 – main clause, CP2 – subordinate clause

CP1 and CP2 are sister–nodes, therefore there are two possible linearizations:

a) *Ja tebe pozvonju, kogda ja priedu domoj -*

postposition of the adjunct relatively to the main sentence.

b) *Kogda ja priedu domoj, ja tebe pozvonju.-* preposition of the adjunct.

Analyzing pre-and-postposing of adverbial clauses with "when" cross-linguistically Thompson & al. (2007) pointed out, that although both positions are possible, the meaning of a sentence changes: if an adverbial clause is preposed (b), it refers to the whole main clause and provides a connection to a previous sentence

(context building). If an adverbial clause is postposed (a) it refers to a corresponding word/phrase modifying it. In the case of a temporal clause it refers to a verbal phrase (henceforth vP)).

3.2 Temporal Subordinate Clauses in CR

Lapteva (1976) classified embedded subordinate clauses as economy constructions (the B group). Economy constructions foresee omitting of elements, in particular - omitting conjunctions. For these constructions, Lapteva (1976) suggested a pattern with the following features displayed in Table 4.

Table 4. Subordinate Structures without Conjunctions

Pattern features	Implementation features
1) two predicate complexes, closed structured	1) subordinate complex has a temporal character
2) they have a common meaning and are connected in a given structure type	2) aspect and tense of a matrix verb determines the aspect and tense of the subordinate verb
3) one of the complexes depends on another	3) mostly the subordinate part is preposed
	4) there is no pause between the matrix and subordinate clause
	5) subordinate clause is short.

Examples of temporal subordinate clauses with the conjunction *kogda* in positions different from those in codified Russian are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Types of Sentences with the Conjunction *Kogda* in CR

Type 1	The conjunction *kogda* loses its meaning and leaves its initial position in the clause
a) after unstressed pronoun	[$_{CP1}$[$_{CP2}$*Ja* **kogda** *v-am* *zvon-il-a*][$_{CP1}$*v-as* *ne* *by-l-o*][31] [$_{CP1}$[$_{CP2}$I when you-DAT call-PST-SG.F][$_{CP1}$you-GEN NEG be-PST-SG.N] Standard form: *Kogda ja vam zwonila, vas ne bylo* When I called you you were not at your place.
b) at the end of the clause	[$_{CP1}$[$_{CP2}$*Ja* *pri-ed-u* **kogda**][$_{CP1}$*ja* *t-ebe* *po-zvon-ju*][32] [$_{CP1}$[$_{CP2}$ I PFV-come-1SG.FUT when] [$_{CP1}$ I you-DAT PFV-call-1SG.FUT] When I arrive I'll call you.
Type 2	A temporal subordinate clause is placed within the main clause (interposed)
c)	[$_{CP1}$J*a* *special'no* [$_{CP2}$**kogda** *my* *exa-l-i*] *svodk-u* *po-smotr-el-*a][33] [$_{CP1}$ I especially [$_{CP2}$when we drive-PST-PL] report-ACC.SG.F PFV-check-PST-

---

[31] Lapteva, 1976, p. 315.

[32] Lapteva, 1976, p. 316.

[33] Lapteva, 1976, p. 317.

	SG.F.]	
	I specially checked the weather report when we drove.	
d)	[CP1*Po-pros-il-a* *Alekse-ja* [CP2 *s* *rabot-y* **kogda** *on* *š-jol*]	
	[CP1PFV-ask-PST-F Alexej-ACC.M [CP2PREP work-GEN.SG.F when he go\	
	PST.M]	
	[*PRO chto-nibud'* *kup-it'*]]. [34]	
	[*PRO* something (to) buy-INF]]	
	[CP1*(Ja/ona) poprosila Alexeja* [CP2*PRO chto-nibud' kupit'*] *s raboty* **kogda** *on*	
	šjol]]	
	(I/she) asked Alexey to buy something when he was on his way after work	

As it was shown in chapter 3.1 a temporal subordinate clause refers to the main clause in a case when it is preposed and to a verbal phrase when postposed. To demonstrate the relation between the subordinate and main clauses example (1b) (a standard sentence) is converted into a sentence of type 1 swapping the subject *ja* with the conjunction *kogda*:

(1b) **Kogda** *ja pridu domoj, ja tebe pozvonju.* →

(2) *Ja* **kogda** *pridu domoj ja tebe pozvonju.*

    *I when come home, I'll call you.

For standard sentence (1) two linearizations were possible. For sentence (2) only linearization (3) is correct:

(3) *Ja kogda priedu, ja tebe pozvonju*

(4) **Ja tebe pozvonju, ja kogda priedu*.

(5) *Ja ~~kogda~~ priedu, ja tebe pozvonju*.

In (5) the conjunction *kogda* plays no role: if it is removed, the resulting sentence is still felicitous. It expresses two sequential actions planned by a speaker:

I'll come home (first), I'll call you (second).

The sentence b) in Table 14 demonstrates another case of a free position of the conjunction *kogda* within the subordinate clause - at the end of a clause, where it does not play a role of conjunction any more. Type 1 corresponds to preposed clause − an adjunct refers to the whole matrix sentence. If *kogda* is removed the sentence remains felicitous.

---

[34] Lapteva, 1976, p. 315.

Type 2 represents an interposed embedded temporal clause. Lapteva (1976) explained the origin of this type of sentence as a product of parallel associations accompanying speech, arguing that unpreparedness of an utterance lets a speaker no other choice but to append a missed utterance sequentially. This effect of the **free associative attachment** was also described by Zemskaja (2011) (s. chapter 2.1).

Examples c) and d) in Table 5 demonstrate interposed temporal adjuncts:

c) [$_{CP1}$J*a special'no* [$_{CP2}$**kogda** *my exali*] *svodku posmotrela*]].

I specially consulted the weather report when we were driving.

If CP2 is attached to the vP *svodku posmotrela* following phrasal adjunction (Figure 2, p. 13), there are two possible linearizations: the first is the sentence c), the second is c1):

c1) [$_{CP1}$[$_{CP1}$ *Ja special'no svodku posmotrel*a][$_{CP2}$**kogda** *my exali*]].

Both sentences are felicitous. The sentence c1) is a standard temporal construction. In the sentence c) a speaker handles the temporal clause as an adverb[35]. The temporal adjunct can be replaced by a temporal adverb[36].

c) [$_{CP1}$ *Ja special'no [včera] svodku posmotrel*a].

c1) [$_{CP1}$ *Ja special'no svodku posmotrel*a *[včera]*].

Example d) in Table 5 also shows a case of an interposed adjunct:

d) [$_{CP1}$*Poprosila Alekseja* [$_{CP2}$ *s raboty* **kogda** *on šjol*] *chto-nibud' kupit'*].

   (I/she) asked Alex when he was on his way home after work to buy smth.

Example d) can be converted into a standard sentence by moving the temporal adjunct CP2 to the end of the sentence CP1, assuming that it is attached to the verbal phrase *chto-nibud' kupit'*:

d1)

[$_{CP1}$[$_{CP1}$*Poprosila Alekseja* [PRO *chto-nibud' kupit'*][$_{CP2}$ *s raboty* **kogda** *on šjol*]].

Replacement of the temporal adjunct with an adverb in d1) results in:

d1) [$_{CP1}$*Poprosila Alekseja* [PRO *chto-nibud' kupit'*][*včera*]]

(I) asked Alexey to buy smth yesterday

---

[35] in Russian adverbs of manner and time prepose the verb (Valgina, Rosental' & Fomina (1987, 2002))

[36] Concerning "clauses expressing time, locative, and manner relationships." Thompson & al. (2007) wrote, "Each of these sentences can be paraphrased with a relative clause with a generic and relatively semantically empty head noun: time, place, and way/manner, respectively." (p. 7).

By replacing the temporal adjunct with an adverb in the original sentence (example d), it converts to:

d2)

[CP1*Poprosila Alekseja* [*včera*] [PRO *chto-nibud' kupit'*]][37].

(I) asked Alexey yesterday to buy smth.

It is not that d1) and d2) are infelicitous, but more context knowledge is necessary to interpret them properly. If the temporal adjunct refers to the second verb "to buy" it is not clear whether Alexey **was asked yesterday** on the way home to buy something, or was he asked **to buy** something **yesterday** on the way home. This ambiguity can be resolved by the assumption that the temporal adjunct refers to the main clause and should be preposed[38]: ([*Včera*] *poprosila Alekseja…*).

This assumption is supported by the argument, that a speaker had always a possibility to attach a temporal clause at the very end of a sentence, but did not do it. The example d) reflects the effect of associative attachment: the speaker intended to prepose a temporal clause but failed to do it owed to some unknown reason, for example, she considered another part of her message more important and preposed it. To complete the utterance she inserted the temporal adjunct in situ.

The proper assignment of the interposed temporal clause depends in most cases on the context. A possible schema of associative attachment is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Schema of Free
Associative Attachment

---

[37] The plausibility of this sentence depends on the intonation:

[CP1*Poprosila Alekseja <> včera chto-nibud' kupit'*]-the adverb refers to *kupit*

(*Alexey was asked to buy something yesterday).

[CP1*Poprosila Alekseja včera <> chto-nibud' kupit'*] - the adverb refers to *poprosila.*

(*Alexey was yesterday asked to buy something).

[38] This assumption can be supported by the analysis of tenses in the main and subordinate clause: *poprosila* (past tense, perfective aspect), *šjol* (past tense, imperfective aspect): When he went from his work, Alexey was asked to do something.

These two CR constructions – interposed adjuncts and temporal clauses with meaningless conjunction *kogda* - were selected as objects for the corpus study.

4   Research Question

The main research objective is the interaction of colloquial speech with the codified language, in particular – the implementation of standard constructions in oral speech.

In chapter 3.1 it was shown, that the grammar of the codified language accepts:

•   two positions of a temporal adverbial clause with *kogda*: preposed and postposed,

•   a default/neutral word order (SVO) within a temporal subordinate clause.

Lapteva (1976) claimed that in CR a temporal adverbial clause can take also an interposed position. Another effect that she discovered in the syntax of CR was the loss of the function of the conjunction *kogda* and thereafter its free position in the clause. According to Lapteva (1976), such conjunctionless construction as more economical ones could replace those with conjunctions.

The research question of the current study is to find out whether deviant positions of temporal adverbial clauses are used in modern CR and how frequently they occur compared with standard positions of temporal adjuncts.

4.1   Selection of a Corpus of Colloquial Russian

A great number of researchers of the Russian language (Bailyn 2012, Bailyn 2020, Dyakonova 2009, Slioussar 2007, Slioussar 2009 to name only some) used the CR corpus collected by Zemskaja & al. (1976-1980) as a source of examples of the variety of the syntax colloquial speech.

At the beginning of the 21st century some universities, such as the University of Tübingen (Germany), the University of Helsinki (Finland), the Moscow State University have undertaken efforts to create annotated Russian language corpora. These corpora contain large collections of Russian literature and newspaper texts, but they do not have any samples of CR.

From 2003 until now a new corpus of Russian language (*Nacional'nyj Korpus Russkogo Jazyka*[39] (National Corpus of Russian Language, hereafter NRKJa) was elaborated in a project supported by the Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Science, the Institute for Information Transmission Problems of Russian Academy of Sciences and Yandex. The NKRJa contains about 900 million words. The corpus is available online over the Internet portal www.ruscorpora.ru. Scholars, involved in creating the corpus, are elaborating a new grammar of the Russian language. The NKRJa consists of several departments, one of them is the oral speech corpus, which I selected for my study.

Texts collected in NRKJa cover about 70 years. The oral corpus contains among other categories public and non-public speech. Oral corpora are annotated, it is possible to search patterns with given grammatical and semantic features. Search results can be downloaded in form of Excel tables, containing entries from up to 250 documents. Total corpus (NKRJa) contains 4210 documents of 13 399937 words, the oral subcorpus consists of 3442 documents, 9 682136 words. The public speech corpus as a part of the oral corpus contains 1607 documents of 7 577180 words, the non-public speech corpus possesses 1838 documents, 2 110732 words.

4.2 Hypotheses

In chapter 3.2 two patterns of temporal adverbial clauses with the conjunction *kogda* in CR were described. Their deviance from standard temporal clauses consists in

1. the unexpected position of a temporal adjunct and in
2. the loss of the default function of the conjunction *kogda.*

Lapteva (1976) regarded these constructions as transitional ones, predicting their replacement by more efficient conjunction-less constructions. Based on this knowledge the two following hypotheses are suggested.

Hypothesis 1:

   frequency (TC), old oral corpus > frequency (TC), new oral corpus

   where   TC – temporal adverbial constructions with *kogda*

---

[39] Национальный корпус русского языка, © 2003–2020.

old oral corpus = corpora used by Lapteva, Zemskaja (before 2000)

new oral corpus = corpora collected after 2000.

Lapteva (1976) and Zemskaja (1981, 2011) regarded associative attachment of subordinate clauses in CR as its characteristic feature originated in unpreparedness of utterances. Taking into account that associative attachment occurs "postposed" the second hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis 2:

frequency (PO), CR corpus > frequency (PR), CR corpus

where   PO – postposed temporal adverbial clauses

PR – preposed temporal adverbial clauses[40].

Under "preposed" I count initial clauses, preceding main clauses. To this group belong standard constructions with the conjunction *kogda* and also constructions with meaningless conjunction *kogda*, because the sequence of subordinate and main clauses is fixed: the first precedes the latter. As "postposed" constructions standard postposed constructions and interposed ones were counted.

4.3 Design

4.3.1 Used Corpora

The following criteria were used for the selection of subcorpora of the oral corpus:

- availability of corpus materials before 2000,
- reflection of typical CR features (Table 1).

Two main categories were selected for this study, which are: public and non-public speech. Public corpora for the study included "interviews", "talk-shows", "press conferences", "speeches" (*Doklady*). In the category of "non-public" three corpora were selected: "storytelling" (*Beseda*), "microdialogs" and "leisure talks" (*Prazdnyj razgovor*). Hereafter English translation of corpora names will be used.

A common feature of both corpora is their orality. The publicity of speech suggests preparedness assuming that a speech is not spontaneous. To weaken the preparedness effect interviews and talkshows are included in the public corpora. The oral corpora have different volumes: the LeisureTalk is the largest corpus among

---

[40] To compare: the part of preposed subordinate clauses in the syntactic corpus with *kogda* is 0.51. (Pekelis, 2014, p. 52).

the selected ones, it is used to compare the frequency of CR patterns before and after 2000.

Table 6. Selected Subcorpora and their CR Features

Corpus denotation	Total size docs/words	Size of selection (*kogda*) doc/entries	CR feature reflected in a corpus	Type of speech
Non-public speech				
Storytelling	109/468032	97/1583	Visual contact, spontaneity, preparedness, common background concerning a theme.	Monologue
Micro-dialogues	57/20215	13/30	Visual contact, situation, common background (possible), spontaneity.	Dialogue
LeisureTalk	1415/1376729	434 /1773	A situation, common background, visual contact (possible), unpreparedness.	Mono-or-dialogues
Public speech				
Interviews	161 / 437571	144/1668	Visual contact, common background concerning a theme, some preparedness.	Monologue /dialogue
Talkshows	12/49616	12/159	Visual contact, common background concerning a theme, preparedness.	Dialogues/ monologues
Press conferences	18/98699	17/204	Visual contact, common background concerning a theme, preparedness.	Monologue
Speeches	64 /216733	50/447	Visual contact, professional common background, preparedness	Monologue

4.3.2 Method

The corpus of oral speech is sorted after genres and themes and is grammatically annotated. The disadvantage of this corpus is that it is not disambiguated and lacks signs of punctuation. The Internet portal of the NKRJa provides a possibility to search for specific lexical-grammatical items. A combination of two words with given grammatical and semantic features and a position in a sentence can be defined as a search pattern.

To optimize the search in the corpora, patterns of sentences type 1 and 2, based on Lapteva's (1976) schema, were created. This method turned out to be ineffective

because of the disadvantages of corpora described above. The expectation to get already sorted utterances, corresponding to search patterns, was dashed: results had to be processed manually. The number of false collocations caused by homonyms of some verb forms and nouns[41] in Russian and the lack of punctuation[42] was larger than in the case of searching for a simple pattern "conjunction *kogda*". After several unsuccessful attempts, a primitive manual method was applied. Only one pattern was searched: *kogda* +CONJ (*kogda* as a conjunction). An output Excel table contained several columns among them were metadata and full texts (a whole utterance of a speaker, but not a complete context). Collected sentences consisted of all types of adverbial clauses with *kogda* listed in Table 3 plus interrogative sentences (*kogda* as a "Wh-word"[43]). Four types of temporal subordinate clauses from the raw data were selected and labeled manually:

PR – preposed adjunct (standard construction)

PO – postposed adjunct (standard construction)

IN – interposed adjunct (sentence type 2)

ML – meaningless conjunction (sentence type 1).

How to recognize sentences/utterances in question? General (rough) criteria for raw sorting can be suggested as shown in Table 7:

Table 7. Examples for Sorting and Labeling of Raw Data.

Type	Structure	Example
PR	[AdvCP *Kogda* S_1 V_1 O_1…],[MatrixCP S_1 ‖S_2 V_2 O ...]	*Kogda ja vam zvonila, vas ne bylo.* *When I called you you weren't there.*
PO	[MatrixCP S_1 V_1 [O_1…], [*kogda* $S_2V_2O_2$]	*Vas ne bylo, kogda ja vam zvonila.* *You weren't there when I called you.*
IN	[MatrixCP S_1 (Adv) [AdvCP *kogda* S_1‖S_2 V_2…] V_1 (O) ...]	*On často , kogda vas ne bylo, pytalsja vam pozvonit'.* *He often called you when you*

---

[41] for example: *znat'* – (verb: to know) and *znat'* – (noun: aristocracy)

[42] especially by searching *kogda* as a last word in a sentence – how to define "last" if there is no full stop.

[43] Interrogation and exclamation marks are present in corpora.

			weren't there.
ML	[AdvCP (S$_1$ *kogda*)‖(S$_1$V$_1$ *kogda*)‖(S$_1$V$_1$O...)*kogda*]		*Ja kogda vam zvonila vas ne bylo.*
	[MatrixCP S$_1$‖S$_2$V$_2$O]		*As I called you you weren't there.*

These patterns of sentences may provide some help by searching: PR sentences are well recognizable due to the conjunction *Kogda* in its initial position. MLs are also recognizable: if *kogda* follows a personal pronoun it is an ML sentence. PO, IN and MLs beginning with a noun, proper noun or with *kogda* at the end of a sentence can be recognized only with the help of the "Full text" column. This column played the most important role in decoding and classifying of sentences: without reliable punctuation, it was difficult to decide whether a temporal adverbial clause refers to a following or a previous utterance.

Some sentences, consisting of broken parts of utterances, could not be decoded at all without corresponding context. Complete collection of the data is presented on the site https://osf.io/wxcg8/ under the project "Positions of temporal adverbial clauses in colloquial Russian" in the subdirectory "Corpus data".

5 Findings

The collected data are available in form of four Excel tables for the oral public corpus and three Excel tables for the non-public oral corpus. The tables contain sentences with subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *kogda*. Temporal subordinate clauses were labeled as described above, interrogative sentences were removed.

As far as the search pattern was underspecified the collected data contained a lot of utterances with *kogda* which had to be excluded, such as relative, conditional, and object clauses introduced by this conjunction. These utterances are referred to as "others" if mentioned in the general description. This group is not discussed or analyzed. Proportions of every type of pattern (PR, PO, IN, ML) in a subcorpus are calculated in percentage (%) to the total number of temporal adverbial clauses in a given subcorpus.

5.1 Patterns of CR in Oral Public and Non-public Corpora

For the general description of results, all findings are separated into two groups: preposed and postposed adverbial clauses with the conjunction *kogda*. The distribution of these groups in the oral public speech corpus is shown in Table 8. In total preposed constructions constitute 43% of the analyzed corpora, postposed – constitute 57%.

Table 8. Preposed vs. Postposed Adverbial Clauses (Public Speech Corpus)

Corpus	Preposed	Postposed	%Preposed	% Postposed	Total (100%)
Interviews	207	279	43	57	486
Talkshows	41	39	51	49	80
Press conferences	65	63	51	49	128
Speeches	37	80	32	68	117
Total	350	461	**43**	**57**	811

In this evaluation, the postposed group includes also "others". After excluding the group "others" the data of the oral public corpus contained 596 utterances. Table 9 shows a detailed distribution of temporal adverbial clauses with *kogda* constructions.

Table 9. Distribution of CR Patterns in the Public Speech Corpus

Position	Interviews	Talkshows	Press Conferences	Speeches	Total	%
PR	207	41	65	36	349	58.56
PO	85	11	22	17	135	22.65
IN	55	3	6	8	72	12.08
ML	33	4	3	0	40	6.71
Total	380	59	96	61	596	100.00

The relation between preposed (PR+ML) construction and postposed (PO+IN) is 1.88:1. Table 10 and Figure 5 illustrate the distribution of proportions of patterns of temporal adverbial clauses relatively to genres of public oral speech.

Table 10. Proportions of Temporal Clauses in the Oral Public Corpus

Position	%Interviews	%Talkshows	%Press Conferences	%Speeches
PR	54.47	69.49	67.71	59.02
PO	22.37	18.64	22.92	27.87
IN	14.47	5.08	6.25	13.11
ML	8.68	6.78	3.12	0
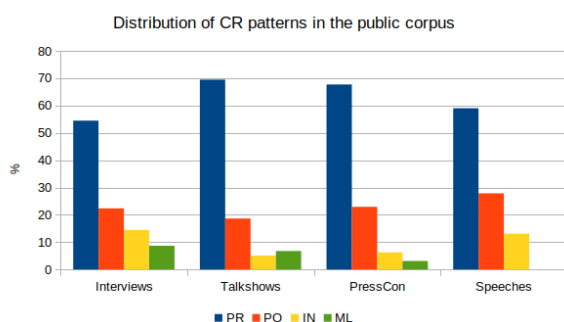
Figure 5. Distribution of CR Patterns in the Public Corpus

In the oral non-public speech the following results for the two groups were found:

Table 11. Preposed vs Postposed Adverbial Clauses (Non-public Corpus)

Corpus	Preposed	Postposed	%Preposed	%Postposed	Total
Storytelling	204	276	43	57	480
LeisureTalk	214	335	39	61	549
Microdialogues	155	282	35	65	437
Total	369	1098	25	75	1467

After excluding the group "others" from the "postposed" the detailed distribution of *kogda* construction is shown in Table 12. A sample of the non-public oral corpus contains 1239 utterances.

Table 12. Distribution of Patterns in the Non-public Speech Corpus

Position	Storytelling	Microdialogues	LeisureTalk	Total	%
PR	204	155	214	573	46.2
PO	85	78	110	273	22.03
IN	52	63	34	149	12.05
ML	64	77	103	244	19.7
Total	405	373	461	1239	100

The relation of preposed (PR+ML) to the sum of all postposed (PO+IN) is 1.93:1. Table 13 and Figure 6 show the distribution of patterns of temporal adverbial clauses vs. genres of the non-public oral speech.

Table 13. Portions of Patterns in the Non-public Speech Corpus

Position	%Storytelling	%Microdialogues	%LeisureTalk
PR	50.37	41.55	46.42
PO	20.99	20.91	23.86
IN	12.84	16.89	7.38
ML	15.8	20.64	22.34
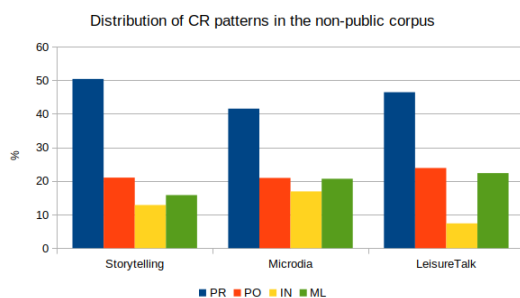
Figure 6. Distribution of CR Patterns in the Non-public Corpus

In both corpora, CR patterns were found. In the oral public speech the proportion of IN–sentences is 12.05% and of ML sentences - 6.7%. As expected in the non-public subcorpus more CR patterns were found: IN sentences reached 12.08%, MLsentences – 19%.

Adding preposed and postposed temporal adverbials in both corpora gives the result of 1176 (pre) to 629 (post) that corresponds to relation 1.87:1. This result differs from the reported by Pekelis (2014) about the syntactic corpus: 0.51 of clauses are preposed. It also varies from the findings of Ford (1993). In her study of an oral corpus, she achieved results of 33.5% for initial temporal clauses and 52.5% +11%[44] for postposed temporal clauses (Ford, 1993, p. 132, Figure 1). In the current study the relation between pre-and post-posed temporal clauses in the non-public corpus is almost the opposite: 65.9% : 34%.

5.2 Development Trends of CR Patterns in Oral Corpora

The main focus of the current chapter is to examine the distribution of CR patterns and to find evidence for the disappearance of these constructions from modern Russian oral speech. The distribution of the CR patterns within the corpora was calculated over the period defined by the creation timestamps of collected utterances in every subcorpus and in the whole oral corpus. Results are presented in Appendix 1 Table 22 and 23. Proportions of the patterns are calculated as % of the total number of temporal clause patterns per year. The variations of proportions (in %) of CR patterns in the non-public and the public corpora are shown as

---

[44] Ford (1993) investigated non-public corpus (telephone calls): she distinguishes continuing and ending intonations: 52,5% refer to continuing, 11% to ending intonation.

box plots in Figure 7 and Figure 8.
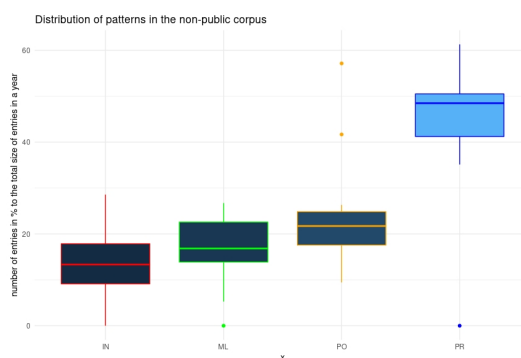
Figure 7. Box plot of CR Patterns in the	**Figure 8.** Box plot of CR Patterns in the
Non-public Corpus	Public Corpus
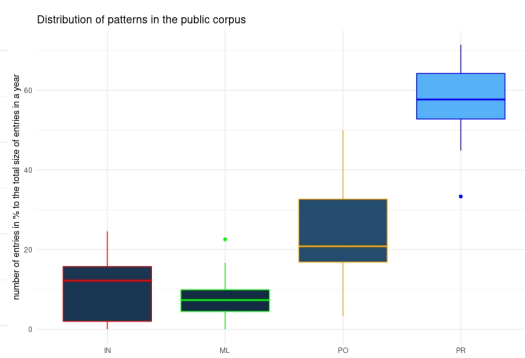
Calculated Pearson's correlation between proportions of ML, IN and the year of their creation is shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Pearson's *r* for CR Patterns in the Oral Corpora

CR Pattern	Non-public corpora		Public corpora	
	Pearson's *r*	Confidence Interval 95%	Pearson's *r*	Confidence Interval 95%
ML	0.0606	0.507 ; 0.59	0.12	-0.41; 0.60
IN	0.319	-0.28: 0.74	–0.16	-0.62; 0.38

Pearson's *r* is less than 0.2 for all patterns except IN in the non-public corpus. A correlation coefficient less than 0.2 denotes a small effect whereas a coefficient ±0.3 denotes a "medium effect" (Brezina, 2020, p. 488). Inspecting confidence intervals for IN in both corpora it becomes obvious that they include 0 – the probability, that there is no correlation between the number of found patterns and the year of its collection. In other words, the proportion of CR patterns in the oral corpora does not correlate with the year of their creation, therefore there is no evidence for the first hypothesis, claiming that the number of searched CR patterns shall decline with time. These trends are demonstrated in Figures 11-12 for the non-public and Figures 13-14 for the public corpora.

The solid green line in Figures   11 - 14 shows the approximation of the course using the "loess"[45] method. The number of entries (the temporal subordinate

---

[45] Local Polynomial Regression Fitting: fit a polynomial surface determined by one or more numerical predictors, using local fitting. (R Documentation, Package stats version 3.6.3).

clauses of all sorts – PR, PO, ML, IN) pro year is different, this number influences the standard deviation and the standard error. Proportions per year are normalized over the number of entries in a given year.

Assuming that every pattern (PR, PO, ML, IN) is "drawn" from an annual corpus with the same probability of 1/4, the mean value of the proportion of every pattern in a year is 25%. In Figures 11 - 14 error bars of a length of a confidence interval (hereafter CI) are arranged around a hypothetical mean value of 25%.[46] Every data point bears a label with the number of entries in a given year. Figures 11 - 14 confirm the absence of a correlation between the number of CR patterns and the time following Pearson's **r** value.
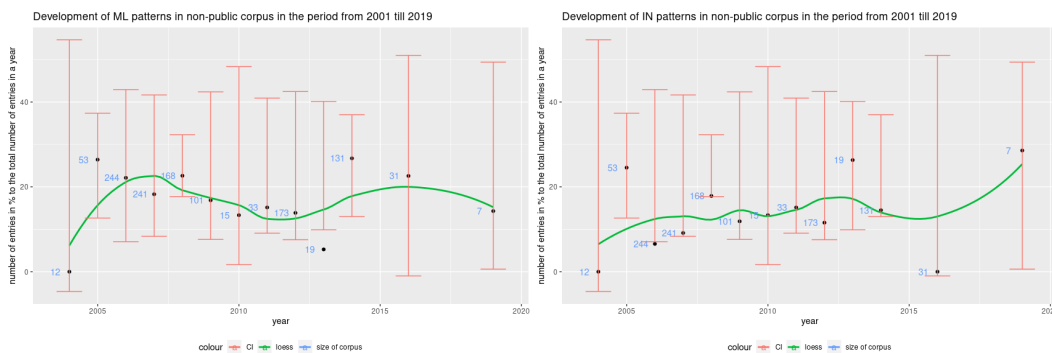
Figure 9. ML Patterns in the Non-public Corpus (2001 - 2019)

Figure 10. IN Patterns in the Non-public Corpus (2001 - 2019)
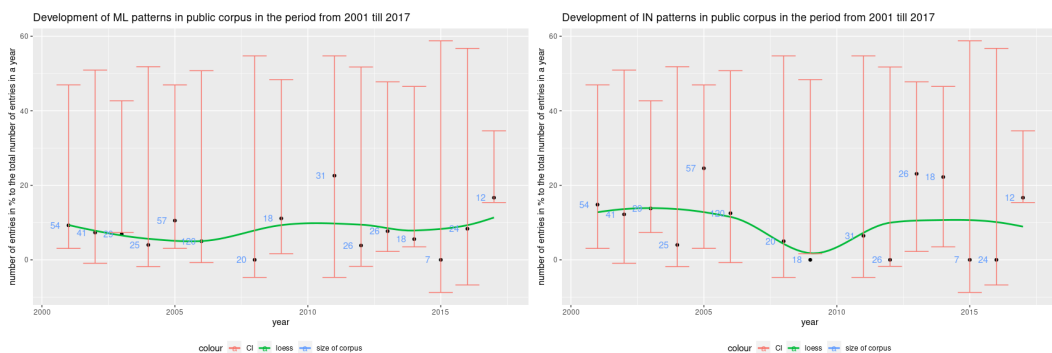
Figure 11. ML Patterns in the Public Corpus (2001 - 2019)

Figure 12. IN Patterns in the Public Corpus (2001 - 2019)

To find indications for the decline of CR patterns, one of the largest non-public corpora – *Prazdnyj razgovor* (LeisureTalk) - was analyzed separately. This corpus

---

[46] The line is not drawn in order not to overload the figure with too many details.

is well represented in its new (772 entries with *kogda* in the period from 2000 to 2019) and its old part (672 entries from 1960 till 2000). The data were reviewed and edited– small collections were removed, overlapping timestamps replaced by mean values of time intervals. As a result of preprocessing of the raw data there remained nine samples of the data from 2000 till 2009 and twelve samples of the data from 1970 till 2000 (s. Tables 26 and 27 in Appendix 1).

If the mean value of the proportions of CR patterns in the new LeisureTalk corpus (after 2000) is significantly less than their mean value in the old corpus (before 2000), it would provide evidence for the first hypothesis at least in this subcorpus. The data were not normally distributed and had different variance: var(oldIN)= =38.3, var(newIN)=199.6, var(oldML)=38.3, var(newML)= 288.2[47]. These qualities made a *t*-test meaningless. Instead, an "Effect size" as suggested in Brezina (2020) was calculated using the function **mes** of the R -library **compute.es**[48]. The effect of interest is a difference between raw mean values of ML in the old vs. new corpus and a difference between raw mean values of IN in corresponding corpora.

Cohen's *d* is used to estimate the effects size (or the signal/noise relation). This value reflects the magnitude of the effect and the variability of the data. Pearson's *r* cannot be applied due to different sizes of samples. Table 15 represents an extract from the output of the function **mes** concerning the Cohen's *d*, its CI, variance, and p-values. Other values characterizing Cohen's *d* are shown in Appendix 1, Table 28 together with their explanation.

Table 15. Effect Size for ML and IN in the Old and New Corpora

Effect	ML	IN
d [95 % CI]	-0.66 [-1.54 ; 0.23]	0.1 [-0.76 ; 0.97]
var(d)	0.2	0.19
p-value(d)	.16	.82

Cohen's *d* for the difference between IN-proportions in the old and new LeisureTalk corpora is less than 0.2, which means a "small" effect. The CI includes 0, it is almost in the middle of it, therefore the mean value of IN-proportions

in the old and new corpora has not changed significantly (p-value =.82).

In the case of ML patterns Cohen's *d* value =-0.66 which points to the medium effect (|abs|>0.5) – the mean value of ML in the old corpus is less than in the new one. It is exactly the opposite to the claim of decreasing the proportion of CR patterns with time.

Although the CI for Cohen's *d* in the case of ML includes 0 and its p-value = .16, which shows that the difference between two mean values is not statistically significant, I calculated the correlation between CR patterns and the time in the LeisureTalk corpus separately. I attached the table with entries from 2000 till 2009 to the table with entries from 1970 till 2000 which were generated for Cohen's *d* test. The resulting table spans over the whole period from 1970 to 2009. Figures 13 and 14 show the distribution of proportions of ML and IN resp. over years together with CIs of the mean values for labeled years.

Pearson's *r* coefficient for IN is very close to 0, confidence interval of *r* is symmetric with the 0 in the middle – the number of IN-patterns does not correlate with the time of collection of the corpus.

For ML there is a middle effect (*r*=0.52), the CI does not include 0 and **p**-value=.018 indicates that the result is statistically significant.
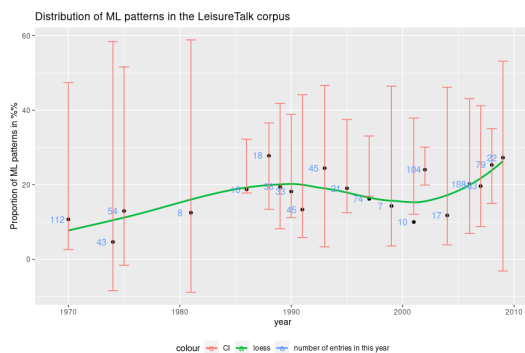
Figure 13. Proportions of ML-Patterns vs. Time (LeisureTalk)**.**
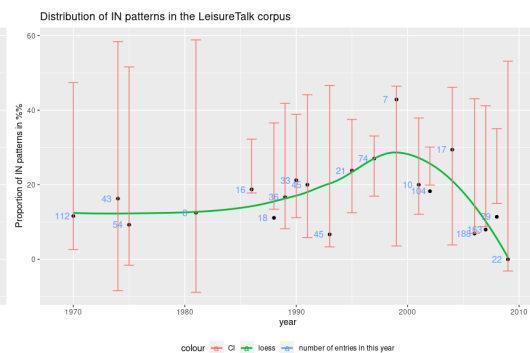
Figure 14. Proportions of IN-Patterns vs. Time (LeisureTalk)

Table 16. Pearson's *r* for CR Patterns in the LeisureTalk Corpus

Value	ML	IN
Pearson' s *r*	0.52	0.046
95% confidence interval	0.105 ; 0.78	-0.4 ; 0.48
p-value	0.018	0.85

5.3 Summary

Concerning the decline of CR patterns in the oral corpora it was found that neither in the non-public nor in the public corpus did the number of CR patterns correlate with the time of the corpus collection. The comparison of two parts of the same corpus – the old and the new ones- showed that there is no significant effect of the difference in the mean values of CR patterns. In the part of non-public corpus (the LeisureTalk), there was found a medium effect of increasing the proportion of ML with the time. These results provide no evidence for the first hypothesis.

Concerning the second hypothesis, it was found that preposed constructions prevail postposed ones (non-public corpus: 1.93:1, public corpus 1.88:1). These results provide no evidence for the second hypothesis.

6   Analysis of Found Patterns

To compare the distribution of proportions (in %) of temporal adverbials in official and non-official speech mean values of every pattern/genre are calculated (s. Appendix 1, Tables 20 and 21). The qualitative course of the two means is displayed in Figure 15.
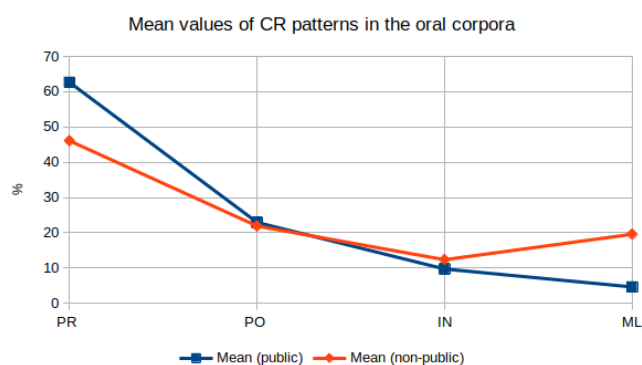
Figure 15. Mean Values of CR Patterns in Public and Non-public Speech

6.1 Pre - and Postposed Temporal Clauses in Oral Speech

6.1.1 Preposed Temporal Clauses

Referring to the study of Ford (1993) of colloquial English[49] Thompson & al. (2007) supposed, that the preference of postposed constructions in colloquial speech can be explained by the spontaneity of utterances. In other words, the usage of prepo- sed constructions depends on a degree of preparedness of speech. Table 17 shows the distribution of PR proportions in the oral corpus in different genres of oral speech. Figure 16 visualizes these results for the whole oral corpus.

Table 17. Distribution of PR Patterns in the Oral Corpus

Public speech		Non-public speech	
Genre	%PR	Genre	%PR
Interviews	54.47	Microdialogues	41.55
Speeches	59.02	LeisureTalk	46.42
Press Conferences	67.71	Storytelling	50.37
Talkshows	69.49		
Mean (*sd*)	62.67 (7.13)	*Mean* (*sd*)	46.11 (4.42)
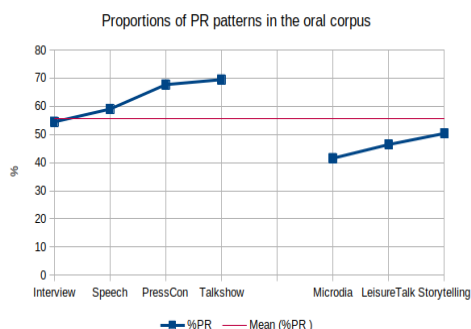
Figure 16. Proportions of PR Patterns in the Oral Corpus

At first glance the portion of PR constructions in the public speech is higher than in the non-public one. This comparison supports the suggestion of Thompson & al. (2007) concerning preparedness/unpreparedness of speech. But within the public speech group, the highest proportion of PR is observed by the subcorpus Talkshows followed by the subcorpus Press Conferences. The subcorpus Speech- es demonstrates the lower proportion of PR compared to the Talkshows although

---

[49] The relation between the postposed and preposed temporal adjuncts was "135 to 48 tokens" (Thompson & al., 2007, p. 53).

speeches and presentations are usually well-prepared[50].

In the non-public speech group, the maximal proportion of PR falls on the Storytelling. It seems to be plausible: a story may not be prepared, but it is well-known to a storyteller, in some sense, it is prepared. A storyteller is a text maker and in accordance with Thompson & al. (2007) may frequently use preposed temporal constructions keeping a listener up to date and refreshing a context.

Taking into account that a mean value of PR proportions in the oral corpus is 55% (s. Figure 16) and that the degree of preparedness/unpreparedness of a speech cannot be measured in the corpus data, it must be concluded that results do not allow any quantitative judgment about the influence of preparedness on the usage of PR constructions in oral speech. There could be other factors playing an important role in the preference of one or another syntactic construction by the production of utterances such as education, age, common background, and sociolinguistic aspects, which were not investigated in this study.

6.1.2 Postposed Temporal Clauses in Oral Corpus

As shown in table 18 the distribution of PO patterns is almost constant over the whole oral corpus with mean values of 21.9% (non-public speech) and 22.95% (public speech). The usage of PO in the non-public speech is almost constant in all three subcorpora (20.9% - 23.9%) with a standard deviation of 1.68%. In the public speech subcorpora, proportions of PO lay in the range of 18.64% -27.87% with the larger standard deviation of 3.79%.

Table 18. Proportions of PO Patterns in the Oral Corpus

Non-public speech		Public speech	
Genre	%PO	Genre	%PO
Microdialogues	20.91	Talkshows	18.64
Storytelling	20.99	Interviews	22.37
LeisureTalk	23.86	Press Conferences	22.92
		Speeches	27.87
Mean (*sd*)	21.92 (1.68)	*Mean*(*sd*)	22.95 (3.79)

Data show that the usage of PO is very stable in the oral speech corpus. it makes up 22.4% of temporal adjuncts. PR and PO constructions reflect the standard

---

[50] The subcorpus Speeches contains presentations on meetings and conferences, among speakers are famous linguists.

grammatical form of temporal clauses, together they represent 77% of temporal adjuncts in the oral corpus. About 23% of the oral corpus contributes to CR patterns which are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

6.2 Interposed Temporal Adverbial Clause

Interposed temporal adverbial clauses are typical CR constructions. Table 19 and Figure 17 show their distribution in the public and non-public corpora.

Table 19. Proportions of IN Patterns in the Oral Corpus

Public speech		Non-public speech	
Genre	%IN	Genre	%IN
Talkshows	5.08	LeisureTalk	7.38
Press Conferences	6.25	Storytelling	12.84
Speeches	13.11	Microdialogues	16.89
Interviews	14.47		
Mean (sd)	9.72 (4.75)	Mean (sd)	12.37 (4.77)

The mean values of IN proportions in both corpora lay very close to each other (within standard deviation) which makes it possible to argue that the usage of IN does not depend on the category of the corpus (public or non-public). Figure 17 shows the distribution of PO patterns over genres of speech. Which factors, typical for one or another speech genre, influenced the usage of IN constructions was not investigated in this study.
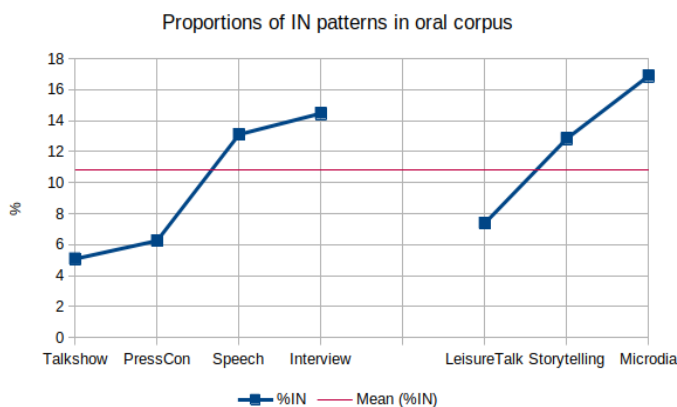
Figure 17. Proportions of IN-Patterns in the Oral Corpus

6.2.1 Analysis of Interposed Temporal Clauses (Type 2)

Sentences with interposed adverbial have the following typical features:

- the word order in temporal clauses is neutral (SVO),

- the tense of a finite verb is the same in main and subordinate clauses.

Two different groups of IN sentences/utterances were found in the corpora: unfinished or rebuilt in-situ sentences and sentences of type 2. For analysis of both groups, the context of utterances plays an important role. Unfinished sentences cannot be understood without complete context; the full text of an utterance was not enough to decode completely its meaning and to assign clauses.

Although sentences of type 2 provide no problems by reading, their analysis also depends on the knowledge of the context. The following examples demonstrate its importance for proper assignment of an (intended) position of a temporal clause.

(6)

[CP1*Ja*	*meždu prochim*	[CP2***kogda***	*vy*	*na*	*dach-u*	*kata-l-i-s'*]
[CP1I	by the way	[CP2when	2PL	to	dacha-ACC.F.SG	drive-PST-PL-REF]

ja	*tut*	*kvartir-u*	*vydra-iva-l-a*][51]
I	here	flat-ACC.SG.F	scrubb-IPF-PST-F!]

By the way, when you drove to dacha I scrubbed (the) flat here!

To find out which of two constructions – pre- or post-posed – was intended by a speaker sentence (6) can be converted into the standard form. The parenthetical phrase *Meždu pročim* is preliminary put outside the matrix sentence.

(6a) *(*Meždu pročim*) ja kogda vy katalis' ja vydraivala kvartiru.*

This sentence is ungrammatical in the sense of the standard written language owed to the repetition of the subject (*ja*). In CR this phenomenon is known as surplus pronouns[52], it was described by Zemskaja (2011). The surplus pronouns effect occurs also in other languages[53]. Sentence (6a) still does not provide a clue

---

[51] Я между прочим когда вы на дачу то к нам/ то к Познахеревым катались/ я тут квартиру выдраивала!(NRKJa, 2007, private non-public speech collection).

[52] Zemskaja (2011) called this phenomenon *izbytochnye mestoimenija* (surplus pronouns), which occurs in an emotional speech. Several examples of this phenomenon are shown at p. 73, such as "*On ej obeščal/ čto on napishet//*" (he promised, that he will write her).

[53] Mr. A.Schmidt (personal communication, November 30, 2021) attracted my attention to examples from Norwegian, where a personal pronoun appears at the beginning and even at the end of the same sentence: "Jeg hørte den, jeg! – Tor har gjørt det, han!". Similar to Russian examples these sentences are also emotional utterances, exclamations.

to determine whether the temporal clause refers to the whole sentence as in 1):

1) ~~ja~~ kogda vy katalis' ja vydraivala kvartiru,

or to the verbal phrase as in 2):

2) ja kogda vy katalis' ~~ja~~ vydraivala kvartiru.

Taking into account the emotional character of the sentence (6), variant 1) seems to be more suitable than 2), because the initial temporal adjunct spans over the whole sentence emphasizing a contrast between the actions of the protagonists: one did hard work while others made a leisure tour.

This contrast is augmented even more when *meždu pročim* is returned to its original place after the subject; it forces a pause underlining the opposition *ja – vy* (I - you)[54]. The meaning of the expression *meždu pročim* is negated, obviously, the work performed by the speaker was not done "by the way". The interposed construction in the combination of a surplus pronoun and a marked position of a parenthetical expression provides a means to express contrastive topics (I vs. you).

Example (7) shows another combination of an interposed construction combined with a typical CR feature:

(7)

[$_{CP1}$*Pust'*   *hot'*   *Svetka*   [$_{CP2}$***kogda***   *rabota-et*]   *ona*   *zanos-it*][55]
[$_{CP1}$Let   at least   Svetka   [$_{CP2}$when   work-PRS.3SG] she   bring-PRS.3SG
 Let at least Svetka bring (it) over when she works.

The construction *Pust'* corresponding to the English "let" expresses a wish or permission of a speaker. The particle *hot'* (at least) underlines the exhaustive selection of the speaker. The main clause of (7) is:

(7a) *[$_{CP1}$ *Pust' hot' Svetka ona zanos-it*].

(7a) is ungrammatical in the sense of the standard language owed to a combination "noun (*Svetka)* pronoun (*ona)*". This CR phenomenon was also described by Zemskaja (2011), she called it "v*yskazyvanija s korrelatom"* (p. 164) (correlated expressions). According to her, a referential pronoun serves as an *aktualizator* (actualizer), it emphasizes what was already said before[56]. Does the

---

[55] [Клава, жен, 60, 1947] Пусть хоть Светка когда работает она заносит.(NRKJa, 2007, non-public speech: microdialogs

[56] Zemskaja (2011) showed some examples of this construction:" *Naš sosed/ on každyj god v Krymu*" (p. 164) (Our neighbor, he goes every year to Crimea). Further (p. 165) she

temporal adjunct refer to the whole sentence or to the verbal phrase? Trying a preposed position sentence (7) is converted to (7b):

(7b) [_CP2_*Kogda rabotaet*] [_CP1_*pust' hot' Svetka ona zanosit*].

The preposed CP2 changed the meaning of the sentence: both verbs have the same aspect and tense, it suggests the simultaneous actions and would mean that Svetka should do something else while working. Furthermore, the preposed temporal adjunct weakens the construction *pust' hot'* – keeping in mind that the most important part is pronounced as first. (7b) cannot correspond to the intentions of the speaker. The sentence (7c) reflects her goal better:

(7c) [_CP1_*Pust' hot' Svetka ona zanosit*][_CP2_k*ogda rabotaet*].

The original sentence has neither intonation marks nor punctuation. According to the example of Zemskaja (2011) (footnote 56), it is important to insert a pause between the noun and the referential pronoun. The temporal adjunct on its original place as in (7) provides a necessary pause and supports the emphasizing of the proper name. The temporal clause is attached to the vP as in (7c), its position before the vP can be explained by conventional norms of CR.

6.2.2 Interposed Temporal Clauses in Rebuilt Utterances

Example (8) is an example of interposed sentences that are difficult to analyze, demonstrates a complex sentence rebuilt in-situ. A speaker loses the subject of the already started sentence and continues with a new one borrowed from the subordinate clause.

(8)

Rossija	*v*	*ram-k-ax*	*šestistoronnih*	*peregovor-ov*	**kogda**	*oni*
Russia	in	frame-DIM-PL.LOC	six-party	talk-PL.GEN	**when**	3PL.NOM

eščjo	*dostatočno*	*aktivno*	*prohod-il-i*	*by-l-i*	*sozda-n-y*
still	enough	actively	pass-PST-PL	be-PST-PL	build-PTCP-PL

neskol'ko	*rabo-č-ih*	*grup-Ø*[57]
some	work-ADJ-PL.GEN	group-PL.GEN

[_CP1_Russia in six-party talks] [_CP2_when they still actively enough took place] [_CP3_there where built some working groups]

---

pointed out that such expression can appear only in a dialog as a reaction, never as the first phrase in a conversation.

[57] [Сергей Лавров, муж, 63, 1950, министр] Кстати/ мы будем готовы... Россия в рамках шестисторонних переговоров/ когда ещё они достаточно активно проходили/ были созданы несколько рабочих групп (NKRJa, 2013, oral public speech: press conferences).

CP1 with the subject "Russia" is not finished, CP2 refers to "talks" as the reference pronoun "they" indicates, CP3 is a new sentence. The speaker changed a subject and the theme of his talk. Without knowing the circumstances of these utterances, their detailed context it is only possible to suppose that the speaker suddenly followed an association or a thought which made him change the flow of his speech.

Sentences of type 2 found in the non-public oral corpora occur in combination with other means of CR (examples 6 and 7). The appearance of interposed constructions in rebuilt in-situ sentences in the public speech corpus can be explained by the associative attachment while building utterances by free oral speech.

6.3 Temporal Clauses with the Meaningless Conjunction

Temporal adverbial clauses with meaningless conjunction *kogda* (sentences type 1) are used more frequently in non-public speech: whereas preposed, postposed, and interposed constructions show similar trends in both public and non-public speech, ML are those which make difference.

Figure 18 shows the proportions of ML in the oral corpus. In its non-public part, the portion of ML lies between 15 and 22% (about 1/5 of the subcorpus). In the non-public corpus, the proportion of ML sentences slightly decreases from the LeisureTalk subcorpus to the Storytelling. In the public speech subcorpora, the proportion of ML decreases from the Interviews, where it reaches almost 9% to the Speeches (0%).
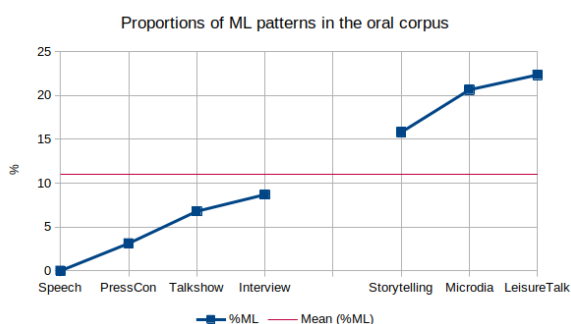
Figure 18. Proportions of ML Patterns in the
Oral Corpus

Obviously, speakers avoid using this construction on official occasions, therefore, this construction is one of the most typical CR constructions. The presence of ML

patterns in the subcorpora of public speech depends on its genre: in interviews and in talk shows people are encouraged to feel free and to speak as they are used to.

Sentences of type 1 are characterized by a non-standard position of the conjunction *kogda* in a temporal clause: it is never placed at the beginning of the clause, it follows either a pronoun or a noun or it is moved to the end of a sentence. According to Lapteva (1976), short subordinate clauses, fixed preposed position relative to the main clause, and lack of a pause between a subordinate and the main clause is typical for this construction. In following examples of findings are presented. A special role of the meaningless conjunction *kogda* in these constructions will be discussed in chapter 7.1.

6.3.1 *Kogda* after Personal Pronouns

A short and unstressed pronoun before *kogda* is typical for such sentences.

This construction is the most common one: the Storytelling corpus contains 68% of them among all ML, the LeisureTalk – 73.4%, and the Microdialogues 60.8%. In public speech corpora, their portion is also greater than other types except for the subcorpus Press Conferences: there were found only three patterns, one of every type. There are some examples of these sentences from different corpora:

(9)

On	**kogda**	*u-vid-el*	*eti*	*risunk-i*	*on*	*prosto*	*on*	*skaz-al*
3SG	**when**	PFV-see-PST.SG.M	these	picture.PL.ACC	he	simply	he	say-PST.SG.M

"čto	*vy*	*dela-ete?"*[58]
"what	2SG	do-PRS.2PL"

When he saw these pictures he simply (he) said "What are you doing?"

(10)

Ty	**kogda**	*po-e-š'*	*k*	*zerkal-u*	*po-doj-d*i[59]
2SG	**when**	PFV-eat-FUT.2SG	to	mirror-DAT.N	PFV-go-IMP.SG

When you are ready with meals go to the mirror.

(11)

Sluš-aj,	*vy*	**kogda**	*pri-ed-ete,*	*ty*	*mne*	*po-zvon-i*[60]
Look-IMP,	2PL	**when**	PFV-arrive-FUT.2PL	you	I\DAT	PFV-call-IMP.SG

Look, when you arrive, call me.

---

[58] [Елена Борисовна Мурина, жен, ученый] Он/ когда увидел эти рисунки/ он просто/ он сказал/ «Что вы делаете? (NKRJa, 2012, устная непубличная речьбеседа).

[59] Ты когда поешь/ к зеркалу подойди. Домашний разговор (2005) // Из коллекции НКРЯ (NKRJa).

[60] Слушай/ вы когда приедете/ ты мне позвони. Бытовые разговоры (2006) // Из коллекции НКРЯ.

6.3.2 *Kogda* after a Noun

Sentences with a noun before *kogda* are encountered much more seldom than those with a pronoun in both public and non-public corpora: 15 from 59 (25%) in the Storytelling, 9 from 98 (9.1%) in the LeisureTalk, and 12 from 74 (16.2%) in the Microdialogues. In the public corpus the portion of combinations "noun-*kogda*" is very small: four from 29 in the Interviews and only one from three in the Press Conferences. There are some examples:

(12)

Čelovek	***kogda***	*vzrosle-et*	*emu*	*nužno*	*otveč-at'*
person.NOM.M	**when**	grow-PRS.3SG	he\DAT	need to	be responsible.INF

za	*čto-to.*[61]
for	something

When a person grows up he must be responsible for something.

(13)

Vot DmitrijØ	***kogda***	*vernu-l-sja*	*s*	*vojn-y*	*on*
Dmintrij.NOM.M	**when**	come-PST-REF back	from	war-GEN.F	he

pri-vjoz-Ø	*celyj*	*čemodan-Ø*	*knig-Ø..*[62]
PFV-bring-PST.SG.M	whole	bag-ACC.M	book-PL.GEN

When Dmitrij (Vladimirovich) came back from the war he brought a whole bag of books with him.

The last case of sentences with ML are those, where *kogda* is placed at the end of it or is simply far from its beginning. These sentences are rare: four from 59 (6.7%) are found in the Storytelling corpus, 16 from 98 (16.3%) in the Leisure-Talk, and 17 from 74 (23%) in the Microdialogues. In the Interviews, there were six from 29 and only one in the Press Conferences. Following examples demonstrate this construction:

(14)

...vse	*derev'ja-Ø*	*po-srub-il-i*	*sejčas*	*vot zdes'*	*ot*	*železn-oj*
...all	tree-ACC.PL	PFV-cut.PST-PL down	now	here	from	iron-ADJ.GEN.F

dorog-i	*gde*	*pereezd*	*kak*	*id-još'*	*iz*	*Krivandino*	***kogda.***[63]
way-GEN.F	where	crossing	as	go-PRS.2SG	from	Krivandino	**when**

---

[61] [Елена Лихачева, жен, журналист] Человек/ кода взрослеет/ ему нужно отвечать за что-то.(NKRJa, Interviews, 2009).

[62] [Елена Борисовна Мурина, жен, ученый] Вот Дмитрий Владимирович/ когда вернулся с войны/ он привёз целый чемодан книг/ даже не один/ а два. (NKRJa, 2012, Storytelling).

[63] [№ 4, жен, 49, 1956, экономист] Все это/ все деревья посрубили/ сейчас вот здесь/ от железной дороги/ ну где переезд-то как идешь из Кривандино когда. (NKRJa,2005, private talk).

All trees were cut down near the railway crossing that one passes going from Krivandino.

Sometimes mixed variants – interposed clause is a sentence with meaningless conjunction – were encountered:

(15)

Včera	*ja*	*u teb-ja*	*spros-il-a*	*my*	***kogda***	*po-š-li*
Yesterday	1SG	you-GEN.2SG	ask-PST-F.SG	we	**when**	PFV-start-PST.PL

o	*Mečnikov-e...*[64]
about	Mechnikov-PRP.M

Yesterday I asked you about Mechnikov, when we started…

7 Discussion

7.1 Patterns of CR in Modern Oral Speech Corpora

Patterns of CR such as ML and IN were found in both corpora. Comparison of their content in two parts of the subcorpus LeisureTalk showed that the portion of ML-patterns even increased from 2000 to 2008 compared with the period of 1980-2000. The amount of IN-constructions had not been reduced. CR patterns, which were classified by Lapteva (1976) as transitive, are still present in oral corpora.

7.1.1 ML-Patterns in Oral Corpora

ML-constructions seem to be the most colloquial ones – they are absent in public speech (the subcorpus Speeches) or used only to underline personal attitude   (the subcorpus Press conferences). In interviews or in talkshows ML proportions increase in spite of the public character of conversations.

The position of a conjunction *kogda* in this construction is very versatile: it is placed after the 1st sentence element, in the middle of a sentence, and even at its last position. The conjunction has lost its function, in some sentences found in the corpus it is obsolete appearing together with *esli* (if) as shown in example (16) and (17):

---

[64] [Информант, жен] Вчера я у тебя спросила/ мы когда пошли/ ааа о Мечникове/ ты уже курсантов по именам называешь/ а я говорю я/ Гасымова запомнила/ что его Володей зовут (NKRJa, 2007).

(16)

Она	*у*	*меня*	*буд-ет*	*на*	*ше-е*	*болт-ать-ся*	**кода**
She	by	me\GEN	be\FUT-3SG	on	neck-LOC.SG.F	hang-INF-REF	**when**

если	*буд-ем…*	*одева-ешь*	*её*	*и*	*всё*	*шикарно*
if	be\FUT-1PL	put-PRS.2SG	she\ACC.F	and	everything	(is) chic

It will be hanging on my neck in case we would...put it simply on and everything is fine.

(17)

Dora.../	my	vzrosly-e	s	tob-oj	ljudi//	I	navernoe
Dora.../	we	grown-PL	with	you\2SG-INST	people.NOM	And	perhaps

kogda	**esli**	už	ja	sam	zvon-ju/	ja	ne	bud-u	gnu-t'	ponty/[65]
when	**if**	really	1SG	myself	call-PRS.1SG	1SG	NEG	be\FUT.1SG	show-off-INF	

Dora, we are adults ,and if (when) I do really call you myself it is not a show-off.

On the one hand, interlocutors in a CR communication possess different extra-linguistic keys to decode an utterance such as visual contact, common knowledge, gestures. These keys allow them to reduce the number of word to the necessary minimum.[66] On the other hand, the data show that in the non-public corpus these constructions contribute about 20% of temporal adjuncts.

Did the meaningless conjunction *kogda* receive new roles in CR?

7.1.2 *Kogda* as a Pragmatical Marker

The role of intonation in CR is of great importance. It allows expressing notions of IS only by means of stress and intonation in-situ, by the same word order. Here is example (9) with *kogda* after a pronoun with marked stress and intonation:

(9)

On kog´da˛u´videl˛eti˛ri´sunki˛on˛prosto<>on˛ska´zal<>"´čto˛vy ˛´delaete?"[67]

When he saw these pictures, he had said "What are you doing?"

In a standard sentence with a temporal subordinate clause, such as

(9a)   *Kog´da˛on˛uv´idel˛eti˛ri´sunki↑<>...*

the subordinate clause is pronounced with an ascending intonation up to the comma marking an unfinished utterance (Padučeva, 2015) typical for a subor-

---

[65] [Информант, жен] Ну ты ж Дора ты ж понимаешь/ мы взрослые с тобой люди// И наверное когда/ если уж я сам звоню/ я не буду гнуть понты/ (NKRJa, 2007, private talk).

[66] Zemskaja & all (1981) dedicated to this theme the 3rd chapter, providing a great number of examples,e.g. "(at the billboard of the cinema) A. *Videl*? (Saw?) B. *Erunda* (Trash)" (p. 191).

[67] According to Lapteva (1976) there is no pause between a main and a subordinate clause

dinate clause. In (9) *kogda* does not bear any meaning for a listener, it must not be decoded; a mental pause occurs between the pronoun and verb:

*On <kog´da> **u´videl** ˛eti ˛ri´sunki...*

The pause motivates a listener to focus his attention on the following verb. Providing additional stress to a definite word a speaker changes the meaning of his utterance from a neutral to the marked: in (9) the moment of **seeing** pictures plays a special role in a given context. Due to surplus pronouns discussed already in chapter 6.2.1, the sentence becomes an emotional character.

Example (12) shows a case when *kogda* appears after a noun:

(12)

*Čelovek **kogda** vzrosleet emu nužno otvečat' za čto-to.*

When a person becomes adult he/she needs to be responsible for something.

(12a) *Kogda čelovek vzrosleet↑ emu nužno otvečat' za čto-to.*

(12a) is a standard version of (12). Similar to example (9) *kogda* in (12) introduces a pause between the subject and the predicate of the subordinate clause:

Čelovek <kogda> vzrosleet, and changes a neutral intonation of a sentence. In (12) a speaker emphasizes both the subject and the predicate. The pause provides more attention to the predicate, the subject is emphasized by the usage of the reference pronoun (*Chelovek– emu*) in the main clause according to *vyskazyvanija s korreljatom,* (Zemskaja, 2011).

Sentences with *kogda* as the last word are rare, but still can be found in the non-public corpus, such as

(14)
... vse derev'ja posrubili sejčas vot zdes' ot železnoj dorogi nu gde pereezd-to kak idjoš' iz Krivandino kogda
All trees were cut down near the railway crossing that one passes going from Krivandino.

In this sentence *kogda* seems to play no role at all – the sentence is well completed if a speaker says: "… *gde pereezd kak idjoš' iz Krivandino*." (where [there is] a railway crossing on the way from Krivandino). The sentence is neutral and is pronounced with a falling intonation. It is possible that the speaker needs a final stressed syllable and adds *kogda* to produce this intonation[68]. Without *kogda* there

---

[68] Here is example 14 with intonation marks (u – unstressed syllable, s – stressed):

will be two unstressed syllables at its end (s. footnote 68). *Kogda* in this case plays a role of a local full-stop.

The question of whether meaningless conjunction *kogda* becomes a new role as a pragmatic marker or an "actualizator" (Litnevskaja, 2011) is difficult to solve only on the basis of written corpus: there were no reliable intonation or stress marks. An experiment where utterances are recorded and analyzed afterwards from the viewpoint of intonation could shed a light on it and explain its popularity in CR.

7.2 Interposed Adverbial Clauses

7.2.1 Parallel Associations

Interposed adverbial clauses (IN) which were found in the oral corpus are diverse: on the one hand, these are sentences of type 2. On the other hand, there were utterances with loose temporal clauses that occurred in the interposed position. This group of IN reflects rebuilding of already started utterances owed to the contradiction between parallel thoughts and association and sequential speech. A speaker tries to solve this contradiction by means of associative attachments. One of examples of a rebuilt sentence was shown in 6.2 (example (8)). Another example demonstrates mixing of different thoughts or associations which appear in a speaker's mind while talking:

(18)

My	*special'no*	*očen'*	*o-zabot-il-i-s'*		*tem/vot*	**koda**[69]	*nam /*
We	specially	very	PFV-care-PST-PL-REF		it\INST	**when**	us\DAT

roditel-i	*p*rivod-il-i*	*det-ej/*	*v*	*naš-u*	*škol-u*	*a*
parent-NOM.PL	brind-PST-PL	children-ACC.PL	in	our-LOC.F	school.LOC	and

dejstvitel'no/	*pjat'*	*let*	*by-l*	*eksperimentØ*	*v*	*otdel'n-oj*
really	five	year.PL	be\PST-SG.M	experiment.NOM.M	in	distinguish-LOC.ADJ

škol-e/	*ona*	*takaja*	*avtorsk-aja*	*byl-a*	*v*	*to*	*vremja.*[70]
school.LOC.F	3SG.F	such	creative-ADJ.NOM.F	be\PST-SG.F	in	that	time

---

"*vse ˏde´rev'ja ˏposru´bili<>sej´čas ˏvot ˏ´zdes'<>ot ˏže´leznoj ˏdo´rogi ˏ<>nu ˏgde ˏpere´ezd-*
 u u s u u u s u u s u s u u s u u s u
*to ˏkak ˏid´još' ˏiz Kri´vandino ˏ**kog´da**↓*"
u u u s u u s u u **u s.**

[69] *koda* or *kada* is usual colloquial form of pronunciation of *kogda*

[70] [Андрей Викторович Хуторской, муж, 49, 1959, ученый] Мы специально очень озаботились тем/ вот **кода** нам/ ээ родители отвоприводили детей/ ээ в нашу школу/ а действительно вот/ ээ пять лет был эксперимент в отдельной школе/ она такая была авторская в то время.

We took special care when parents brought children to our school because five years long there was an experiment in a distinguished school, it was a kind of creative/experimental school at this time.

The speaker binds several associations which arise by the theme of experimental schools in one utterance as a sequence of sentences. Some of these sentences are not completed or maybe they should be reordered. In any case they reflect his flow of thought and associations.

Example (19) shows an intrusion of a complex sentence into another complex sentence:

(19)

J*a*	*govor-il*	*o*	*tom*	**kogda**	*mne*	*po-zvon-ili/*	*ja*
1SG	alk-PST.M.SG	about/	that	**when**	me\1SG.DAT	PRF-call-PST.3PL/	1SG

nahod-il-sja	*ne*	*v*	*Moskv-e/*	*čto*	*da-v-at'*	*kakuju-to*
stay-PST.M-REFL	not	in	Moscow-LOC.F/	that	give-IPF-INF	any

informaci-ju	*ili*	*ne*	*da-v-at'/*	*potomu*	*čto*	*ejo*	*očen'*	*mnogo?*[71]
information-ACC.F	or	not	give-IPF-INF/	because		she\3SG.F.ACC	very	much?

I talked (when they called me I wasn't in Moscow) about whether to publish any information or not because there was plenty of it.

The speaker builds a complex construction of several main and subordinate clauses:

[CP1*Ja govoril o tom,*[CP4[CP5*kogda mne pozvonili*] [CP4*ja nahodilsja ne v Moskve*]] [CP2 *čto davat' kakuju-to informaciju ili ne davat'* [CP3*potomu čto ejo očen' mnogo*]]].

There are two different complex sentences:

1) the main clause CP1 with an indicative clause CP2 and the causal clause CP3.

2) the main clause CP4 with the preposed temporal clause CP5.

The speaker inserts CP4 without finalizing the first sentence as an urgent comment which might be important in a given context. Two sentences where the main clause is put inside the temporal clause (as it was already observed by Zemskaja (2011)) were found. Example (20) is one of them:

(20)

I	[CP2**kada** *Volodja*	*Jungman*	[CP1*mne*	*prosto*	*povezlo*]	*sprosil*
And	[CP2when Volodja	Jungman	[CP1me\DAT.1SG	simply	lucky]	ask-ST.SG.M

---

[71] [Владимир Познер, муж, 82, 1934, журналист] Я говорил о том/ когда мне позвонили/ я находился не в Москве/ что давать какую-то информацию или не давать/ потому что её очень много?

menja	*"Chita-l li*	*ja"*]
me\ACC.1SG	"read-PST.M	1SG"]

And when Volodja Jungman - what an incredible chance for me! - asked me " Have you read....".

Example (20) also demonstrates a parallel association, in this case – an expressive one: a speaker inserts a short main clause as an emotional comment.

Sentences of this type appear in corpora with long utterances. I would expect, that interviews would have more such sentences than for example Microdialogs – this aspect was not investigated, but it could be. The cause of the building of inter-posed sentences by an association may be explained by the orality of speech and not of its unpreparedness: there were found examples of interposed sentences of this kind in public speech. Even in the subcorpus Speeches, where preparedness is assumed, the relation of IN-sentences to sentences with the standard pre-and post-posed temporal clauses was 8:54.

7.2.2 Interposed Clauses as Adjuncts

The analysis of examples of interposed clauses as adjuncts was shown in chapter 3.2 for data presented in Lapteva (1976). If my formal analysis is correct speakers attach temporal clause to the vP as if it were an adverb or a prepositional phrase (PP) in accordance with Bailyn's rule of attachment of an adjunct (s. Figure 2). Such attachment would narrow the scope of a temporal clause: it does not refer more to the whole sentence, but only to the vP. This observation is supported by a replacement of a temporal adjunct by an adverb or a PP (s. Thompson & al. (2007) in footnote 36). It can be demonstrated in example (7), chapter 6.2.1:

(7) [CP1 *Pust' hot' Svetka* [CP2**kogda** *rabotaet*] *ona zanos-it*] →
  [CP1Let at least Svetka, [CP2when (she) works], bring it over].
→ [CP1 *Pust' hot' Svetka* [*inogda*] *ona zanos-it*]
  [CP1Let at least Svetka [sometimes] bring it over].
Another example of a replacement is (21):

(21)

[CP1*Volod-e*	*byl-o/*	[CP2**kada**	*s*	*Nikola-em*	*my*
[CP1Volodja-DAT	be\PST.NEU/	[CP2**when**	with	Nikolaj-INST.M	we

razoš-l-i-s']	*s*	*Nikola-em/*]	*Volod-e*	*byl-o/*
separate-PST-PL-REF]	with	Nikolja-INST/]	Volodja-DAT	be\PST.N

naverno/ *let* *sem'*].[72]
perhaps   year .PL   seven]
Volodja was when Nikolaj and I separated perhaps about 7 years old.

Replacing temporal clause with a prepositional phrase (21) is converted to (21a):

(21a) [*Volode bylo [v to vremja], Volode bylo naverno 7 let*].

      Volodja was [at that time] about 7 years old.

However, the corpus data show that only the analysis of a context (which was not always available) makes it possible to assign properly the temporal adjunct to a whole sentence or only to a verbal phrase. By the analysis of (7), it was shown that the temporal clause could not be put into the initial position without changing the meaning of the sentence. In example (21) both versions - with preposed or postposed temporal clause- are plausible:

(21b) *[Kada s Nikolaem my razošlis'*][*Volode bylo/ Volode bylo/ naverno/ let 7*]

      When we separated, Nikolay and me, Volodja was 7 about years old.

(21c) [*Volode bylo/ Volode bylo/naverno/ let 7*][*kada s Nikolaem my razošlis'*]

      Volodja was about 7 years old, when we separated, Nikolay and me.

In chapter 3.2 (example (d)) and in chapter 6.2.1 (example (6)) it was attempted to prove that the preposing of a subordinate clause was aimed by a speaker but not realized because other communication goals had higher priority, such as the necessity to utter the most important information at first. Associations and immediate impressions influence free speech motivating free associative attachment, as a result of which a temporal adjunct intended as preposed is attached at a vP as an adverb.

The data show that interposed constructions are frequently used together with other CR construction such as surplus pronouns and correlated pronouns which are typical for emotional oral speech.

7.3 Pre – and Postposed Temporal Clauses

Proportions of preposed and postposed constructions in my study differ from those found in the study of the oral corpus by Ford (1993) and from those for syntactic corpus of the NKRJa reported by Pekelis (2014).

---

[72] [Любовь Ивановна Б., жен, пенсионер] Володе было/ када вот с Николаем мы разошлись/ с Николаем/ Володе было/ наверно/ лет семь. (2014, NKRJa, non-public speech).

According to Grammar-80 (1980) and Pekelis (2014), *kogda* introduces not only temporal clauses but also other subordinate clauses. These constructions ("others") were excluded from the analysis (s. chapter 5.1), otherwise, the proportion between pre - and postposed constructions was in favor of the last (43%: 57%).

The second hypothesis was based on the assumption that in CR the most important information is expressed as first. Preposed temporal clauses do not bear any new information. They maintain discourse reminding a listener of already mentioned circumstances. This function of preposed adverbial clauses Thompson & al. (2007) called "intersentential functions" (p. 53). In my study, preposed constructions built the largest group in all types of subcorpora (s. Figure 15), the relation between pre – and post-posed is 1.87:1. Herewith hypothesis 2 lacks empiric evidence.

Results seem to be plausible: from the formal viewpoint I included ML constructions in "preposed" because the position of a temporal clause is fixed with regard to the main clause even when the conjunction *kogda* does not take an initial position in the clause. From the viewpoint of the selection of corpora, the results of the study show that environment and genres of conversations influence the usage of syntax constructions. For example if preposed constructions are necessary for maintaining a discourse, in the subcorpus Storytelling there should be more preposed constructions than in the subcorpus Microdialog.

As it is seen in Figure 16 genres of oral corpora influence proportions of standard grammatical and CR syntactic constructions. These genres were selected in order to reflect such features of the colloquial language as orality, unpreparedness, visual contact, common ground, spontaneity, informality. In the current study, the presence of such influence can be shown only qualitatively: features of the CR cannot be either definitely assigned to a genre or measured, therefore they only indicate, that the influence exists and that it may be worth further investigation.

8 Conclusion

The current study was dedicated to the question of the implementation of standard Russian in oral speech. The study was designed as a corpus study of oral Russian focusing on specific constructions - temporal adverbial clauses. Two hypotheses were posted:

- the reduction of constructions type 1 and 2 in the modern oral language,
- the prevalence of postposed temporal adjuncts in oral speech.

The reduction of constructions of types 1 and 2 was derived from their classification by Lapteva (1976) as transition forms. The prevalence of postposed temporal adjuncts in the oral speech was expected in agreement with a typical CR feature: putting the most important information at the beginning of an utterance.

Both hypotheses lacked empirical evidence in this study. The proportion of CR patterns (ML and IN) in the oral corpus has not changed significantly comparing the time before 2000 when the investigation of the CR began and to the present time In one of the oral genres (the LeisureTalk corpus) the proportion of ML even increased in the time after 2000. The study showed that CR patterns contribute one-fifth of temporal subordinate clauses in the oral corpus.

The proportion of preposed constructions in the oral corpora prevailed in both public and non-public subcorpora. The influence of speech genre on proportions of CR patterns of temporal clauses was observed.

The big question of this study was the interaction of the CR and the standard language. Although Lapteva (1976) placed both constructions (type 1 and type 2) in the same group the data elicited in this study show their difference:

- ML belongs to non-official oral speech, if it accept its new role, it will remain in this area,
- IN appears in both speeches,
- interposed construction type 2 may find their way into a new grammar handling IN as temporal adverbs,
- free associative attachment needs detailed investigation: it seems to be a very broad term describing different effects,

- the true assignment and correct interpretation of a sentence with an interposed construction can be done only within an actual context.

The current study gives a very rough impression of the implementation of standard language constructions in oral speech. The area of investigation restricted to two temporal constructions with the conjunction *kogda* became much broader in the course of work due to the different characters of subjects under study. Working with corpora showed limitations of the selected method on the one hand and the presence of confounding factors on the other hand, among which are genre of speech, age, educational grade of speakers, and maybe much more. The lack of punctuation and intonation signs make the discussion about the new role of *kogda* as a pragmatic marker or an "aktualiser" not reliable.

For further investigations following ways can be suggested:

- investigations of audio corpora (special attention to stress and intonation),
- analysis of confounding factors,
- a thorough analysis of contexts,
- field research: elicitation of oral speech data within different social groups.

9 Literature

Bailyn, J.F. (2012). The Syntax of Russian. *Cambridge Syntax Guides.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from zlibrary: z-lib.org.

Brezina, V. (2020). Classical Monofactorial (Parametric and Non-parametric) Tests. In M. Paquot and Th. Gries (Eds.), *A Practical Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 473-505). Springer Nature Switzerland AG. Retrieved from https://wetransfer.com/downloads/6a042b5de5e6d3b7952dadbcb429c84a2021100 4145530/1fcd04031ab27134f3a824816506c44820211004145550/00f667.

Ford, C.E. (1993). Grammar in Interaction. Adverbial clauses in American English conversation. *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 9*. Cambrige: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from http://library.uc.edu.kh/userfiles/pdf/ 34.Grammar%20in%20interaction%20adverbial%20clauses%20in%20American %20English%20conversations.pdf.

Fu Lin. (2014). On the Characteristics of Word Order in Typical Russian Conversational Constructions. *ВЕСТНИК КемГУКИ 27/2014,*   127-137. Retrieved from https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/harakteristika-poryadka-slov-v-russkih-tipizirovannyh-razgovornyh-konstruktsiyah/viewer.

Fu Lin. (2011). Specifics of the Two Types of the Russian Colloquial Speech Constructions and its Order of Words. *ВЕСТНИК КемГУКИ 16/2011*, 99-108. Retrieved from https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/osobennosti-dvuh-vidov-konstruktsiy-russkoy-ustno-razgovornoy-rechi-i-ee-poryadok-slov/viewer.

Grishina, E.A., Savchuk,S.O. (2009). Korpus ustnyh tekstov v Nacional'nom korpuse russkogo jazyka: sostav i struktura. In V.A. Plungin (Ed.), *Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka: 2006-2008. Novye rezul'taty i perspectivy,* (pp.129-149).Spb:Nestor-Istorija. Retrieved from https://ruscorpora.ru/new/sbornik2008/07.pdf.

Lapteva, O.A. (1976). *Russkij razgovornyj syntaksis.* Moskva: Nauka.

Литневская, Е.И.(2011). *Письменные формы разговорной речи (К постановке проблемы)*: Монография. Moscow: МАКС Пресс. Retrieved from https://www.philol.msu.ru/~ruslang/pdfs/Litnevskaya-E.I.2011.pdf.

Падучева, Е.В. (2015). Коммуникативная структура предложения. Materialy dlja proekta korpusnogo opisanija russkoj grammatiki . Na pravah rukopisi. Moscow. Retrieved from http://rusgram.ru/Коммуникативная_структура_предложения.

Пекелис, О. Е.(2014). Сентенциальные обстоятельства. Materialy dlja proekta korpusnogo opisanija russkoj grammatiki . Na pravah rukopisi. Moscow. Retrieved from http://rusgram.ru/pdf/pekelis-2017-sentential_adverbials.pdf.

Reznikova, T.I., Kopotev, M.V.(2005). Linguisticheski annotirovannye korpusa russkogo jazyka (obzor dostupnych ressursov). *Nazional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka: 2003-2005. Rezul'taty I perspektivy,*(pp. 31-61). Moscow: INDRIK. Retrieved on the   https://www.mv.helsinki.fi/home/kopotev/corpora_review.pdf.

Il'enko, S.G. (2009). *Kommutativno-strukturnyj sintaksis russkogo jazyka.* SPb: Izdatel'stvo RGPU. Retrieved from scribd: https://www.scribd.com.

ШВЕДОВА, Н. Ю. (Ed.). (1980). *РУССКАЯ ГРАММАТИКА, ТОМ II, СИНТАКСИС.* Москва: НАУКА. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu.
The Leipzig Glossing Rules. (2015). Retrieved from https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf.

Thompson, S., Longacre, R., Hwang S.J. (2007). Adverbial Clauses. In Timothy Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (pp. 237-300). Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511619434.005.

Valgina, N.S.(ed), Rozental', D.E., Fomina, M.I. (2002). *Sovremennyj russkij jazyk: Učebnik*. Moskva: Logos. Retrieved from http://hi-edu.ru/e-books/xbook107/01/part-153.html.

Zemskaja, E.A., Kitajgorodskaja, M.V., Shirjaev, E.N. (1981). *Russkaja razgovornaja rech'. Obščie voprosy, slovoobrasovanie, sintaksis.* Moscow: Nauka. Retrieved from z-lib.org: https://de1lib.org/book/2422017/1d524a?dsource=recommend.

Zemskaja, E.A. (2011). *Russkaja razgovornaja reč'. Lingvističeskij analiz i problemy obučenija.* Moscow: Flinta. Retrieved from https://de1lib.org/book/2289964/953c80.

R Rstudio Version 1.2.5033 © 2009-2019 RStudio, Inc. "Orange Blossom" (330255dd, 2019-12-04).

AC Del Re. (2020). Package 'compute.es'. Downloaded from https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/compute.es/compute.es.pdf on the 11.11.2021.13:39.

Appendix 1. Numeric Data

Table 20. Distribution of Patterns vs. Genre (Public Speech)

Genre	%PR	%PO	%IN	%ML
Interviews	54.47	22.37	14.47	8.68
Talkshows	69.49	18.64	5.08	6.78
Press Conference	67.71	22.92	6.25	3.12
Speech	59.02	27.87	13.11	0
Mean	62.67	22.95	9.73	4.64

Table 21. Distribution of Patterns vs. Genre (Non-public Speech)

Genre	%PR	%PO	%IN	%ML
Storytelling	50.37	20.99	12.84	15.8
Microdialogues	41.55	20.91	16.89	20.64
LeisureTalk	46.42	23.86	7.38	22.34
Mean	46.11	21.92	12.37	19.59

Table 22. Distribution of CR Patterns in Non-public Speech / Year

Number of entries	Year	IN%	ML%	PR%	PO%
2	2001	50	50	0	0
3	2002	0	33.33	66.67	0
12	2004	0	0	58.33	41.67
53	2005	24.53	26.42	39.62	9.43
244	2006	6.56	22.13	49.59	21.72
241	2007	9.13	18.26	48.13	24.48
168	2008	17.86	22.62	35.12	24.4
101	2009	11.88	16.83	50.5	20.79
15	2010	13.33	13.33	60	13.33
33	2011	15.15	15.15	48.48	21.21
173	2012	11.56	13.87	49.71	24.86
19	2013	26.32	5.26	42.11	26.32
131	2014	14.5	26.72	41.22	17.56
31	2016	0	22.58	61.29	16.13
7	2019	28.57	14.29	0	57.14

Table 23. Distribution of CR Patterns in Public Speech / Year

Number of entries	Year	IN%	ML%	PR%	PO%
54	2001	14.81	9.26	57.41	18.52
41	2002	12.2	7.32	63.41	17.07
29	2003	13.79	6.9	44.83	34.48

25	2004	4	4	60	32
57	2005	24.56	10.53	56.14	8.77
120	2006	12.5	5	62.5	20
4	2007	0	0	50	50
20	2008	5	0	65	30
18	2009	0	11.11	50	38.89
2	2010	0	0	50	50
31	2011	6.45	22.58	67.74	3.23
26	2012	0	3.85	46.15	50
26	2013	23.08	7.69	57.69	11.54
18	2014	22.22	5.56	55.56	16.67
7	2015	0	0	71.43	28.57
24	2016	0	8.33	70.83	20.83
12	2017	16.67	16.67	33.33	33.33

Table 24. Distribution of Patterns in the LeisureTalk (1965 - 2004)

Year	PR	PO	IN	ML
1956	71,43	0	0	28.57
1960-1980	59.41	18.81	9.9	11.88
1967	33.33	16.67	50	0
1970	33.33	66.67	0	0
1971-1977	72.22	2.78	19.44	5.56
1971-1979	85.71	14.29	0	0
1972	66.67	0	16.67	16.67
1972-1978	50	0	0	50
1973	40	20	0	40
1975	76.19	19.05	4.76	0
1977	20	40	20	20
1980	50	0	50	0
1981	75	0	12.5	12.5
1985	20	40	40	0
1985-1987	16.67	16.67	16.67	50
1987	60	40	0	0
1988	38.89	22.22	11.11	27.78
1989	50	13.89	16.67	19.44
1990	45.45	15.15	21.21	18.18
1990-1995	80	0	0	20
1990-1999	29.63	20.37	29.63	20.37
1991	53.33	13.33	20	13.33
1992	66.67	0	33.33	0
1993	55.56	13.33	6.67	24.44
1993-1998	100	0	0	0
1995	42.86	14.29	23.81	19.05
1996	33.33	50	16.67	0
1997	33.33	33.33	33.33	0
1999-2000	0	0	75	25
2000-2003	37.5	50	0	12.5
2002	27.88	29.81	18.27	24.04
2004	52.94	5.88	29.41	11.76

Mean	49.29	18.01	18.	14.7

Table 25. Corpus Statistics

Values	IN %	ML%	PR%	PO%
	non-public corpus			
Max	26	26.7	60	26
Min	6.56	5.26	35	9
Average	15	18	46	20
	public corpus			
Max	24.6	22.6	71	50
Min	0	0	33	3.2
Average	9.13	7	57	50

Table 26. Prepared Samples (ML Pattern)

Year	ML	Year	ML
1970	10.71	1999	25
1974	4.65	2001	14.29
1975	12.96	2002	33.33
1981	12.5	2004	25
1986	18.75	2006	40.43
1988	27.78	2007	36.78
1989	19.44	2008	39.22
1990	18.18	2009	75
1991	13.33	2014	100
1993	24.44		
1995	19.05		
1997	16.22		

Table 27. Prepared Samples (IN Pattern)

Year	IN	Year	IN
1970	11.61	1999	75
1974	16.28	2001	28.57
1975	9.26	2002	25.33
1981	12.5	2004	62.5
1986	18.75	2006	13.83
1988	11.11	2007	14.94
1989	16.67	2008	17.65
1990	21.21	2009	0
1991	20	2014	0
1993	6.67		
1995	23.81		
1997	27.03		

U3, CLES and Cliff's Delta are :

U3 – a measure of distribution overlap: in case of increasing difference U3 approaches100%.

CLES – Common Language Effect Size – "CLES (McGraw & Wong, 1992) expresses the probability that a randomly selected score from one population will be greater than a randomly sampled score from another population" (AC Del Re,2020,p.59).

Cliff's Delta – provides a probability that "individual observations in one group are likely to be greater than the observations in another group " (AC Del Re,2020,p.59). The value of 0 would mean that 2 groups overlap, the value 1 or -1   - no overlap at all.

Table 28. Effect Size for ML and IN in Old and New Corpora

Effect	ML	IN
d [95 % CI]	**-0.66 [-1.54 , 0.23]**	**0.1 [-0.76 , 0.97]**
var(d)	0.2	0.19
p-value(d)	.16	.82
U3(d)	25.62 %	54.02 %
CLES(d)	32.16 %	52.84 %
Cliff's Delta	-0.36	0.06

10 Zusammenfassung

Erst in den 1960er und 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts wendeten die Forscher ihre besondere Interesse dem umgangssprachlichen Russisch (im Folgenden CR) und seiner Interaktion mit dem kodifizierten (normativen) Russisch. Die Umgangssprache verwendet ihre grammatikalischen Konstruktionen abweichend von den Normen der Schriftsprache. Da die kodifizierte Sprache unter anderem auf grammatischer Ebene die Basis der Umgangssprache ist, stellt sich die Frage, wie die Standardformen in der mündlichen Rede verwendet werden. Lapteva (1976) hat sich insbesondere mit der Syntax der CR beschäftigt und eine Klassifizierung der CR-Konstruktionen, die sich von ihren Standardformen unterscheiden, vorgenommen. Die vorliegende Studie befasst sich mit zwei Konstruktionen aus dieser Klassifikation: einem eingebetteten temporalen Nebensatz und einem temporalen Nebensatz mit der bedeutungslos gewordenen Konjunktion *kogda* (als/wenn), welche ihre normative Position im Satz verlässt. Dabei soll neben den Sonderformen temporaler Adverbialsätze auch die Häufigkeit ihrer Standardimplementation als vorangestellte und nachgestellte Konstruktionen untersucht werden.

Es wurden zwei Hypothesen aufgestellt:

- Die Häufigkeit bestimmter Konstruktionen, die von Lapteva (1976) als Übergangskonstruktionen klassifiziert wurden, nimmt im Laufe Jahrzehnten ab

- Das Verhältnis zwischen vorangestellten und nachgestellten temporalen Nebensätzen wird aufgrund der Spontanität der mündlichen Rede zu Gunsten der letzteren ausfallen.

Die Korpusstudie wurde mit dem Subkorpus der mündlichen Sprache des National'nyj Korpus Russkogo Jazyka (Nationales Korpus der russischen Sprache) durchgeführt. Weder im gesamten mündlichen Subkorpus noch in seinen größten Abteilung - die Sammlung der privaten Unterhaltungen - wurden Hinweise auf eine Korrelation zwischen der Zahl der CR-Konstruktionen und des Jahres der der Aufnahme gefunden. Der Anteil an vorangestellten temporalen Konstruktionen war sowohl in öffentlichen als auch in nicht-öffentlichen Korpora am

größten im Vergleich zu den Nachgestellten. Die Studie lieferte keine Evidenz für die aufgestellten Hypothesen, was auf die Einschränkungen der Korpusstudie, wie zum Beispiel fehlender oder unvollständiger Kontext der Gespräche, fehlende Punktuation und/oder Markierung der Intonation, zurückzuführen ist.

11 Abstract

It was not until the 1960s and 70s of the 20th century that researchers turned their special interest to colloquial Russian (hereafter CR) and its interaction with codified (normative) Russian. Colloquial Russian uses its grammatical constructions in deviation from the norms of the written language. Since codified language is the basis of colloquial language on the grammatical level, among others, the question arises, how the standard forms are used in oral speech. Lapteva (1976) has looked in particular at the syntax of CR and made a classification of CR constructions that differ from their standard forms. The present study deals with two constructions from this classification: an embedded temporal subordinate clause and a temporal subordinate clause with the meaningless conjunction kogda (as/if), which leaves its normative position in the sentence. In addition to the special forms of temporal adverbial clauses, the frequency of their standard implementation as preceding and the following constructions will be examined.

Two hypotheses were formulated:

- The frequency of certain constructions classified by Lapteva (1976) as transitional constructions decreases over decades.
- The ratio between prefixed and suffixed temporal subordinate clauses will be in favor of the latter due to the spontaneity of oral speech.

The corpus study was conducted with the oral language sub-corpus of the National'nyj Korpus Russkogo Jazyka (National Corpus of the Russian Language). No evidence of a correlation between the number of CR constructions and the year of recording was found either in the whole oral sub-corpus or in its largest section - the collection of private conversations. The proportion of prefixed temporal constructions was greatest in both public and non-public corpora compared to postfixed ones. The study did not provide evidence for the hypotheses put forward, due to the limitations of the corpus study, such as missing or incomplete context of the conversations, lack of punctuation and/or marking of intonation.

Key words: Colloquial Russian, temporal subordinate clauses, temporal adjuncts.